

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series C - No. 40

NEW GUINEA AREA LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE STUDY

Vol. 3

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, SOCIETY,
AND THE MODERN WORLD

FASCICLE 1

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S.A. Wurm, ed.



Department of Linguistics

Research School of Pacific Studies

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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DEDICATION

A very important aspect of the study of language in general are discussions of the cultural and social setting of languages and of the far-reaching influences of culture contact upon languages and their social and other functions. These problems are of very great importance in Papua New Guinea, and the nature, function and role of contact languages and general languages in it are of major significance in many fields including education and language policies. The present large volume constitutes the first comprehensive and scholarly study of many of these problems by a large number of eminent scholars long associated with language work and research in Papua New Guinea, and I the Minister of Justice (and former Minister of Education) welcome it as a long awaited presentation and discussion of these problems in a clear and concise form.



Ebia Olewale
Port Moresby
11 May 1976

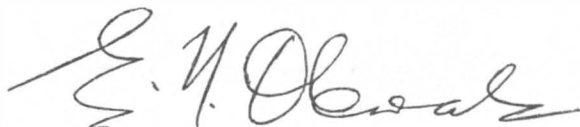
SPECIAL DEDICATION TO THE THIRD VOLUME

I am very proud and honoured to have been asked to write a special dedication for volume three of the three-volume work on New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study which appears in the publication series *Pacific Linguistics*. Volume one has already appeared and so has volume two. This is now the final volume, volume three. This book and its companion volumes has been produced after many years of hard work by some of our friends who have given their time to carry out the study required, and to help us in establishing language groupings and in thinking about how our languages and our culture can be sustained in Papua New Guinea. This book is a step in the right direction. It helps us in the steps that we are taking to understand more about our languages, more about our cultures, so that every tribe and every person in Papua New Guinea will know about what the others are, because that is the most important thing for us to do in starting to build our nation. This book, and volume one and volume two before it, will help us to understand the problems of our own languages irrespective of what different tribes we come from. This book will also help us in our understanding the many different cultures that are in Papua New Guinea - we have not just one culture here in Papua New Guinea, but we have many different cultures. This book will be used by us both here in Papua New Guinea and our friends overseas as a guide to the better understanding of the people and the culture here.

Mine biri nalege po älädname ieta ewe biname

*'Let us all go and push the canoe together, people of
the village', to mean 'Let us all go and work together!'*

(Language of Mr Olewale's Bine people, Western Province).

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'E. Y. Olewale', with a stylized, flowing script.

Ebia Olewale

Port Moresby

11 May 1976

PREFACE

The manuscripts now appearing in print as the contents of the three large volumes which constitute the present reference work on New Guinea linguistics from a general point of view and bear *Guinea Area Languages and Language Study* were originally solicited by Professor Thomas A. Sebeok and S.A. Wurm on the initiative of the former in his capacity as General Editor of the series *Current Trends in the Language Sciences* published by Mouton Publishers, The Hague, Netherlands. Professor Sebeok was the first to conceive the idea of the publication of a set of volumes in that series under the editorship of S.A. Wurm with the overall title *Current Trends in the Study of New Guinea Area Languages*.

After the manuscripts had been delivered to Professor Sebeok by mid-1974, and through him to Mouton Publishers, and accepted by the latter, Professor Sebeok resigned from the editorship of the series *Current Trends in the Language Sciences*. In negotiations between S.A. Wurm and Mouton Publishers over the fate of the series in general and the New Guinea area volumes in particular, it became clear that the very large overall size of the envisaged New Guinea area volumes was expected to cause serious difficulties for the prospective publisher under prevailing circumstances, and their publication was likely to suffer quite substantial delays.

This would have resulted in the withholding of much unique information from the interested public for a long time, not to mention the frustrations of the numerous authors who would have not seen the results of their work appear in print within a reasonable time as parts of a large reference work. At the same time, the highly topical and changing nature of much of the subject matter treated in the volumes would possibly have made some of their contents obsolete by the time of the eventual publication, which would have been most unfortunate.

In view of this situation, other potential avenues for a speedy publication of the manuscripts in the form of a set of three to four large

volumes were explored and it proved possible to arrange for their reasonably quick publication, in three large volumes, in the book series (Series C) of the serial publication *Pacific Linguistics* issued through the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University in Canberra.

This seemed all the more appropriate in view of the fact that most of the contents of volume I, *Papuan Languages and the New Guinea Linguistic Scene*, in particular, and some of those of volumes II and III, constituted the results of up to one and a half decades of intensive research work by linguists associated in one form or another with the Department of Linguistics of the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University, with these volumes presenting the overall results of their research for the first time in a comprehensive form in the framework of a detailed compendium.

In addition, the choice of these publication channels had the advantage that quite a number of language and related maps could be added to those originally envisaged for the volumes, thus considerably enhancing their overall value.

The technical tasks of copy-editing and indexing were carried out in the Department of Linguistics. The editor would like to express his heartfelt thanks to his colleagues and staff for the help given him by them in his efforts to see the volumes through the press, and in particular, his thanks are due, for volume III, to Sue Tys, Linguistics Assistant in the Department who carried out the lengthy and arduous task of setting up the over one thousand printing pages with her usual skill and devotion.

Also, the editor should like to give his thanks to his staff, especially Lois Carrington, Senior Research Assistant in the Department, for so ably carrying out the lengthy and arduous task of preparing the voluminous indexes for volume III, and played a major role in standardising formats throughout the volume.

Again, his thanks go to the Linguistics Officer of the Department, Hilda Leach, for her dealing very ably and resourcefully with the many technical aspects and problems of guiding the three large volumes through the pre-printing, printing and finishing stages and for efficiently supervising their further handling which, on the distribution side, has been most efficiently handled by Miriam Curnow in her capacity of Publications Distribution Officer.

He also expresses his thanks to the Department of Human Geography for its wonderful co-operation in making its cartographic facilities available. Most especially he wants to thank the excellent cartographers themselves who, especially Keith Mitchell, but also Ian Heyward and

Leo Pancino, spent many hours in producing the numerous highly detailed maps in the volumes, with Hans Gunther, the cartographer-in-charge, supervising the work and allotting the various tasks in a most efficient manner.

Very importantly, the editor's thanks go out to our numerous friends in Papua New Guinea, Irian Jaya, the Solomon Islands and the New Guinea area as a whole who have been our helpers and teachers in our long painstaking work in their languages and who also made our work possible in their countries in many other ways, notably as members of local administrations and governments.

The editor also wishes to voice his thanks to the Australian National University for the co-operation and facilities given and made available to him and his Department and rendering practicable the publication of these imposing volumes for which, on the technical side, the printers in the University, as well as Patria Printers and Adriatic Bookbinders, deserve high praise.

He should like to give his thanks to Sir John Crawford who was Director of the School of Pacific Studies when the New Guinea Project now resulting in the publication of these three volumes made its start, and who later as Vice-Chancellor and now as Chancellor has maintained his interest in our work. He also thanks the successive Directors of the School, Professors Oskar Spate, Anthony Low and Wang Gung Wu, for their continued interest in our work, and their support.

Last, but not least, the editor's thanks go out to all the numerous contributors to the volumes, whose work in compiling the many chapters and mostly many years' research preceding the writing down of their final results has made the appearance of these three volumes possible.

S.A. Wurm

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INTRODUCTION

The present three-volume work *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study* constitutes a detailed reference work and compendium giving concise information on as large a range as possible of matters and problems concerning the languages, and their study, of the New Guinea area. In spite of the spectacular size of the volumes, many aspects of this vast field of study had to remain unmentioned or could only be briefly and cursorily referred to: a situation unfortunately quite unavoidable when dealing with a part of the world in which about one-fifth of all the languages of the world are concentrated: languages which have, with few exceptions, been receiving intensive attention by a still comparatively very small number of linguists only during the last fifteen to twenty years.

In spite of this, it is hoped that the volumes may fulfil the purpose for which they have been compiled. In the devising of the nature and style of their contents, it was kept very much in mind that the volumes might not only be referred to by linguists specialising in New Guinea area languages or by professional linguists at home in other language areas and wishing to familiarise themselves with aspects of the New Guinea linguistic scene, but also, and perhaps very much so, by non-linguists wishing to learn, for one reason or another, something about language problems in the New Guinea area. Research workers such as anthropologists, prehistorians, Pacific historians, human geographers and others come to mind, but very much also persons whose interests lie in the practical application of the results of scientific study, such as educationalists, administrators, missionaries, policy makers of various kinds and orientations, and others. For the benefit of such persons, the information provided has very largely been couched in terms which, it is hoped, may be intelligible and useful for readers without much training in linguistics and/or language study, though very elementary methods of presentation have been avoided.

The work consists of three volumes which are as follows:

Volume I: *Papuan Languages and the New Guinea Linguistic Scene.*

Volume II: *Austronesian Languages.*

Volume III: *Language, Culture, Society and the Modern World.*

While the three volumes constitute a whole and together deal with the language questions of the New Guinea area in the light of their basic diversity and from different points of view, each volume stands on its own in being concerned with a particular set of problems largely independently from the contents of the other two volumes. In the light of this, Volume I first offers a general summary discussion of the indigenous language situation in the New Guinea area and highlights the distribution and situation of the two types of indigenous languages: Austronesian and Papuan. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the Papuan (or non-Austronesian) languages: the history of research into them, their general classification problems and their nature, the various major and minor phyla of Papuan languages (and the isolates), with detailed information on the geographical locations of their constituent groups, their internal classification and salient characteristics, and possible wider connections of Papuan languages. The volume concludes with a discussion of Papuan linguistic prehistory and assumed past language migrations in the New Guinea area.

Volume II begins with a presentation of the general picture of the Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area, and is followed by a detailed survey of the history of research in these languages by areas. A description of the general features of New Guinea area Austronesian languages comes next, as well as discussions of individual Austronesian groups in the area. The final part of the volume deals with the problem of Austronesian and Papuan "mixed" languages.

Volume III begins with treatments of some aspects of language in culture, the distribution of cultural vocabulary, kinship terminology in a linguistic setting, special languages, lexicography and language change. Then follow studies of features of non-verbal communication, and discussions of multilingualism, writing vernaculars and vernacular literacy, and language policies. Next comes a very detailed presentation of various *lingue franche* such as New Guinea Pidgin, Hiri Motu, English and Missionary *lingue franche*, and of the various problems and questions connected with them including teaching in them. This is followed by discussions of vernacular education, of intrusive languages other than English, and of problems of translation and interpretation. Language planning and engineering is touched upon afterwards, and the volume

concludes with a review of the institutional framework of the study of New Guinea area languages in the world.

The contents of the three volumes are divided into seven divisions which are further subdivided into a total of thirty-two parts containing the individual chapters of which the three volumes contain one hundred and forty. If a Division contains only a single chapter (see Divisions 1. and 3. in volume I) or two closely connected chapters (see Division 6. in volume III), the establishment of "Parts" has been avoided. In several instances, chapters dealing with a specific sub-set of problems within a Part have been combined as a group of chapters under a major common heading (e.g. in volume I, chapters 2.6.1. and 2.6.2. under 2.6., 2.8.1. and 2.8.2. under 2.8.; in volume III, chapters 7.4.5.1.-13. under 7.4.5.). Boxing of such a chapter group within a chapter group has also been resorted to: in volume III, chapters 7.4.1.1.-6. constitute a chapter group under 7.4.1., but 7.4.1.4. itself is a major common heading for (sub-)chapters 7.4.1.4.1.-6.

Numbering of Divisions, Parts, Chapters, and, within the latter, of sections, sub-sections and major paragraphs has been extensively resorted to to permit easy cross-referencing. The numbers run consecutively through the three volumes. Referencing within the three individual volumes is done through the quoting of the respective Division-Part-Chapter-etc. numbers, e.g. a reference from chapter 2.5. in volume I to a section in chapter 2.7. in the same volume will appear as for instance, 2.7.2.2.6. References across volumes are accompanied by the Roman volume number placed before them in parentheses, e.g. a reference from a chapter in volume I to one in volume III takes the shape of, for instance (III) 7.9.8.

The set-up of each of the three volumes is as follows: it begins with the preface which is almost the same for all the volumes. This is followed by a summary table of contents which contains only the titles of Divisions, Parts and Chapters, and this in turn by the Introduction which is again the same for all the volumes except for the list of the journals and the codes denoting the titles of the journals referred to in the bibliographies contained in them. After this, a very detailed table of contents is given which also shows the contents of the individual chapters in terms of the sections, sub-sections etc. within them. Maps contained in individual chapters are predominantly listed towards the end of the table of contents sections relating to those chapters, unless they are maps illustrating the contents of a very specific section or sub-section within a chapter.

The main text of the volume begins immediately after the detailed table of contents, and is followed by four comprehensive indexes, one of the names of languages and language groups occurring in the volume, one of authors and other personal names, one of other names such as geographical names, and one miscellaneous. The indexes are preceded by short biographies of the contributors to the volume.

Footnotes referred to by consecutive numbers within individual chapters have mostly been placed as "Notes" at the end of the chapters containing them. Only some have been put at the bottom of pages as footnotes if this seemed advisable to the editor, e.g. if such a footnote referred to a feature in a table and was deemed essential for the understanding of a particular point of the information included in it.

Each chapter is accompanied by its own bibliography - this seemed to be preferable to having one very large comprehensive bibliography at the end of each volume, in spite of the resulting considerable repetitiveness of the individual chapter bibliographies. The titles of most of the journals mentioned in the bibliographies have been quoted in coded forms, and an alphabetical list of the relevant codes and of the journals whose titles have not been coded, has been given in the introduction to each volume with the necessary explanations. The codes employed are the ones commonly used in linguistic studies and correspond to those employed in the volumes of the *International Linguistic Bibliography*.

This list of the titles and title codes of journals and serials referred to in volume III is as follows:

AmA	<i>American Anthropologist</i> . American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.
<i>American Philosophical Society Memoirs</i>	<i>American Philosophical Society. Memoirs</i> . Philadelphia.
<i>American Museum of Natural History</i>	<i>Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History</i> . New York.
<i>American Speech</i>	<i>American Speech</i> . A quarterly of linguistic usage. Columbia University Press.
<i>Animal Behaviour Monographs</i>	<i>Animal Behaviour Monographs</i> . London.
AnL	<i>Anthropological Linguistics</i> . Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

- Annual Review of Anthropology* *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Annual Reviews Inc., Palo Alto.
- Anthropos* *Anthropos. International Review of Ethnology and Linguistics*. Anthropos-Institut, Freiburg, Switzerland.
- Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonial-sprachen* *Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonial-sprachen*. Berlin.
- Asia* *Asia*. Asia Society, New York.
- Asian Perspectives* *Asian Perspectives*. Bulletin of the Far-Eastern Prehistory Association. University of Hawaii.
- [Australian] Army Journal* *[Australian] Army Journal*. Department of the Army, Australia.
- Australian Board of Missions Review [ABM Review]* *ABM Review*. Official organ of the Australian Board of Missions, Sydney.
- Australian Quarterly* *Australian Quarterly*. Australian Institute of Political Science, Sydney.
- Australian Territories* *Australian Territories*. Department of (External) Territories, Canberra.
- Australia's Neighbours* *Australia's Neighbours*. Australian Institute of International Affairs. (In August 1974 its name was changed to *Dyason House Papers*.)
- Baessler-Archiv* *Baessler-Archiv. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*. Berlin.
- Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin*. Hawaii.
- BijdrTLV* *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, The Hague.

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| Bougainville Nius | Bougainville Nius. Monthly. Napidakoe Navitu, Kieta. |
| BSOAS | Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London. |
| BT | The Bible Translator. Periodical for the Assistance of Bible Translators. London. |
| Bulletin of the
Institute of
Ethnology, Academia
Sinica | Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. Academia Sinica, Institute of Ethnology, Taipei. |
| Cahiers de l'Homme | Cahiers de l'Homme. Ethnologie-Géographie-Linguistique. Nouvelle série. Mouton, and École Pratique des Hautes Études; Paris and The Hague. |
| Cambridge Papers in
Social Anthropology | Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology. Cambridge University Press. |
| CAnthr | Current Anthropology. A World Journal of the Sciences of Man. Chicago. |
| The Carrier Pidgin | The Carrier Pidgin. University of Hawaii, Honolulu. |
| Catalyst | Catalyst. Papua New Guinea. Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service, Goroka. |
| Commonwealth of
Australia Parliamen-
tary Papers | Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Papers. Melbourne-Canberra. Australian Parliament. |
| [The] Contemporary
Review | [The] Contemporary Review. London. |
| Current Affairs
Bulletin | Current Affairs Bulletin. The University of Sydney. |

<i>Die Erde</i>	<i>Die Erde. Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Berlin.</i>
<i>DLOP</i>	<i>Department of Language, Occasional Papers. University of Papua New Guinea, Waigani.</i>
<i>English in New Guinea</i>	<i>English in New Guinea. Port Moresby.</i>
<i>Ethnology</i>	<i>Ethnology. An International Journal of Cultural and Social Anthropology. University of Pittsburgh.</i>
<i>Ethnos</i>	<i>Ethnos. The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm.</i>
<i>Folklore Studies</i>	<i>Folklore Studies. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.</i>
<i>Geographica Helvetica</i>	<i>Geographica Helvetica. Zürich.</i>
<i>Globus</i>	<i>Globus (Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen). Brunswick.</i>
<i>Hemisphere</i>	<i>Hemisphere. An Asian-Australian Magazine. Department of Education (and Science). Canberra.</i>
<i>L'Homme</i>	<i>L'Homme. Revue française d'anthropologie. Publiée par l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne. Paris.</i>
<i>Homo</i>	<i>Homo. Organ of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie. Göttingen.</i>
<i>IASER Monographs</i>	<i>Institute of Advanced Studies Educational Research Monographs. School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.</i>
<i>IJAL</i>	<i>International Journal of American Linguistics. Baltimore.</i>

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| <i>International Journal of the Sociology of Language</i> | <i>International Journal of the Sociology of Language</i> . Edinburgh. |
| <i>Irian</i> | <i>Irian. Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development</i> . Jayapura. Institute for Anthropology, Cenderawasih University. |
| <i>Iseda Sivarai</i> | <i>Iseda Sivarai</i> . Fortnightly Hiri Motu Newspaper. Papua New Guinea Government, Port Moresby. |
| <i>Janua Linguarum</i> | <i>Janua Linguarum</i> . Mouton, The Hague. |
| <i>Journal of American Folklore</i> | <i>Journal of American Folklore</i> . American Folklore Society, Austin, Texas. |
| <i>Journal of Creole Studies</i> | <i>Journal of Creole Studies</i> . University of Texas, Austin, Texas. |
| <i>Journal of Psycholinguistic Research</i> | <i>Journal of Psycholinguistic Research</i> . New York. |
| <i>Journal de Psychologie: Normale et Pathologique</i> | <i>Journal de Psychologie: Normale et Pathologique</i> . Paris. |
| <i>Journal [and Proceedings] of the Royal Society of New South Wales</i> | <i>Journal [and Proceedings] of the Royal Society of New South Wales</i> . Sydney. |
| <i>JPH</i> | <i>The Journal of Pacific History</i> . Department of Pacific and South-East Asian History, School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra. |
| <i>The Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation</i> | <i>The Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation</i> . Stanford University, California. |
| <i>JPNGS</i> | <i>Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society</i> . Port Moresby. |

- JPS *The Journal of the Polynesian Society.*
Wellington, New Zealand.
- JRAI *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
- JSOc *Journal de la Société des Océanistes.* Paris.
- Kivung *Kivung. Journal of the Linguistic Society of*
Papua New Guinea. Port Moresby.
- Koloniale Rundschau *Koloniale Rundschau. Monatschrift für die*
Interessen unserer Schutzgebiete und ihrer
Bewohner. Berlin.
- Kovave *Kovave. Journal of New Guinea Literature.*
Jacaranda Press, Milton, Queensland.
- LD, AP *Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series.* Summer
Institute of Linguistics, Santa Ana,
California.
- Lg *Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society*
of America. Baltimore.
- Lingua *Lingua. International Review of General*
Linguistics. Amsterdam.
- Linguistic
Communications *Linguistic Communications.* Monash University,
Melbourne.
- Linguistics *Linguistics. An International Review.* The
Hague.
- Luksave *Luksave. Summaries of the Bulletin of the New*
Guinea Research Unit (Australian National
University). Port Moresby.
- MAGW *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*
Wien. Vienna.

- Man*. *A Record of Anthropological Science*. London.
- Man in New Guinea*. Department of Anthropology, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.
see also: Research in Melanesia.
- Mankind*. *Official Journal of the Anthropological Societies of Australia*. Sydney University Press.
- MBA*. *Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos*. Anthropos-Institut, Freiburg, Switzerland.
- MDS*. *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*. Berlin.
- Melanesian Society Monographs*. *Melanesian Society Monographs*. London.
(Published privately).
- Melbourne Studies in Education*. *Melbourne Studies in Education*. Melbourne University Press.
- [The] Missionary Review*. *[The] Missionary Review*. Board of Missions of the Methodist Church of Australasia, Sydney.
- Monographien zur Völkerkunde*. *Monographien zur Völkerkunde*. Hamburg.
- MSOS*. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*. Berlin.
- Nature*. *Nature*. Macmillan, London.
- Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*. *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*. Münster, Westfalen.
- New Guinea*. *New Guinea, and Australia, the Pacific and South-East Asia*. Quarterly. Council on New Guinea Affairs, Sydney.
- New Guinea Writing*. *see: Papua New Guinea Writing*.

- New Scientist* *New Scientist*. London.
- NGS *Nieuw Guinea Studiën*. The Hague.
- Nius bilong yumi* *Nius bilong yumi*. Fortnightly. Department of Information and Extension Services, Port Moresby.
- North-Holland Linguistic Series* *North-Holland Linguistic Series*. Amsterdam.
- Oceania* *Oceania*. A journal devoted to the study of the native peoples of Australia, New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific Ocean. University of Sydney.
- Oceania Monographs* *Oceania Monographs*. University of Sydney.
- OL *Oceanic Linguistics*. The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- OLM *Oceania Linguistic Monographs*. University of Sydney.
- Oral History* *Oral History*. The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, with the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.
- Overland* *Overland*. Quarterly Australian Literary Magazine. Melbourne.
- Pacific Anthropological Records* *Pacific Anthropological Records*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Hawaii.
- Pangu Pati Nius* *Pangu Pati Nius*. Irregular. Pangu Pati, Port Moresby.
- Papua New Guinea Education Gazette* *Papua New Guinea Education Gazette*. Department of Education, Port Moresby.
- Papua New Guinea Journal of Education* *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education*. Port Moresby.

Papua New Guinea Writing	Papua New Guinea Writing (formerly New Guinea Writing). Quarterly. Literature Bureau, Office of Information (formerly Department of Information and Extension Services), Port Moresby.
Papua Pocket Poets	Papua Pocket Poets. University Bookshop, Port Moresby.
Pediatrics	Pediatrics. Official publication of the American Academy of Pediatrics, Springfield, Illinois.
Petermanns (Geographische) Mitteilungen	Petermanns (Geographische) Mitteilungen. Leipzig.
Pidgin and Creole Studies	Pidgin and Creole Studies. University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
PIM	Pacific Islands Monthly. The News Magazine of the South Pacific. Sydney.
PL, PL(LCC)	Pacific Linguistics. Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra. (Originally, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications.)
PL, A	Pacific Linguistics, Series A: Occasional Papers.
PL, B	Pacific Linguistics, Series B: Monographs.
PL, C	Pacific Linguistics, Series C: Books.
PL, D	Pacific Linguistics, Series D: Special Publications.
Poroman	Poroman. Fortnightly (irregular) Paper. United Party, Port Moresby.
Poroman	Poroman. Magazine of the Military Cadet School. Igam Barracks, Lae.

<i>Post-Courier</i>	<i>Papua New Guinea Post-Courier</i> . National daily newspaper, Port Moresby. (Incorporating <i>South Pacific Post</i> , and <i>New Guinea Times Courier</i> .)
<i>Practical Anthropology</i>	<i>Practical Anthropology</i> . Tarrytown, New York.
PRAI	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i> . London.
<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i> . Dublin.
<i>The Psychological Review</i>	<i>The Psychological Review</i> . American Psychological Association. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
<i>Queensland Parliamentary Papers</i>	<i>Queensland Parliamentary Papers</i> . Brisbane.
Read	<i>Read. Adult Literacy and Literature Magazine</i> . Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukurumpa.
<i>Research in Melanesia</i>	<i>Research in Melanesia</i> . Continuation of <i>Man in New Guinea</i> since 1975.
<i>Raunabaut</i>	<i>Raunabaut</i> . Bi-monthly. Kieta, Bougainville.
<i>Science</i>	<i>Science</i> . American Association for the Advancement of Science. Washington.
<i>Scientific American</i>	<i>Scientific American</i> . Scientific American, Inc., New York.
<i>Search</i>	<i>Search</i> . Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science. Sydney.
SJA	<i>Southwestern Journal of Anthropology</i> . Albuquerque, New Mexico.
<i>Social Science Information</i>	<i>Social Science Information</i> . International Social Science Council, Paris.

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| <i>Sociologus</i> | <i>Sociologus</i> . Zeitschrift für empirische Soziologie, sozialpsychologische und ethnologische Forschung. Berlin. |
| <i>South Pacific</i> | <i>South Pacific</i> . Australian School of Pacific Administration, Sydney. |
| <i>Stadt Gottes</i> | <i>Stadt Gottes</i> . Steyl, Netherlands. |
| <i>Steyler Missionsbote</i> | <i>Steyler Missionsbote</i> . Steyl, Netherlands. |
| <i>Studia Instituti Anthropos</i> | <i>Studia Instituti Anthropos</i> . St Gabriel, Vienna, later Freiburg, Switzerland, and St Augustin, West Germany. |
| <i>Talanya</i> | <i>Talanya</i> . <i>Journal of the Linguistic Society of Australia</i> . (At first co-published with <i>Linguistics</i>). Mouton, Leiden, and Melbourne. |
| <i>Te Reo</i> | <i>Te Reo</i> . Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand, Auckland. |
| <i>Teaching Methods and Materials Centre Research Reports</i> | <i>Teaching Methods and Materials Centre Research Reports</i> . Department of Education, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby. |
| <i>TNG</i> | <i>Tijdschrift Nieuw-Guinea</i> . The Hague. |
| <i>Toktok bilong Haus ov Asembli</i> | <i>Toktok bilong Haus ov Asembli</i> . Weekly. House of Assembly, Port Moresby. |
| <i>Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik</i> | <i>Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik</i> . Frankfurt. |
| <i>VBG</i> | <i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i> . Batavia and The Hague. |
| <i>Verhandlungen der Schweizerischen Naturforschenden Gesellschaft</i> | <i>Verhandlungen der Schweizerischen Naturforschenden Gesellschaft</i> . Basel. |

- VKI *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.* The Hague.
- VKNA *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeeling Letterkunde.* Amsterdam.
- Wantok *Wantok.* Fortnightly. Wantok Publications, Wewak.
- World Archaeology *World Archaeology.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- WPLUH *Working Papers in Linguistics.* Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- WPNGI *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages.* Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa.
- WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Vienna.
- Yagl-Ambu *Yagl-Ambu.* Journal of the social sciences and humanities. University of Papua New Guinea.
- ZAOS *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische, Ozeanische und Ostasiatische Sprachen.* Berlin. (formerly *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Ozeanische Sprachen.*)
- ZES *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen.* Berlin.
- ZEthn *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.* Organ der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde. Brunswick.
- Zeitschrift für Tierpsychologie* *Zeitschrift für Tierpsychologie.* P. Parey, Berlin.
- ZKS *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen.* Berlin.

EDITOR'S NOTES TO VOLUME III:

The manuscripts for the chapters in volume III, had first been written in 1973-74, before the change of the District, etc. nomenclature in Papua New Guinea to Province, etc. Most of the chapters were updated in varying degrees before the final printing process whenever possible. Where it was felt to be appropriate, the District, etc. nomenclature was adjusted to conform to current usage. In some cases in which a chapter clearly referred to the situation prevailing before the change in the names, the nomenclature was left unaltered. In some other cases explanatory notes were added by the editor (e.g. in 7.1.0.). The editor apologises to the readers for the somewhat uneven treatment of this feature in volume III.

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5.1.1. THE KEWA LANGUAGE IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Karl J. Franklin

5.1.1.1. INTRODUCTION

No linguist can be seriously interested in a language without making observations on how the language functions in society. It is pointless, if one is a participant in a culture, even an alien culture, to simply observe for the purpose of recording data. Rather, the data must reflect the cultural system in an integrated manner, such that the observer can become a contributing partner in the society.

One linguistic theory which combines language and culture is tagmemics.¹ An important aspect of tagmemics is a heuristic procedure which allows the observer to organise his viewpoint along several dimensions. Using this procedure any unit, such as a physical object, an event, or a concept can be viewed in terms of its contrast with other items, its variation, and its distribution in a system. This is especially necessary in relating a linguistic form, expression or dialogue to a particular cultural setting in such a way that the set of linguistic speech acts are seen in cultural perspective. In making select observations on the Kewa speech types I have been guided by the tagmemic viewpoint.

In the following sections I outline a sample of features found in a folk taxonomy of Kewa speech types, undoubtedly incomplete, but with the assurance that the materials reflect the viewpoint of some of the speakers. The analysis of these expressions and the comments on them are my own, and other interpretations are certainly possible.²

5.1.1.2. TAXONOMY OF SPEECH CATEGORIES

There are many categories of speech which have names and specific functions in Kewa society. These speech categories contrast in name

and function with others, such as legends, songs, women's speech, whistling, idioms, and undoubtedly others.³ Many of these, such as women's speech or legends, can employ a variety of speech categories according to the purpose or focus of the speakers: a man can deliberately avoid the 'bad language' that he might normally use to describe a particular event if he knows his words will be repeated before church leaders. Songs may be sung for fun or they may be intended to convey ominous warnings (Franklin 1970), but they are always contrastive with other speech categories.

The categories outlined here which have been noted by Kewa-speakers are quite varied. Vernacular terms that are given to them, as well as examples of when such speech might be used, are as follows.

5.1.1.2.1. LISTING OF SPEECH TYPES

Sa pi agaa ('hidden talk') refers to speech which is disguised, but with the expressed intent of revealing or eliciting appropriate information or behaviour. Example: a woman tells a known prostitute that she is leaving, but returning in two days' time. After telling her this she and other (friends) go to a secluded area and wait until night. Then later they go back to the house and hide near where they know the prostitute will come. The prostitute tells the man 'her husband' has gone away and that the two of them should go to her house. When the man goes to her house he is seen by the others. The next day the wife relates hidden talk to the other woman: 'I saw you in my dream last night but you were sleeping with another man'. If the prostitute denies what she has done one of the men who had observed them punishes the prostitute and the man. There are many subtle varieties of such hidden talk.

Imaa niti ('forbidden word or name') refers to a word or name which, if spoken publicly, causes great shame. Example: when a girl is promised to another clan in marriage, the prospective in-laws give many pearl shells and pigs to her clan. If they were to exchange lesser valued objects, such as fish and possums, instead of pigs and shells, this would degrade the in-laws. In order to ensure a proper exchange relationship, appropriate taboo names are used. To not use the correct affinal names would also imply that the exchange relationship was broken.

Rumula agaa ('pandanus language') refers to special vocabulary and phrases which are used to ritually protect people who travel in pandanus swamp forest areas where ghosts and wild dogs are present. Example: when men or women go into the mountain areas they follow their

ancestors' instructions and do not talk their normal language. Instead they use a secret type of language which has been taught to them. This is meant to appease the spirits and ward off potential trouble.⁴

Pedo pi agaa ('happy talk') refers to words or phrases which are flattering or pleasing. Example: when someone gives something to a youngster, the child may respond by talking very quickly and with obvious feeling; reverse parabolic speech may also be used, so that a man may talk about his 'bad' house, when he is really quite pleased with the new one he has constructed.

Agaa mana ('instructions') refers to advice from elders, the best way to do things, what to look out for, and so on. Example: 'don't eat this kind of mushrooms'; 'if you go down that way your enemies will kill you'; 'look after your gardens and pigs well'; and so on. The instructions may be overt commands or implied in stories.

Eke tole ('tongue-tied') refers to anyone who has a speech impediment. Example: a person capable of intelligent speech, but with abnormal phonetic characteristics. This type of speech is usually the result of a birth defect or accident. A common explanation is: 'it happened when he was in his mother's stomach (womb)'.

Agaa muma ('dumb') refers to someone who cannot talk and is attributed to spirits which caused the problem while the baby was still in the womb. A man who was shot in the neck with an arrow and cannot talk was referred to by the same expression.

Kura kura agaa ('questioning talk') refers to anyone who asks a lot of questions. Example: babies may say, 'Father, where were you?'; 'What did you bring?'; 'Did you bring sweet potato?'. Anytime persistent questions are asked by someone this type of speech is used.

Maklraa ae agaa ('deceitful talk') refers to anyone who is deliberately trying to trick or deceive another party. Example: a man says that he is responsible for several pigs and therefore persuades someone to lend him money as collateral. Later he reports to the lender that he is very sorry but the pig that he paid for died while he was caring for it and he had to eat it. It seems obvious to everyone that deceit is intended.

Yalna pi agaa ('bespelling talk') refers to ritual speech used in conjunction with cures for sickness, or to ward off some unwanted situation. Example: if someone has been victimised by sorcery, he will pay money to a curer to perform ceremonies. Associated with the ceremony is ritualised speech to bespell leaves, cassowary bones, sweet potato, and other items as carriers of power.⁵

Ini rinl agaa ('*joking*') refers to those who try to get the upper hand by conning people. Example: two men may go off on a trip, but one reports that he has no money to buy food. In reality he has money hidden in his bag.

Ora agaa ('*real talk*') refers to one who does what he says he will do, that is, it refers to a truthful statement. Example: a man says: 'I will repay this debt next week' and then he does it.

Maeyaa ae agaa ('*crazy talk*') refers to any speech that appears irrational. Example: a man may report that a dead person is walking around, that he wants to eat faeces, or that he wants to sleep alone in the forest.

Purl pane agaa ('*strong talk*') refers to loud or overbearing talk. Example: a man stands up at a dance and makes a speech, usually with implications and innuendoes.

Ya agaa ('*lies*') refers to those who lie quite blatantly. Example: a government officer may say that he will be back the next day when he obviously has no intention of returning.

Remani agaa ('*courting talk*') refers to the talk that young men and women make at dances and in other places. Example: a young man goes courting, sits by a young girl and exchanges pleasantries with her. By courting and using the associated talk, it is said that he will grow up quickly and receive the elders' knowledge.

Rome agaa ('*trade talk*') refers generally to the speech style used by trading partners. Example: when traders have shells, pigs, etc. to bargain, they will sit down and quietly discuss the matter until some mutual understanding is reached.

Mumu ne agaa ('*whispering talk*') refers to any speech style which is spoken softly, e.g. trading, bespelling, and so on, where the public are not supposed to know what is going on. Example: if some men are talking about stealing something or if a marriage exchange is being discussed, it will be done quietly and unobtrusively.

Kudlri ne agaa ('*secret talk*') refers to talk made by those who are insiders, such as cult initiates, men's clubhouse occupants, and so on. Example: a man may wish to marry a particular woman so he discusses it secretly in the men's house. Someone may then tell him that the woman does not look after her pigs or gardens well and that he should forget her. Or male members of a sub-clan may discuss building a long-house and determine how many pigs or pearl shells they collectively own.

Yada maluue agaa ('challenge') refers to insults or strong language exchanged between real or potential enemies. Example: at a dance a clan leader will climb a branching pole to the roof of one of the houses and use this style of speech to insult other clans by commenting negatively on their style of dress, the past history in war, or their pigs. Sometimes mock warfare will result.

Wae agaa ('bad talk') refers to any speech which is socially unacceptable, but particularly to culturally crude speech. Example: 'go kill your mother and eat her'; 'go dig up your enemies' faeces and eat it'. Speech like this potentially leads to fights and compensation.

Ero agaa ('insulting talk') refers to speech which deliberately exposes someone's weak points. Example: one man may congratulate another on how well his wife looked after the garden and pigs while he was away, all the time knowing that she has been unfaithful; a man may tell someone who is poor to go and buy his car now; a son may call his father by the kinship term of reference, rather than address.

Ona rumaa pe agaa ('marriage talk') refers to the specific bartering exchange of the fathers or brothers of a prospective couple. Example: the father of the prospective groom may say: 'I have some pearl shells here, but I don't have a lot of other things'. The other man may then suggest that the two meet together with the prospective bride's clan on the next day. The two men may then also discuss the items (pigs and shells generally) which will be displayed for the prospective bride's clan.

Tata ne agaa ('baby talk') refers to the first words a baby may use. Example: when babies try to say *aapa* father, they are heard to say *ataya*; when repeating *ama* mother, they say *amoya*. Or they say *u u* for *u patala* sleep, *ipi* for *ipa* water, *tasi meda ti* for *oyae meda gi* give me something, and so on.

Peto rekepu minua agaa ('creaking or croaking talk') refers to some speech defect. Examples: a person who has had his throat burned; a man who was wounded in the throat by an arrow, someone who has been visited by a spirit when still in the womb.

Mana mana agaa ('bossing talk') refers to excessive and constant instructions. Example: an orphan who has parents who are constantly giving him work to do, such as 'go get water', 'bring the wood and split it', 'go and feed the pigs'.

5.1.1.2.2. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS

Linguistically, it is possible to classify the speech types into several categories, some of which are more inclusive than others. The grammatical structure for most of the forms is: descriptive + head, e.g. a single attributive: *ero agaa insulting talk*, or a descriptive phrase as attribute: *ona rumaa pe agaa marriage talk*. In some examples the descriptive may follow the head: *agaa mana instructions* and *agaa muma dumb*. Usually this difference in arrangement parallels the traditional 'part-whole' and 'kind-of' notions: *ero agaa* (descriptive + head), is a kind-of talk which is insulting, whereas the arrangement of *agaa mana* (head + descriptive) reflects the fact that *mana instructions* are part of the whole, in this case all of speech. This distinction, however, is not clear-cut: any 'kind-of' relationship must always be subordinate to a 'part-whole' relationship. In other words, it is always possible to insult someone with instructions. Most often 'kind-of' notions are qualitative and refer to the features of some more inclusive category such as, in the example cited, instructions. In fact, the notion 'whole' is a relative one, depending on the 'part' under focus.

The patterns of descriptive + head can then be subdivided according to the grammatical category of the descriptive: one category is a sentence adverbial manifested by *ora really* and *pa just or only*; two forms are reduplicated: *kura kura questioning* and *mana mana bossing*; most other descriptives are formed in combination with nominalised forms of the verbs *la to talk*, *pa to make* or *pira to sit*: *kudiri ne agaa* (*ne* from *la*) *talk which is secret*, *ona rumaa pe agaa* (*pe* from *pa*) *talk which is for marriage*, *pedo pi agaa* (*pi* from *pira*) *talk which is sweet*. Additional nominalising patterns are found in *makiraa ae agaa* (a benefactive form of *makiraa* + *ae*) *talk which is meant to deceive* and *ini rinl agaa* (where *rini* is derived from *ria to carry* + nominaliser) *talk which carries the eyes = joking*, etc.

Two expressions are not generally used in a frame preceded or followed by *agaa talk or language*. These are *imaa niti forbidden* and *eke tole tongue-tied*. The first is derived from *imaa in-law* plus a term of unknown origin, while the second is comprised of *eke tongue* plus a second word of unknown origin. The form *nlti* is also found in the expression *niti pi yae sacred things*, i.e. all items which are found in the spirit houses. The pattern of these two expressions suggest that some feature other than speech style is represented, in that people may be called 'forbidden' or 'tongue-tied', just as people may be called 'liar' or 'trader'.

Although the expressions outlined in the preceding section are considered taxonomical categories for Kewa speech types, this is by no means exhaustive. It limits, in particular, the combinations of *agaa* + verb or verbal expression from being so classified. Some examples are *agaa mea* (*mea to fetch, bring*) meaning '*to ask*' or *agaa nane aa* (*na negative + ne form of to talk*), meaning '*a reticent man*', i.e. one who does not talk much. It also limits combinations of *agaa* + adjective, e.g. *agaa adaapu much talk*, and so on. A summary of the Kewa speech styles or categories which have been sampled in this section are:

MOST INCLUSIVE		DESCRIPTIVE	
<i>agaa mana</i>	<i>instructions</i>	<i>wae agaa</i>	<i>bad</i>
<i>agaa muma</i>	<i>dumb</i>	<i>ya agaa</i>	<i>lies</i>
DERIVATIONAL		<i>ora agaa</i>	<i>truth</i>
<i>kura kura agaa</i>	<i>questioning</i>	<i>rumula agaa</i>	<i>pandanus</i>
<i>mana mana agaa</i>	<i>bossing</i>	<i>remani agaa</i>	<i>courting</i>
NOMINALISED FORMS		<i>rome agaa</i>	<i>trade</i>
<i>sa pi agaa</i>	<i>hidden</i>	<i>ero agaa</i>	<i>insult</i>
<i>pedo pi agaa</i>	<i>happy</i>	<i>yada maluae agaa</i>	<i>challenge</i>
<i>yaina pi agaa</i>	<i>blessing</i>	UNIQUE	
<i>mumu ne agaa</i>	<i>whispering</i>	<i>imaa nlti</i>	<i>forbidden</i>
<i>kudiri ne agaa</i>	<i>secret</i>	<i>eke tole</i>	<i>tongue-tied</i>
<i>ona rumaa pe agaa</i>	<i>marriage</i>	<i>peto rekepu minua agaa</i>	<i>creaking, etc.</i>
<i>tata ne agaa</i>	<i>baby</i>		
<i>lni rini agaa</i>	<i>lying</i>		
<i>puri pane agaa</i>	<i>sharing</i>		
<i>makiraa ae agaa</i>	<i>deceitful</i>		
<i>maeyaa ae agaa</i>	<i>crazy</i>		

It should be obvious at once that the few speech categories outlined in this chart are only representative. We could choose an alternative method where (following Stross 1974) all those kinds of events that the Kewa have chosen to name or label would be classified as a speech category. In Tenejapa Tzeltal (Stross 1974) this yields 416 named varieties of speech.⁶

Kewa is like other Papuan languages that may predicate nominal or adjectival forms with pro-verbs, such as one meaning '*to talk, speak, utter, etc.*'.⁷ Once this is done the potential combinations grow considerably. Further, there is no reason why idiomatic expressions involving the form *agaa speech* could not also be included, such as *agaa mone mone pa lagia* (*speech there there just giving me* = '*talking on and on*'), *agaa rudu rudupu la* (*speech short short talking* = '*talking*

rapidly'), and so on. The 'ethnography of speaking' among the Kewa then becomes the universe of all objects, events, relationals, and abstracts, i.e. all meaning.

5.1.1.3. RANKING OF SPEECH STYLES

It is instructive to consider the speech types outlined above in terms of several sociolinguistic dimensions. The dimensions vary according to the social function of the linguistic expressions, so that some expressions occur in frank or open cultural contexts, while others are culturally neutral, and still others are culturally delicate. These dimensions also intersect with the particular hierarchical level of the social context which may be in focus: for example, the expressions may occur at the family level, be spoken to women only, in the men's clubhouse, to the clan leaders, in a ritual setting, in a bilingual situation, and so on. That is, any speech style is typically distributed within a particular level of society, and its delicacy, frankness, or neutrality can be ranked on that basis.

In addition to the speech styles outlined in this chapter, other expressions, such as euphemisms, similes, metaphors, parables, and the like, are obviously delicate in their rank, regardless of their distribution in the cultural setting. Any type of name taboo, argot term, or metaphorical song in Kewa can likewise be considered of a delicate rank.⁸

There are, on the other hand, certain speech types or styles which are quite frank or open; others appear to be quite neutral. For example, challenges and insults are obviously frank, while truth or lies can be quite neutral. There are, of course, gestures which often accompany verbal expressions and come to be understood in place of the speech when used alone. In Kewa to place the thumb on the inside of the first joint of the index finger and point is equivalent to thumbing one's nose. But this is only because the crudeness is based upon underlying speech: 'go to you-know-where' or 'go and do you-know-what', without euphemisms.

By far the most widespread varieties of speech delicacy involve name taboo. This has been commented on for Kewa (Franklin 1967, 1968), but in the following section, observations from other areas will be briefly reviewed.

We may conclude this section by stating that the Kewa language, like others, has a rich taxonomy of speech types which can be observed in the culture. Each of these types functions within appropriate sociolinguistic situations. The speech types contrast according to certain

situational parameters, especially if frankness, neutrality, or delicacy is called for. The Kewa speech categories which have been outlined here vary along such parameters, but are an integral part of the language system.

5.1.1.4. RELATED OBSERVATIONS

It is interesting to compare salient aspects of one category of speech, name taboo, in other areas of Papua New Guinea.⁹

In BUANG (Hooley 1972) there are several names given to individuals: (1) family position names, which reflect the birth order; (2) 'ground' names, which are a normal set repeated at intervals of one to several generations; (3) baptismal names; (4) nicknames; and (5) taboo names. Taboo names are used to remind a person of his status and responsibility to certain individuals. The forbidden relationships are affinal with the taboo names most often coined by enlisting specific generic pairs, synonyms, or phonetically similar pairs of words. A taboo name is also used to refer to an animal if that animal has the same name as a person in a forbidden relationship.

The common (universal?) practice of employing taboo names for affines holds also in MUYUW and NAKANAI, two other Austronesian languages (on Woodlark Island and in West New Britain, respectively). In MUYUW words also have magical associations and cannot be used in normal conversation. The NAKANAI people use teknonyms when referring to forbidden affines. The teknonyms may be based on individual kinship, group kinship, parental reference, namesake, including the kin of the namesake speaking or being addressed, or someone related to either such as a fellow-seducer, or a dance partner. For the NAKANAI it is important that common given names not be used.

Among the GAWIGL of the Western Highlands affines with a forbidden relationship often call each other by reciprocal names, which are drawn from some experience both shared. Taboo names extend to the recent dead and to age mates as well.

At the other end of the Highlands in the east, KAMANO-KAFE taboo names are also used with affines, so that a man will call his brother's wife 'mother', 'older sister', 'younger sister', or 'mother-in-law', according to her age. Sisters-in-law call each other by the kin term, not by name. In this group young male initiates also receive new names.

Between the Western and Eastern Highlands, but to the south live a non-highlands type of people, the DADIBI. In DADIBI, as part of the mutual mother-in-law son-in-law avoidance taboo, neither is allowed to

say the other's name. If the name happens to be the name of something in nature also, e.g. sago, the person may sometimes even use a circumlocution when he needs to speak of sago, to avoid using the name of the in-law.

An interesting progression of names may be associated with important males among the AMBULAS (Sepik Province). One man received a name from his mother, then a name from his father at initiation, a third name when he went away to work, and a fourth name upon returning. He used the fourth name when he went away to work again, then the name of a deceased ancestor upon return, and now finally a sixth name that he refers to himself by.

The strong taboo associated with saying the names of a brother-in-law, sister-in-law or mother-in-law in the ROSSEL language applies not only to terms of reference, but also the term of address when the sister-in-law is involved.

The initiation ceremony is the context in which the BARUYA receive their adult names. Both boys and girls enter into special relationships with the man who carries the boy or with the woman who pierces the nose of the girl. The co-initiates may not say each other's names but instead address each other by the appropriate initiation stage names or a nickname.

When marriage partners are arranged among the BARUYA, those involved do not use their future spouse's name. This continues after marriage and terms of address are usually used, but sometimes nicknames as well. In-laws have regular address terms that are used, though occasionally a nickname is also used. A BARUYA does not like to use his own name, although he sometimes does. He may refer to himself as 'so-and-so's father' (naming a child). Further, a person will not say the name of an object that is included in the name of his spouse or co-initiate, etc. Some literate people will write these names. Upon death a person's name is not used unless whispered. During the wake, the BARUYA address the corpse by his address term. The dirge that is sung often names the forest where he hunted or some landmark in his clan territory, giving the thought 'Alas, we won't see him again'.

Finally, among the BARUYA the names of ancestors may be used by people, including the childhood and initiated names of the same person. Certain other names are considered proper to each clan and should therefore not be used by other clans.

5.1.1. THE KEWA LANGUAGE IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

N O T E S

1. Tagmemics was developed by K.L. Pike in the early 1950s, although the term was not used at the time. One of the earliest outlines of the broader implications of the theory is reprinted in Hymes 1964. A recent collection of selected articles on tagmemics has been edited by Brend (1972, 1974). Formal extensions to the theory have been mainly by Longacre (1964, 1970, as well as 1972 on New Guinea languages); Pike's revised version of his theory was printed in 1967. The basic presuppositions which underlie much of the tagmemic framework are concisely put forth in Longacre 1976:chapter 8.

2. My principal language assistant for many years has been Mr Yapua Kirapeasi from Usa in the West Kewa dialect. I am indebted to Kira for insight and assistance on this topic. Most of the examples of speech styles were related by him. Kewa is a language spoken in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea and is divided into three main dialects (Franklin 1968). I have described aspects of the social organisation elsewhere (Franklin 1965). The orthography used follows that proposed for West Kewa (Franklin 1971).

3. Women's speech in Kewa is simply using expressions similar to our English words for 'mercy', 'oh dear', 'for pity's sake', etc. which are clearly restricted to feminine usage. In East Kewa some of the expressions are *payero*, *apogupa*, *pale kera*, *mukubinyu*, *walapikebo*, *sugipima*, and *kebo yariya*. However, women's talk (= '*talk belonging to women*', or *onana agaa*) is not usually included as a speech category by Kewas. This is because grammatically the pattern is not the same as other types: the possessive marker *-na* indicates that it is talk which belongs to women, just as many other speech categories could 'belong' to a woman. Whistled speech is common in the Highlands, particularly among

the Gadsup of the Eastern Family, which is very tonal. If Kewas whistle they may be attempting to communicate with the ghosts.

4. I have described the salient features of the so-called pandanus language elsewhere (Franklin 1972).

5. Magic which uses spells of this type is commented on by R. Feachem (1973) for the Enga, a group related with the Kewa. Feachem includes some comparisons with other surrounding languages.

6. Stross claims that English, on the other hand, has fewer than 10, simply because English does not form speech categories in a grammatically similar manner. More to the point is Stross' English translations of the Tzeltal categories: I counted over 90 terms, ranging from 'alibi' to 'yelling', but including 35 descriptive phrases meaning 'a kind of speech which is ____', where the blank may be filled by 'alien', 'crazy', 'invented', 'pleasant', 'soft', 'Spanish', and so on.

7. Lang (1975) for example, lists 304 uses of *lenge utter* as a predicator in Enga, a language related to Kewa. These include five semantic domains plus a miscellaneous category.

8. Most Kewa parabolic songs are sung at large inter-clan dances (Franklin 1970). Argot speech (Franklin 1975) is spoken at men's cult activities.

9. Information in this section has been provided by colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I gratefully acknowledge the following: D. Lithgow (Muyuw), R. Johnston (Nakanai), D. Drew and A. Payne (Kamano-Kafe), R. and J. Head (Gawigl), G. MacDonald (Dadibi), J. and C. Farr (Korafe), E. Murane (Daga), J. Austing (Ömie), D. Wilson (Suena), H. Wearne and P. Wilson (Ambulas), R. Lloyd (Baruya), and J. Henderson (Rossel).

5.1.1. THE KEWA LANGUAGE IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

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5.1.2. TA-POMAN: METAPHORICAL USE OF WORDS AND POETIC VOCABULARY IN ASMAT SONGS

C.L. Voorhoeve

5.1.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The Asmat people, numbering about 40,000, live in the lowlands of South-West New Guinea to the north and south of the Eilanden (Sirac) River.¹ In the pre-contact days they were engaged in intensive warfare and head-hunting, which was connected with an elaborate cycle of feasts. The centres of the ceremonial life in an Asmat community were the large ceremonial houses or *yew*, which were at the same time dormitories for boys and bachelors, training school, club house, and feast house.² There the Asmat sang also their astonishingly rich repertoire of traditional songs mostly as an integral part of their feasts, but sometimes just to entertain distinguished visitors. These songs could be sung for hours on end, from dawn till sunset, or all night long. Nowadays, warfare and head-hunting have stopped; most of the ceremonial houses have disappeared; the cycle of feasts has collapsed, and with it the exuberant expression of much that was meaningful in the life of the Asmat. But the songs are still alive; they are still sung, if not in the *yew*, then in the village council room, or far away in the bush. They present to the researcher a promising but very difficult field because their study can only be fruitful if based on an excellent command of the language, and a thorough knowledge of their mythical background. It is for these reasons that the field of Asmat songs is still virtually unexplored.³ Thus, during my fieldwork in the Flamingo Bay area in 1961 and 1962 I did not attempt to make a systematic study of songs, although as a sideline I collected data on them whenever the opportunity arose. These data form the basis of this chapter. Sketchy as they are, I found

them sufficiently interesting to present them here, hoping that they may be of some use to a future student of this fascinating subject.

The style of singing is very much the same in the whole Asmat area, and much in the following description may apply to Asmat songs in general. My data, however, are all from the Flamingo Bay area, and most of them were recorded in the villages of Suru and Yepem. They represent the songs as sung in the villages between the mouths of the Sirac and Unir Rivers.

I have arranged the data in three sections. The first gives a short, general account of songs; viz. the kinds of song that can be distinguished, their structure, and their cultural setting. The second section pays attention to the special vocabulary of songs which is called *ta-poman*⁴: this includes metaphorically used words as well as special 'poetic' vocabulary. The last section contains annotated examples of songs in which the phenomenon of *ta-poman* can be observed, as well as one fragment of a song with notation of the melody.

5.1.2.2. SONGS: PURUMUC AND SO

Asmat songs fall into two broad categories, *purumuc* and *so*. They differ, in that *purumuc* is sung without, and *so* with the accompaniment of drums. They also differ in their subject matter, but the principles underlying the composition of the text and the melody seem to be the same in both types, and therefore I shall address myself to these first.

The text of songs is built up out of clearly identifiable parts of varying length which I provisionally shall call verses. Verses are separated by shorter or longer pauses, or even by a complete interruption of the song, for instance when the drums need tuning.⁵ In songs which are sung to the accompaniment of drums the end of a verse is often marked by a speeding-up of the rhythm of the drum-beat followed by an abrupt stop and yell. Successive verses often contain a refrain; this can be the first or the last part of a verse. They can even be identical except for one or a few 'key words' which vary with every verse. The changing of such key words is an important stylistic feature of Asmat songs; it is in their substitution that the use of *ta-poman* can be observed most clearly.

The melodies of the songs all have a fairly narrow pitch range: this range never seems to exceed a fifth. In several of the songs I recorded, the range spans only a third. The melodic pattern consists of what I would like to call melodic contours. The onset of a melodic contour is usually somewhere in the middle of its pitch range. From there the melody unfolds with upsteps and downsteps spanning a minor or major

second and intermittent level stretches, but it does not reach the lowest pitch in the range till the end of the contour, where the pitch falls to its lowest level.⁶ The final fall of the pitch can be in steps, and can then extend over two or three syllables of the last word carrying the contour, or it can be gradual and is then carried by the final vowel of the last word, which is lengthened and can be well drawn out.⁷

These recurring, long-drawn-out falling pitches lend Asmat songs a sad, wailing character. The Asmat people themselves recognise this in one of the two main categories of their songs, the *purumuc*, to which I shall now turn.

A *purumuc* is a dirge or sung lament which, in contrast to the *so*, is always sung without the accompaniment of drums.⁸ It expresses the bereavement caused by the death or the departure of a beloved person, and in accordance with its nature is 'wailed', not 'sung'. The Asmat always use the verb root *moc-* to *cry, wail* in connection with *purumuc*. These songs have a strong emotional appeal, and are often very popular. There are traditional *purumuc*, connected with myths or historical tales, and modern *purumuc*, called *awan*, which are composed as the occasion arises.⁹

The *so* are songs which are sung to the accompaniment of drums on which the rhythm of the music is beaten. Whereas a *purumuc* is always sung at a rather slow tempo, the tempo of a *so*, expressed in drum-beats per minute, can be as slow as 60 and as high as 240. The drums are played by the singers themselves.

The content of the majority of these songs is mythological and some of them are in fact sung versions of myths. At least a few of these are sacred and women and children are not allowed to be present when they are sung. All these *so* have their appropriate place in the feasts of the great feast cycle.¹⁰ They are performed at the central fire-place of the ceremonial house, often by a group of singers. Each of these in his turn sings the leading part, while the others hum the melody. The group usually consists of a few accomplished singers, and a couple of 'coming young men' still in the process of learning the repertoire.¹¹

So which are not mythological in content are the *tesen so outside songs*. These are performed in front of the ceremonial house when people are about to leave the village for a long journey, or when kinsmen have come back from a long stay in other parts of the country. The *tesen so* deal with topical subjects and are improvised on the spot.

5.1.2.3. TA-POMAN: METAPHORICAL USE OF WORDS AND POETIC VOCABULARY

The Asmat people distinguish in their songs two different kinds of words which they call *arcer* and *ta-poman*.¹² An *arcer* is a word from the everyday speech in its literal meaning. The definition of a *ta-poman* can best be given in relation to a specified *arcer*: given an *arcer* X, then a *ta-poman* of X is either an *arcer* Y used metaphorically to denote the same thing as X, or a special poetical word, with the same meaning as X. To give an example: the *arcer* word *ese* *carrying bag*, has the word *cem* *house*, metaphorically used in the sense of '*bag*' as *ta-poman*; the *arcer* word *mu* *water* has as its *ta-poman* counterpart the word *okom* *water*, which is a poetic word.¹³

What gives the distinction of *arcer* and *ta-poman* its importance is that their alternation is an essential feature of the composition of Asmat songs. As a rule one can say that any song will contain one or more *arcer*, which subsequently are replaced by *ta-poman*, either in different or in similar contexts.

Thus, the first two lines of the *tesen* so in example 2 in 5.1.2.4. are completely different, but the first word of the second line is the *ta-poman* of the first word in the first line. The song in example 3, on the other hand, consists of a number of repeated frames in which only a few key-words change; the first frame contains the *arcer*, the others the *ta-poman*. The use of a *ta-poman* word is not always dependent on the prior use of its *arcer*; *ta-poman* can occur by themselves and this seems especially to be the case with poetical *ta-poman*. Thus, the poetical words *newàyipi* *alas* and *yiwitu* *many* are used in songs to the exclusion of their *arcer* partners, *sawnak* and *kow*. It is possible that this feature constitutes a basic difference between metaphorically used words and poetical vocabulary, but my data are too restricted to be clear on this point.

I shall now pay some more attention, first to the metaphorical *ta-poman*, and then to the poetical *ta-poman*.

Metaphorical *ta-poman* seem to fall into two groups: those which are considered as belonging to the same *ofew* (kin-group) as their *arcer*, and those who have no *ofew* relation with their *arcer*. *Ofew* is a kinship term denoting the group of one's brothers, first cousins, and second cousins (Eyde 1967:181-2), and in Asmat folk taxonomy the term refers to a group of (animate) objects which are considered to be each other's kin. I add the qualifier 'animate' between brackets because I am not certain that *ofew*, as used here, only includes animate objects: none of the *ofew* groups in my data contains a clearly inanimate object, but my information may be inadequate in this respect. All objects belonging

to the same group of ofew are treated as equivalent, and their names can be substituted for each other in songs. The relationships within the ofew group are also expressed in kinship terms: here, one uses the terms 'older brother' and 'younger brother'. I was told that the oldest brother in the ofew group is mentioned first (i.e., is always *arcer*), and then the younger brothers. It is not clear though which principles underlie the ranking in older and younger brothers - one of the factors seems to be the relative size of the members of the ofew group¹⁴ - and whether there is a strict ranking order. The most common principle determining membership of an ofew group is physical similarity. This can be observed in the following sets (the label *arcer* is abbreviated to A; *ta-poman* to Tp):

1. *yuwur ar ofew: the dog's kin-group*

A. <i>yuwur</i>	<i>dog</i>
Tp. <i>sun</i>	<i>wallaby</i>
Tp. <i>foc</i>	<i>cuscus</i>
Tp. <i>nayir</i>	<i>kind of marsupial</i>
Tp. <i>yiwir</i>	<i>flying squirrel</i>
Tp. <i>mupir</i>	<i>water rat</i>
Tp. <i>poco</i>	<i>rat</i>
Tp. <i>pirow</i>	<i>big kind of mouse</i>
Tp. <i>per</i>	<i>mouse</i>

The common characteristic of the dog and his 'younger brothers' is that they are all furry animals. Pigs, however, are not included in this group. They occupy a special position in Asmat folk taxonomy and are classified as 'human beings'.

In this group, *yuwur* is *arcer*, and all the others can be substituted for *yuwur* as its *ta-poman*. At present this is all that can be said about this ofew group; there are two points which remain unclear. The first, applying to this group in particular, is that the ranking order of the 'younger brothers' is not known (their present ordering is roughly from large to small); the second, and general, point is that it is not clear whether every member of an ofew group except the last one can function as *arcer vis-à-vis* his 'younger brother(s)', or the first only.

2. *cow ar ofew: the kin-group of the sago palm*

A. <i>cow</i>	<i>sago palm</i> (generic term)
Tp. <i>yuwrew</i>	<i>fruit-bearing sago palm</i>
Tp. <i>mic</i>	<i>sago palm, about to flower</i>

Tp. copon	}	<i>consecutive stages in the growth of the sago palm</i>
Tp. waser		
Tp. copu		
Tp. mikin		
Tp. oma		<i>young sago sprout</i>

Ranking order: from top to bottom.

3. manim ar ofew: *the kin-group of the pandanus tree*

A. manim	<i>pandanus tree</i>
Tp. eptam	<i>young pandanus tree</i>
Tp. amuw	<i>kind of tall reeds (Hanguana Malayana)</i>
Tp. yua	<i>tall grass, kunai grass</i>
Tp. tuwus	<i>kind of plant</i>

All the members of this group have long, narrow leaves.

Ranking order: probably as presented here.

4. yow ar ofew: *the sun's kin-group*

The members of this group are classified as animate objects since they are depicted as living beings in Asmat myths.

A. yow	<i>the sun</i>
Tp. yesir	<i>the morning star</i>
Tp. pir(simit)	<i>the moon</i>

Ranking order: probably as presented here.

A principle of common function ties the following group together:

5. ci ar ofew: *the kin-group of the ci tree*

A. ci	}	<i>different species of trees, used for making canoes (ci)</i>
Tp. yuwur		
Tp. yewer		
Tp. cuman		
Tp. ewet		
Tp. tow		
Tp. kusi		

Ranking order: unknown.

A principle of 'similarity of output' seems to determine the ofew group of the penis, cāmen:

6. cāmen ar ofew

A. cāmen

Tp. yit	} <i>fish species</i>
Tp. peyit	
Tp. us	
Tp. pokono	
Tp. surum	
Tp. kusi	

Ranking order: unknown.

The slimy substance excreted by the skin of fish is equated with the genital excretion of men and women. Thus sperm, *ca*, has as its *ta-poman* *enam fish* (generic term). Having intercourse is metaphorically referred to as 'fishing' - especially the catching of fish trapped in the pools left in dry river-beds when the tide is low. A practical application of the idea that fish slime is identical with the genital excretion of people is the following: when a new canoe is taken out to sea on its maiden trip, its inside is made slippery with the slime of fish-skins. The inside of a canoe is equated with a vagina (whereas the whole of the canoe is equated with the ringed water-snake, or a penis)¹⁵ and the procedure is called *enet manam the feeding of enet (vaginal secretion)*. And nowadays, since fishing with imported nylon fishing line has become popular, one finds that the pieces of wood used for a reel are invariably cut into the shape of a penis.

Apart from the physical similarity of *ca*, *enèt*, and fish slime, there is the notion of fertility connected with the human genitals and especially with fish. Thus, if a man has numerous children and grandchildren, Asmat people say of him that he has *enam akan fish offspring*. Both the 'feeding of *enèt*' and the cutting of penis-shaped reels may therefore have as their aim to ensure a good catch.

Now we have come to those *arcer/ta-poman* sets which do not seem to be of few groups. Partially they are based on the same associative principles as the few groups, partially they illustrate other principles of association¹⁶ some of which are not immediately evident to those who are not participants in Asmat culture. The principle of physical similarity is illustrated by sets like:

7. A. *tapin* *sleeping-mat made of pandanus leaves*
 Tp. *pipi* *rain-cape, made of pandanus leaves*
8. A. *po* *paddle, made of iron wood (which becomes black when exposed to water)*
 Tp. *pari* *blackpalm*
9. A. *as* *faeces*
 Tp. *peke* *lump of clay*
 Tp. *minuk* *hard lump of clay*
 Tp. *pow* *soft mud*

10. A. apan *many-pronged arrow*
 Tp. cecerei *opening flower*

Similarity of function is found in:

11. A. ese *plaited carrying bag*
 Tp. cem *house*

and perhaps also in the set:

12. A. jiwi *children*
 Tp. mimi *small roots, as of bamboo, or palm trees*

The fact that both words refer to something small does not seem to contain the essence of the relation. It is possible that children are thought of as tying the mother to her home like 'so many roots'. At least, during the marriage ceremony the bride is addressed by the wedding guests with a well-wishing formula which contains the following sentence: 'May you be firmly rooted in your new home, like a bamboo shoot (is firmly rooted) with its many roots' - which also could be a way of wishing her many children.

Synecdoche, i.e., the ta-poman denotes part of the object denoted by the arcer, is found in:

13. A. manim *pandanus tree*
 Tp. mow *fibres obtained from the prop-roots of the pandanus tree*
14. A. cen *vagina*
 Tp. men *sharp edge*
 Tp. pim *edge, rim*

A cause-and-effect relation is shown in the set:

15. A. ser *fish species*
 Tp. makpin *ripples on the surface of the water, caused by the dorsal fin of the ser, who often swims just below the surface*

The associative link between arcer and its ta-poman can sometimes only be understood via the mythology. Thus, in the following set:

16. A. cowuc *woman*
 Tp. ese *carrying bag*

the two terms are associated because the first woman on earth was created from a carrying bag, and since ese in its turn has the ta-poman, cem, cowuc and cem are also associated. This metaphorical use of the word cem is not restricted to songs: in the past one sometimes referred to the female partner in the wife exchange (the institution of papis, see Zegwaard 1954, Eyde 1967) as the papis-cem, i.e., papis-cowuc.

Finally, there are a number of ta-poman which are non-metaphorical, and are used only in songs. They are 'poetic' equivalents of ordinary words, and constitute a separate vocabulary. As I said before, these words do not necessarily presuppose the presence of their arcer earlier in the song, and some of them seem even to be used to the exclusion of their arcer. The following arcer/ta-poman sets show some of them:

- | | |
|--------------|------------------|
| 17. A. pi | <i>cassowary</i> |
| Tp. sapi | <i>cassowary</i> |
| 18. A. ew | <i>crocodile</i> |
| Tp. osama | <i>crocodile</i> |
| 19. A. pir | <i>moon</i> |
| Tp. manam | <i>moon</i> |
| 20. A. nucur | <i>big, huge</i> |
| Tp. yiswitu | <i>big, huge</i> |
| 21. A. cen | <i>vagina</i> |
| Tp. uri | <i>vagina</i> |

The problem which confronts us here is the question of the origin of these words. Have they been specially coined, are they archaic words or have they been borrowed from other dialects or other languages? At present these questions can only be partially answered, because the origin of most of the poetic ta-poman is obscure. There are however a few of them which possibly have been borrowed from other languages, and they are interesting enough to present them here. They appear in the sets:

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| 22. A. capin-mi | <i>earth, ground</i> |
| Tp. suwar-mi | <i>earth, ground</i> |
- suwar may have been borrowed from Sawuy¹⁷ (Sawuy sebar *ground*)

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 23. A. cowuc | <i>woman</i> |
| Tp. yuwar | <i>woman</i> |
- yuwar possibly borrowed from Sawuy (Sawuy iwar *woman*)

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------|
| 24. A. yuwur | <i>dog</i> |
| Tp. kokopuc ¹⁸ | <i>dog</i> |
- kokopuc seems to be an old compound kok-opuc, the first constituent of which is obscure; the second is possibly borrowed from Kaugat¹⁹ (Kaugat upoc *dog*)

- | | |
|-----------|--------------|
| 25. A. mu | <i>water</i> |
| Tp. okom | <i>water</i> |
- okom is clearly borrowed from Kaugat, which has oxom *water*²⁰

26. A. amas sago

Tp. mama sago

mama is probably borrowed from Kaugat (Kaugat ma'am sago)

All these ta-poman are probable borrowings from languages located in the hinterland of the Casuarina Coast: Sawuy and Kaugat are both neighbours of the Casuarina Coast dialect of Asmat. From this inland area strong cultural influences seem to have spread via the Casuarina Coast to the central Asmat region. This is reflected in several important myths in which the protagonist comes from the headwaters of the Fayit River, one of the rivers of the Casuarina Coast area.²¹ The question of why cultural influences spread from the Casuarina Coast hinterland into Asmat cannot be answered at present.

The examples given in this section show that the set of ta-poman of an arcer can include metaphorical as well as poetic equivalents. Among the metaphorical equivalents we find many which are classified as ofew, and others which are not so classified. Thus we are dealing with two, or possibly three, interlocking systems whose interrelations are as yet far from clear.

5.1.2.4. EXAMPLES

1. The first example is a purumuc. This song forms part of the story of Fasak, which I recorded in Suru village in 1961. The background of the song is as follows: the mythical hero Fasak has come to the village of Esin where his sister Usin and brother-in-law Ker live. There he has had intercourse with Ker's sisters, who are his rightful wives according to the ideal marriage pattern of sister exchange. After he has left the girls sing this lament:²²

Fasak, oro yemecese mewerocamen²³ akate²⁴
 'Fasak your young beautiful penis good

narpa na ayimaramε yiε::
 us only emphasis marker you possessed, ay!

Esinε cepese yiwitu
 Esin women many

naram am ayawε:
 we too if

naram am ayawε: ememaya:
 we too if it would have happened

timucasaya::
 cry all the time till the sun sets'

Free Translation:

'Oh Fasak, your beautiful young penis! It's only us you have possessed. Many women of Esin will cry till the sun goes down: "If only we had been there, it would have happened to us, too".'

The lament is then repeated with ta-poman instead of arcer as key words. The changes are: emeye (poetic?) for yemecese; yit (*fish species*; metaphorical) for cemen; oko (poetic?) for na; yuwari (poetic) for cepes; Ekom (yew name; metaphorical)²⁵ for Esin;

Fasaka, oro emeye yit akate
 narpa oko ayimaramε: yie::
 Ekome yuwari: yiwitu:
 naram am ayawε:
 naram am ayawε:
 ememaya timucasaya::

In both verses we find the poetic word yiwitu *many*, without its arcer.

2. The second example is a tesen so. The text of this song is not always clear, but I obtained a general translation of it. The song is about a young man who leaves the village to go to the Mimika coast in the west in order to work for the Europeans. This is a loosely structured song with only a few ta-poman words. I recorded it in Yepem village in 1962.

Yewer amis si eme si emare:
 'Yewer top still it-is still it-is

Minar eke fufu yano:
 'Minar fruit crunch-crunch sound'

'The top of the yewer tree is still; (only) the sound of minar fruit being eaten (by pigs) can be heard'.

minar (kind of tree) is ta-poman of yewar.

opa mewora maci maca tipario::
 'above red parrot crying flies westward

ope sekora maci maca tipario::
 above parrot crying flies westward

cow eke maci maca tipario::
 sago fruit crying for flies westward'

'Up above, a red parrot flies shrieking westward. Up above, a parrot flies shrieking westward. Crying for sago fruit it flies westward'.

The sekor is a kind of parrot, belonging to the ofew of the mewor. The young man who is about to leave is compared to a red parrot which flies away to the west (Mimika area) because it does not find enough to eat in its own land.

mewerocepese yiwitu
 'beautiful-women many

mane porinajira:
 hand beckon...'

'Many beautiful women beckon him to come...'

Here, as in the first example, we find *mewero- red-parrot like* in the sense of 'beautiful'.

mermer ewa yiwitu emeyanimareo:
'white men many he has gathered

yipica emeyanimareo:
man he has gathered

ci pim aniarlweme yira:
canoe edge they stand along'

'The white man has gathered many men around him; (our) man he has taken (too); they stand along the side of his boat'.

owosa orowoca maci ewenema:
'your mother your wife(?) cry since you left

wayima: ayiwamina::
lower lip droop

maniwi nuriwi maci ewenema:
your mother cry since you left

wayima: ayiwamina::
lower lip droop'

'Your mother has been crying since you left; her lower lip is drooping'.

maniwi nuriwi was said to be *ta-poman* of *owos* your mother. The meaning of *orowoca* is obscure.

3. The third example is again a *so*. This song was collected also by Drabbe, who included it in full in his Asmat grammar. I recorded only three verses of it, which I present below.²⁶ The song is about a red-parrot woman who has gone outside to defecate, and calls out to the rising sun to shine upon her, i.e., to have intercourse with her. The verses of this song consist of the same frame in which only a few key words change with every verse. These are the words for sun, red-parrot, faeces, woman's dress, and the name of the river where the sun is seen rising. They appear as *arcer* in the first verse and are substituted by their *ta-poman* in the following verses. The song was sung for me by Simni, chief of the *yew* Awor in Suru village.

Verse 1:

Ay yipio yow: awayisama ayiro::
'Ay mouth sun there he rises, here he is

áya na mewero-awocaia
hi! I red-parrot woman

as api enama imi apeàyi
faeces drop come thus sit-do usually

nar awar ipi ope yowa fa: foro:tama: paya: ayirá::
my dress strap above sun shines take off for open here it is'

Free Translation:

*'Here he is! at the mouth of the Ay river the sun is rising.
Hi! I am the red-parrot woman, I have come to defecate, as I always
do. For you, sun, who is shining above, I have opened my dress, here
I am!'*

In the second verse, Ay is replaced by Yici (river name), yow by yesir (*morning star*); mewero by isama (perhaps: yismak *fire*)²⁷; as by pow (*soft mud*), and awar by yinum (*young sago leaves*):

Verse 2:

Yici: yipi: yesia: awayisama ayiro
aya na isamaawoca:
pow ipi ename imi apeayi
nara yinim ipiyi upe yesi fa foro:tama: paya: ayio::

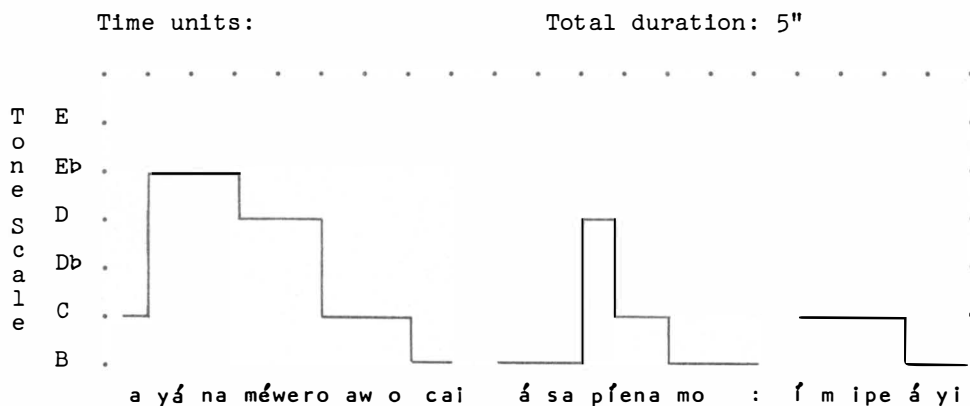
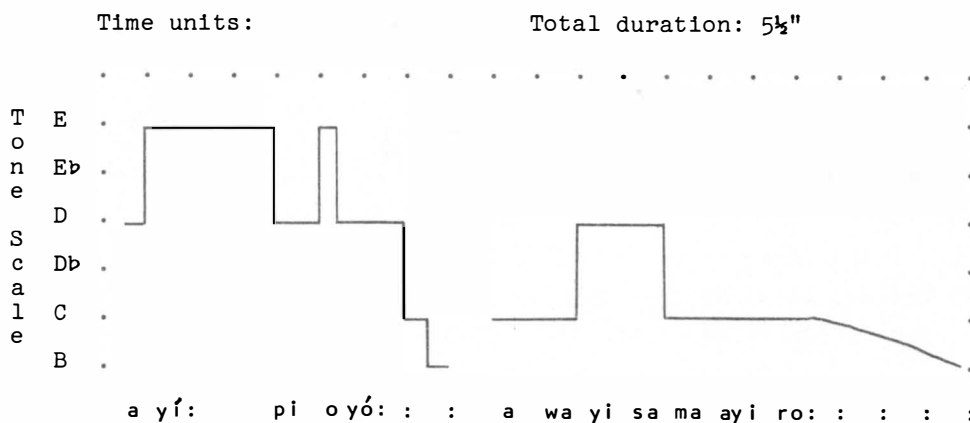
In the third verse, Yici is replaced by Powkaw (river name), yesir by piri (*moon*), isama by yewar (*kind of parrot*), pow by minuk (*hard lump of clay*), and yinum by semen (*rope, made of strands of young sago leaves*):

Verse 3:

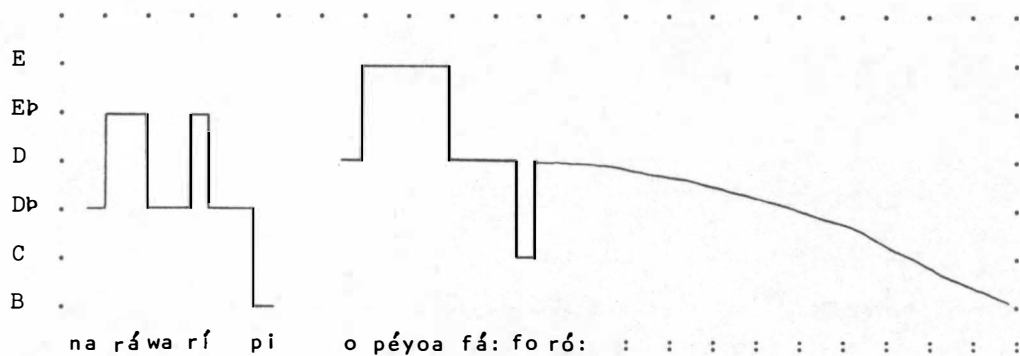
Powkaw ipi: piri awayisama ayiro:
aya na yewerawoca
minuk upi enama imi apeayi
nara: semen ipi: upi pira fa: foro:: tama:: paya ayo::

Notes: yipi = yep, the place where a tributary flows into the main-stream; ayiro = ayiraw, a term used when presenting something to someone, or pointing out something to someone, and translatable by *'here it is'* (parallel to French *voici!*); mewero- *red-parrot* or *beautiful* we found already in the previous examples. In this song mewero- definitely refers to the bird: the red parrot plays an important role in Asmat mythology, and the main culture hero is called Miwirpic or Meworpic, *'red-parrot man'*. Parrots, being fruit-eating birds, are equated with head-hunters (see also Gerbrands 1967:29,30); as api means *'to defecate'*; enama: the form is not clear, but the verb root involved is enaw *to come toward*; imi is a dialectal form of inim *thus*; apeayi is a habitual form of the verb ap-e *to sit while doing*; awar ipi = awer ep, the string with which a woman's pubic cover (awer) is fastened around the waist. The awer is made of young sago leaves; this explains the change from awer to yinum to semen; upe = op *above*; fa: = fai- a verb root meaning *'to shine'*; foro:tama: = fortam, a verb stem meaning *'to undress for (someone)'*; paya: = pai, a verb root meaning *'to be open'*.

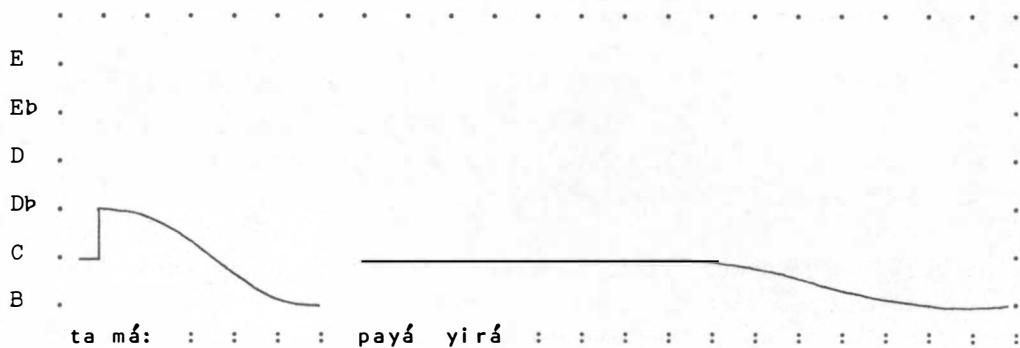
4. In this fourth example I shall give the first verse of the previous song (third example) with the notation of the melody. I have chosen to represent the melody by a continuous line, with breaks between the melodic contours. The range of the melody is one-fourth: B - middle C - D flat - D - E flat - E. Its tempo is slow. Pitch and length of the tones as indicated in the notation are, I hope, fair approximations.



Total duration: 6"



Total duration: 5½"



N O T E S

1. In (I)2.6.2.2.6.1.4. I have already given some general information on the Asmat language and discussed a few of its grammatical features.
2. A short but clear description of the yew and its function in Asmat society has been given by Gerbrands in his study of Asmat art (Gerbrands 1967:24-8; see also the photographs of a yew on pp.32,67, and of two singers performing a so on p.150).
3. The Dutch missionary P. Drabbe, who studied the Asmat language from 1957 to 1959, included in his grammar a note on the structure of songs and one example of a song. To date this was the only published information on the subject (Drabbe 1959:148-53).
4. The spelling of Asmat words is phonemic. As a rule-of-thumb, the letters used can be taken as having their conventional phonetic value, except that m and n stand for b and d word-initially, for mb and nd word-medially, and for m and n word-finally; c is a voiceless palatalised alveolar stop [č], and e is rounded [ö] before w. Words receive a primary stress on the last syllable.
5. The tuning of a drum is necessary before it can be played, and also at intervals during the drumming. By itself a drum-skin is always a little slack and produces a dull sound when beaten. To obtain a good, clear sound, its tension has to be increased by warming it over glowing embers or by rubbing it with the hand. The sound is further improved by sticking a few small knobs of beeswax on to the surface of the drum skin (see the description of the hourglass drums of the south coast in Kunst 1967:169, which is essentially right except for the information on the wax-knobs).

6. To my knowledge, Asmat music has not been described before. Nearest to it comes a short description by the Dutch musicologist, Jaap Kunst, of two songs recorded in 1926 in the Mimika area to the north-west of the Asmat region, where the related Kamoro language is spoken (see (I)2.6.2.2.6.1.2.). One of the songs is called *tau*, possibly a parallel of the Asmat *so*; the other is called *mbake*, the Kamoro equivalent of Asmat *moc to wail* and therefore likely to be related to the Asmat *purumuc* (Kunst 1967:120, melody 14, 15).

7. Words used in songs undergo the following phonological changes: consonant clusters are eliminated by the insertion of vowels; words ending in a consonant have a vowel added to them when the next word in the text begins with a consonant. Voiceless consonants become voiced and the stops *k* and *p* tend to become fricatives: *k* > *ɣ*, *p* > *β*.

8. Drums are the only musical instrument traditionally used by the Asmat; there were also bamboo signal horns (*fu*) but these were not used to accompany songs.

9. A popular traditional *purumuc* is the *Sisnam purumuc*, a lament for a beautiful woman, *Sisnam*, who died during a crucial period in the history of the people of the Flamingo Bay area. The story connected with this song can be found in Voorhoeve 1965:257-91. On the *awan*, my informants gave me the following information: the *awan* finds its inspiration in actual cases of wailing. For instance, a man can be so moved by the wailing of a woman for her dead child, that he uses these 'raw data' to compose an *awan*. He then will sing the new song in the ceremonial house (*yew*), and it is good custom that the woman whose wailing was the source of the *awan*, or her relatives, provide the singer with ample food as a sign of appreciation of his performance.

10. A list of the most important feasts in the central Asmat area in the order of occurrence is given by van der Schoot (Schoot 1969:77,78). They are: *mis* (ancestor-pole feast), *yipay* (spirit feast), *ci* (celebrating the making of new war canoes), *yew ay* (celebrations connected with the building of a new *yew*), *yemes* (celebrating the making of new shields), *pu* (celebrating the making of new ceremonial spears), *umu* ('friendship' feast), *was* (sago-grub feasts), *aite*s (initiation of young warriors), and *now* (head-hunting feast). Two others listed by him, the *an* (sago trough) and *firawu*, are parts of the *yew ay* feast.

11. Songs are owned by particular men. The details of the ownership of songs - the prerogatives and obligations connected with it - and the ways in which ownership is passed on to the new generation, are not known to me.

12. Asmat nouns do not vary for number; *arcer* and *ta-poman* will therefore have to be interpreted sometimes as expressing singular number, sometimes as expressing plural number, depending on the context.

13. Note the difference in viewpoint: instead of saying 'the word A is used metaphorically to refer to the word B', the Asmat start at the other end and say 'the word B has a (metaphorically used) equivalent A'. The choice of the terms is illuminating: *arcer* also denotes the main-stream of a river, and the most important chief among a number of headmen (in other words a *primus inter pares*). *Ta-poman* counterpart is a compound consisting of *ta(w) speaking, word*, and *poman opposite side*. Clearly the *arcer* is seen as the more important partner of the two.

14. It is interesting to note that bodily size can influence the classification of brothers as 'older' or 'younger'. A younger brother should not be markedly bigger and taller than his elder brother; if this happens to be the case, the younger brother will be referred to as the 'older brother' and the older brother will be called the 'younger brother'. This terminological switch had occurred in at least one case in the village of Yepem where I worked.

15. It is remarkable that the *ta-poman* of *cāmen* do not include snakes, since the mythical origin ascribed to the penis, is from a snake.

16. This is probably only a characteristic of my restricted corpus of data. An increased volume of data may very well show that the same associative principles apply to ofew groups as well as to other metaphorical *ta-poman*.

17. Sawuy is a language of the Awyu-Dumut Family; this family has been surveyed in (I)2.6.2.2.6.2.

18. The word *kokopuc* is also used to refer to pigs when people are out on a pig hunt. The use of *o (pig)* would cause the pigs to flee and escape. This is one of the few cases of word taboo I noted.

19. Kaugat is a language of the Kayagar Family; this family has been surveyed in (I)2.6.2.2.5.

20. Tamagario, another member of the Kayagar Family, but not a neighbour of Casuarina Coast Asmat, has the form okom. It is possible that Asmat borrowed the word from Kaugat before Kaugat *k > x.

21. One of the myths, the story of the mythical hero Ac, has been included in Drabbe's Asmat grammar. The others, viz. the stories of Sokorew, Tapinpirakam, Senpai, and Yiciwir, I hope to publish at a future date.

22. In the songs, long vowels will be marked by a colon, and very long-drawn-out vowels by a double colon.

23. mewerocāmen is a compound consisting of mewero (= mewor) *red parrot* and cāmen *penis*. Mewero- is found often in songs as first constituent of a compound, and is then synonymous with '*beautiful*'; see also examples 2 and 3.

24. The final ε in many words of this song is a marker of the affective speech of women. Affective speech of men is characterised by the adding of o as a final vowel. This is an overtly recognised difference between women's and men's speech in Asmat.

25. The term yew not only applies to the ceremonial house, but also to the kin-group owning the ceremonial house. Such yew groups are always divided into two halves one of which is said to be the base (cewi) and the other the top (cowore). The name of the base-half is usually used to refer to the group as a whole. In this example the yew Esin consists of the base-half Esin and the top-half Ekom.

26. Although Drabbe's translation of the song is correct, his analysis of it is incomplete, and several parts of the text which were obscure to him have incorrectly been described as meaningless syllables serving only to sustain the rhythm of the song.

27. The recording is not very clear at this point; what sounds like isama could be yismak, which is quite possibly a ta-poman of mewero, but more likely it is the name of a kind of parrot. Drabbe's version has in this place sekor, a parrot name.

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5.1.3. THE LANGUAGE OF MYTH: AN EASTERN HIGHLANDS PERSPECTIVE

Catherine H. Berndt

5.1.3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Myth and language are vitally interconnected, although not in the evolutionary way that Cassirer (1946) suggested. The nature of the interrelationship between them depends on how broadly or how narrowly each is defined and the range of content they are envisaged as covering. In this context, I do not propose to discuss current definitions of myth, since that would lead too far outside this particular situation. For the present purpose, I treat it as narrative or potential-narrative material which includes non-empirical content or implications, and which the people concerned regard as having relevance for themselves over and above any consideration of amusement or entertainment.

The region on which I am focussing is in the Eastern Highlands south of Kainantu. Because circumstances there have changed so tremendously since my (and my husband's) research there in 1951-53,¹ I use the past tense in referring to it. At that time the northern part of the region had only recently been brought under Australian government control and the southern part was still classified as restricted. No systematic linguistic work had been carried out there. The language map that emerged in the course of our research is not identical with the picture that has been delineated in subsequent linguistic explorations there (e.g. Wurm 1960:126-7 and further publications since). However, because the material I recorded is set within the earlier framework, I have retained that framework in this discussion. The language and place names I use are those that were given to me at the time. I acquired some speaking and hearing knowledge of Kamano (Kafe), and used this as an intermediary to learn Usurufa, through bilingual speakers of both. Later, I learned a little northern Fore. However, in 1951-53 the label Yate (Jate1) was used as a cover- or linking-name for regional speech

patterns centred in such areas as Kemi and Ke'yagana (or Keiagana). These last two are 'big name' places, that we have called 'districts'. Each 'district' included a number of 'small names', usually hamlet or village or garden sites.

The overall socio-cultural scene from the viewpoint of our 1951-53 fieldwork is outlined in a number of publications and manuscripts, and I shall not go over it here (see the list of references for R.M. and C.H. Berndt).

5.1.3.2. MYTH, SONG AND DRAMA

Traditional views of the world and the human and other beings who live in it, were expressed and transmitted through a number of more or less standardised media. In some of these, speech played a very minor part and could even be dispensed with entirely. Apart from sacred rites, there were ceremonies designed predominantly for entertainment and sociability, when members of two or more districts assembled for dancing (see C.H. Berndt 1959). Songs (Kamano *zagame(ra)*) were an essential ingredient in these ceremonies. Some were ascribed to mythical or non-human sources and their form and content were regarded as already set, not to be changed about by human singers. Other songs were 'composed' by contemporary people, including children.

Statements in prose, aside from ordinary conversations, were divisible into three broad categories. One, unnamed and very loosely structured, and transmitted informally in circumstances of everyday interaction, comprised reports of supernatural or mysterious happenings, involving human beings who were mostly unidentified.

The second dealt with the creation of human beings and their physical environment, garden fertility, and the introduction of sacred ritual. We call this 'creation mythology'. It centred on acts of creation and social-territorial-linguistic identification, strung together in partly narrative or potential-narrative sequences. Sections of it were told during, for example, initiation proceedings, but even the story-type narratives that helped to make up the total cluster were rarely told as stories. There was no special name for this category. The Kamano referred to it by an ordinary word (*agla*) meaning 'basis' or 'bottom', literally or figuratively: the base of a tree, for instance, or the origin of any practice or belief. The Kemi and Ke'yagana Yate equivalent was *aipa belly*. In spite of the rich symbolic and ritual associations of the creation mythology, the bits that were told in prose were always in the language of everyday speech.

So were the narratives in the third category. This covered some of the same content as the other two, but was locally distinguished from them on the grounds of form, function and, ideally, circumstances of telling - summed up under a separate name: Kamano kinihe(ra); Kemi and Ke'yagana Yate kaltane; Usurufa man!-; Agarabe kirihe-. We call these 'secondary myths', or a 'mythology within (deriving from) a mythology', because their origin was attributed to instructions laid down by the main characters in the creation mythology. Their actual telling constituted a rite designed to ensure garden fertility - a linkage that has been reported from other parts of New Guinea as well. They were told most appropriately in a collective setting at the beginning of the rainy season, following an oven-feast of edible greens - preferably kamora (Kamano). Normally, they were arranged as stories, a sequence of events leading to climax and resolution, in some cases with minor climaxes along the way. They were introduced with a conventional phrase, or simply the cry of 'Kin!hera!' (etc.). And they concluded with a formula that had two main facets: one or more of the characters in a story emphasised that what they had been doing in that story was not for human beings to imitate; and they ritually planted crotons, sometimes splashed with the warm blood of pigs killed for the purpose, to underline their words and 'close' the story. Optionally, a narrator could follow this with a brief maxim, noting the 'wrong' behaviour that the story revealed, but adding some positive injunction deriving from it. Finally, the listeners were expected to sing a short conventional song, stipulated in the creation mythology. Like some of the songs in the kinihera themselves, it was presented as a single unit, made up of sounds which had no individual or collective lexical meaning. The meaning lay in the action-sequence of which the songs were a part, and not in more specific associations.

Kinihera themes were used in another setting, as a basis for short dramatic performances on ceremonial occasions. These performances (Kamano kri:na) drew also on hearsay and other reports of incidents involving human beings, including material from the first category (above), and the exaggerated erotic exhibitions which have been noted too for several New Guinea areas. In the context of a ceremony, no negative implications were either stated or implied. They were, however, in the kri:na that were shown to novices in a men's-house setting in the course of initiation.

Most kri:na had some verbal accompaniments, but a few were completely silent. In this respect they shaded into the wordless tableaux that were also a feature of ceremonial scenes, and these in turn shaded into the ceremonial emblems which men carried either singly or in pairs or groups.

All of these verbal and dramatic and graphic forms were locally acknowledged as facets of a larger whole, which provided both source and means of expression for symbolic statements about the human, non-human and natural universe.

5.1.3.3. KINIHERA AND LANGUAGE-AFFILIATIONS

The creation mythology supplied positive statements, not open to question. Kinihera, on the other hand, were negatively framed as far as their overall structure was concerned, but the nature of interpretation indicated plainly that any or all of their main content was negotiable. This content ranged from creation-accounts through site-naming and language-allocating episodes to rather slight just-so stories. They included fantasy and magical episodes as well as mundane advice on social relations and on practical issues such as gardening and dry-season hunting. They were told by both men and women, as individual narrators with some audience response; but of course, some narrators were more skilful and more effective than others. Each story was told as a single, traditionally more or less fixed unit, handed on from one generation to another - a view spelt out explicitly in symbolic references to continuity of local human populations and the kinihera associated with them. Nevertheless, the kinihera are actually bundles or combinations of items, assembled in various ways to provide different stories. This is quite clear from analysis of the 536 kinihera (or kinihera-bundles) I recorded, mainly from women, and of the further kinihera that R.M. Berndt recorded from men.

In a larger study of this topic, I suggested (C.H. Berndt, n.d.:129-30) that:

The nearest analogy is perhaps the blocks of various shapes, sizes and colours that children use in sets to construct a certain range of buildings. If the first couple of blocks is labelled, for instance, 'A man sees smoke in the distance and goes to investigate', we know that the choice of blocks and therefore of the subsequent building is, within limits, fairly wide. The same is the case when a man, or a pregnant woman, goes alone to the bush in 'sun-time', the dry season. But some foundation blocks indicate roughly what kind of construction is likely to follow. Two examples are, 'An old man was hungry, he cut off his testes'; and 'Two brothers cleared out the rubbish from their house, and a new shoot came up in it'.

As the blocks are placed in position, so the general nature of the building becomes clear. Some blocks are most likely to be found together, and some buildings are usually constructed from the same or almost the same set of blocks; but there is no fixed design for any of them, and even when the building is nearly completed a choice still remains. In other words, the overall theme influences the range of available shapes, but within that range does not specify the exact kind of blocks to be used.

And, 'This limited flexibility is inherent in the construction of the *kinihera*'.

The *kinihera* that I recorded came mainly from the 'districts' ('big names') of Kogu, Moife, Agura, and Anonana (Usurufa), Grufe, Hinte-grufe and Numaga (Kamano); Kemi and Tatagufa and Weyu'epa in Ke'yagana; and Busarasa, Moke, Ora and Ifusa (northern Fore), with a few from Agarabe districts near Kainantu. Virtually all of them were told by people who belonged to (or, in some examples, had married into) the districts where these particular stories were mythically located. In a few cases, they were repeating stories that they had heard from others who had such connections. Conventionally, there was no bar on telling stories from other districts; but the tie between *kinihera* and garden fertility and the perpetuation of local traditions and local solidarity, was believed to be strongest and closest when a person on his/her home ground was telling a story directly associated with that place.

One of the most striking features of *kinihera* distribution throughout the region, in 1951-53, was the combination of stability and variation in their sequences. Differences and similarities in the *kinihera* I recorded did not coincide with language alignments. When I drew people's attention to what seemed to be similarities, and asked what they thought about this, the usual reply was that these particular stories had travelled along the same road or path. The same word was used when a person telling about a dream would begin, 'On (the) dream-road I saw...'. Overlapping in this sense was taken as a matter of course. When I drew their attention to what seemed to be differences, the usual reply was that each 'district' or place had its own *kinihera* and that these were, naturally, different. In either case, the comparison was apparently of not much concern to them. Beyond a certain point, internal variations in same-theme stories were said to identify them as 'different'; the district names associated with them were not enough in themselves to make them so. By 'beyond a certain point', I mean that there was some flexibility in regard to choice of vocabulary, ordering of minor sequences, and incorporation or omission of details. Themes, plot-sequences and characters were crucial ingredients in differentiating one story from another.

Variation between stories within one district, attached to its small-name sites, was matched by variation between districts throughout the region. Uniformity between stories within one district was matched by uniformity between districts, again throughout the region. This was obliquely acknowledged in local comments, such as this from a Fore-speaking woman at Busarasa, who complained that 'Those Usurufa women have told you all the stories!'.

Fundamental to such assessments is the basic cultural lexicon which is not compartmentalised in accordance with purely or predominantly linguistic divisions. The items of vocabulary common throughout the region included, for example, pigs; crotons; gardens; warfare, with its techniques and paraphernalia; the complex of religious ritual (and its equipment), including initiatory procedures for males and females; ovens, and the sharing of food (not necessarily eating together) as a visible sign of friendship. And so on.

Sharing and differentiation in these items of vocabulary is expanded and reinforced in situations ranging from everyday activity, with informal interchange and observation, and the movement of small trading parties (e.g. in search of areca nuts), to the coming together of groups of people from different districts and different language units - on ceremonial occasions, or in warfare; and in further interlinkages through marriage. And the circulation of songs and *kri:na* and ceremonial emblems (the 'language of objects'), and presumably of *kinihera*, provided a major means of communication, both of style and of content.

Songs of human composition alluded to personal experience without specifying content or context. Outside a very narrow time-and-space range, they were transient and anonymous. But they were designed for public transmission and outward movement; Usurufa-speaking people, for instance, never composed songs in their own language, but always in one of the 'larger' languages around them. *Kinihera* and creation mythology, however, were locally, territorially focussed, but their outside ramifications were to some extent overtly recognised.

I suspect that this kind of assessment could be extended over a much wider regional range. Anyone who has looked even cursorily at myth-and-tale material in Papua New Guinea can hardly fail to have noticed the similarities which appear (certainly, alongside marked differences) from one side of the continent to another. This is not merely a matter of distribution of 'Folkloristic Motifs', such as Lessa (1961) notes as occurring more widely in Oceania - 'Open Sesame', 'Magic Object Answers for Fugitive', 'Inexhaustible Object', and so on. The convergences have more substance than this, and relate to content as well.

5.1.3.4. THE LANGUAGE OF MYTH

On one hand, there is the question of the verbal language used in myths and songs - the personal and regional styles that these exemplify. On the other hand, there is the nature of the discourse which is the essence of myth as such: the symbolic, emotionally based, commitment-oriented approach, which is evident here in both creation mythology and

kinihera. Then again, there is the much wider regional spread of both cultural vocabulary and potential combinations and reflections of this in myth and myth-tale form.

If we refer to myth as a meta-language, this is not to deny the importance of verbal communication within particular, named language-alignments. Nor does it suggest, as Lévi-Strauss sometimes seems to do, that speech tends to conceal the most important messages. What it does mean is that over a spatial spread where at least some cultural similarities are acknowledged, where the cultural setting is reasonably familiar, the people concerned can be expected to 'speak the same language' in a general sense. And an intrinsic feature of that general, cultural 'language' is the language of myth.

This common 'language' has very wide currency indeed, over the whole of Papua New Guinea and into the outlying islands of Melanesia in the east, Indonesia on the west. Divergence in cultural (and/or linguistic) vocabulary is significant for certain purposes, but it takes place within a frame of potential mutual understanding. Myth, in some respects a closed system, is open-ended in others. Along with its non-verbal accompaniments and the related fields of ceremonial drama, art and song, it connotes, and charts the contours of, familiar or almost-familiar territory: an area of belief and behaviour in which people from otherwise divergent cultural and linguistic regions in Papua New Guinea can find a traditional basis for common action in the present.²

C.H. BERNDT

N O T E S

1. My field research there was financed by an Ohio State Fellowship from the International Federation of University Women.

2. I have omitted, for lack of space, detailed documentation of all these statements, including examples of stories from Arapesh, Kutubu, Marind-Anim, Elema and other areas which have very close parallels indeed in the Eastern Highlands area.

5.1.3. THE LANGUAGE OF MYTH: AN EASTERN HIGHLANDS PERSPECTIVE

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P A R T 5.2.

CULTURAL VOCABULARY

5.2.0. THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL VOCABULARY IN PAPUA

T.E. Dutton

5.2.1. INTRODUCTION

Linguistic work in Papua New Guinea has now reached the stage where it is possible to begin looking at some of the collected data to see what sorts of observations of interest can be made about the history of Man and his Culture in that part of the Pacific. Ideally such studies depend on large bodies of reliable data which are the end products of years of research into particular languages or groups of languages. In Papua New Guinea, however, we are a long way from this ideal with no more than perhaps a tenth of the languages well described. Nevertheless, we are fortunate in having a body of reasonably consistent data with which to begin. These data consist of numerous lists of basic vocabulary collected by linguists and others and used by them for language survey and classificatory work there.¹

These lists usually include a number of what are generally called 'cultural items', that is, items which refer to such socio-economically important items of material culture as the common foodstuffs, garden terms, animals, stimulants, weapons, ornaments, art forms, items of clothing, etc.² These items form a special subset within basic vocabulary lists because they are generally regarded as being 'probably borrowed' and therefore are to be treated especially carefully, if not excluded altogether, in using the basic vocabulary lists to calculate percentages of shared cognates between any two or more languages for purposes of suggesting the genetic relationships between them.³ Yet precisely because they are 'probably borrowed' these items are of particular interest as potentially important sources of historical information about contacts within and between languages and, eventually, about culture history.

Some of this kind of material has long been available as published lists in early government reports and has been used by Riesenfeld (1951) and others as support for their arguments about the history of introduction of tobacco into Papua New Guinea and surrounding areas.⁴ Over the past decade or so, however, many more lists have been added to this collection from areas previously unsurveyed, so in 1973 I began a systematic study of the form and distribution of the so-called 'cultural' items throughout languages of Papua New Guinea and elsewhere with a pilot study of a subset of them to see what sorts of conclusions could be drawn from the presently available data for languages of Papua. At that time I did not think it profitable in terms of time or effort to attempt to cover the whole of Papua New Guinea nor all the items for which material is available but chose instead to restrict the study arbitrarily to Papua, the area I am most familiar with and to a manageable subset of items which could reasonably be expected to provide interesting results. Those decisions meant of course that I had to acknowledge the possibility that some or all of the results may not be interpretable because complete patterns of distribution would not show up. It also meant that I would not be able to relate the results to other research going on in New Guinea (as distinct from Papua) which is directly concerned with culture history.⁵ However, I think it was justified as a pilot project, and, as it turned out, by the results that it did produce and the suggestions it has to offer for pursuing more detailed studies later.

In what follows I review the main details of that study now published as Dutton 1973, leaving it to the reader to look up the detailed lists of data and argumentation in that publication as interest determines. The linguistic background of that study reflects our knowledge of language distribution and classification extant in late 1973 - but the additions to that knowledge since that time do not significantly affect the nature of its findings.

5.2.2. BACKGROUND DETAILS OF THE 1973 STUDY

In my 1973 study, I concentrated on five foodstuffs - sweet potato, taro, yam, banana, sugarcane - and two associated agricultural terms - garden and fence. The first set represent the principal staples and/or supplementary food sources (depending on climate and excluding sago, terms for which have not been systematically elicited to date) throughout Papua.⁶ Of these sugarcane⁷ and bananas of the *Australimusa* group⁸ are thought to be indigenous to New Guinea, the others being introduced at various times - taro, yam and bananas prehistorically at a very early period from South-East Asia, and sweet potato very recently from Eastern

Indonesia where its appearance is thought to be associated with the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.⁹ Each of these foodstuffs comes in numerous horticultural and folk varieties¹⁰ and, depending on area, most, if not all, are today cultivated in enclosed gardens protected from domestic and wild animals by some sort of barricade or 'fence' of fallen logs, upright stakes, and/or plaited pitpit (*saccharum robustum*). Historically, however, the practice of gardening cannot yet be tied to any specific foodstuff. All that is known at present is that a technologically quite advanced system of gardening (compared with simple migratory shifting agriculture) was being practised in swamplands in the central highlands of New Guinea as far back as 2,300 B.C., but it is not known whether this system was associated with the introduction of new crops.¹¹ Consequently in examining the linguistic evidence one could not assume that names for garden and fence were introduced in the same way as those of the principal foodstuffs sweet potato, taro, yam and banana, nor could one assume that introduced names would be retained or have the same referent through time¹² - these are questions which can only be judged from the linguistic evidence itself.

This evidence consists of vernacular equivalents obtained in as many languages throughout Papua as possible. Except for a few cases the recorded forms were those obtained as part of basic vocabulary lists during brief contact with indigenous informants. Consequently each form could only be taken to represent the currently most common term for each cultural item as no attempt had generally been made to elicit names for different botanical or horticultural varieties (except for 'yam' where forms for the two common varieties *dioscorea alata* and *dioscorea esculenta* were often elicited) or to record folk taxa, or to search for related forms in the languages being recorded. Thus there was considerable variation in both the quality and coverage of the materials employed so that results were affected to some extent by 'holes' in the pattern of distribution of many of the apparent cognates throughout Papua.

The area itself is inhabited by peoples speaking basically two distinct language types - Austronesian and non-Austronesian (or Papuan) - hereafter symbolised as AN and NAN respectively. The AN-speaking peoples are now to be found scattered around the coast east of Cape Possession and on the islands of the Milne Bay Province, excluding Rossel Island in the far east, which is occupied by speakers of the NAN language, Yele. The Austronesian languages number about 50, including *lingue franche*.¹³

Non-Austronesian speakers occupy the remainder (including Rossel Island just noted) of Papua which ranges from low-lying swampy deltas

around the Gulf of Papua through savannah grasslands and foothills up to the very mountainous central cordillera of the island. These people speak 160 languages, most of which are interrelated at various levels.

Once the data were assembled for each item the vernacular equivalents were scanned and grouped into sets of apparent cognates according to a set of principles designed to over-differentiate rather than under-differentiate between members since it was thought better to err on the side of excluding probable cognates rather than including improbable ones.

The application of these principles provided sets of forms which were all very similar but which must necessarily serve as a starting point for this kind of investigation until such time as more is known about sound laws in related languages of Papua.¹⁴ Any vernacular forms which did not seem to belong to any of the established probable cognate sets were listed together at the end of each item as 'isolates'.

Having thus established apparent cognate sets and isolates for each item the sets were compared with reconstructions that have been established or proposed for some of the items for different parts of the Pacific by Capell (1943), Chowning (1963), Dempwolff (1934-38), Dyen and McFarland (1970), and Grace (1969).¹⁵

5.2.3. RESULTS OF THE 1973 STUDY

The results of the various comparisons mentioned above showed that there was a large number of words most commonly used throughout Papua to designate the foodstuffs and associated agricultural items under investigation which could be grouped into a limited number of apparent cognate sets of varying sizes. Some of these sets were found to contain cognates distributed over a wide geographical area, others were not. Those which did were referred to as MAJOR SETS and those that did not as MINOR SETS.

Nothing much could be said about minor sets and isolates. Being limited to closely related or neighbouring languages (in the case of minor sets) or to single languages (in the case of isolates) it was impossible to tell whether they represented local innovations or isolated cases of more widely distributed forms which for one reason or another were not included in the data used for this study. Some were obviously borrowings since they occurred across major linguistic boundaries (e.g. the Austronesian-non-Austronesian boundary) but these cases were of little interest compared with those of much wider distribution that occur in major sets. Consequently nothing further was said of them except as individual cases were relevant to the discussion of

major sets from time to time. The rest of the paper was therefore concerned primarily with major sets.

In considering those I attempted to determine, in the first instance, which sets represented borrowings and which retentions, and then, as the next step, to see what could be said about the history of each item. In doing that I was concerned initially solely with the linguistic facts as distinct from the physical items they represent. That is, I first sought to establish whether the cognate sets represented borrowings or retentions before attempting to relate these findings to the present-day distribution of their referents. This was necessary because even though we know from other evidence that sweet potato, taro, yam and banana are introduced foodstuffs in Papua we cannot argue from that that the present-day words must also be borrowings, since many factors (e.g. word taboo, contact with others) may have intervened to change them. However, once we have established whether the forms represent borrowings or not we can then proceed to relate their histories to those of the present-day foodstuffs.

In attempting to achieve those aims I found it convenient to distinguish between formal, distributional and semantic aspects of the sets, that is, between the phonetic and morphological structure of the given vernacular forms, their geographic range and associated meanings. Of necessity each of these was treated separately, and in that order, although all three are subtly interconnected (in that, for example, cognates vary formally and semantically over distance). However, some attempt to interrelate them was made in the final section of the paper where some historical reconstruction was attempted.

5.2.3.1. FORMAL ASPECTS OF MAJOR SETS

Formally major sets were considered from two points of view, phonetic and morphological. Phonetically it was found that because of the large number of languages involved compared with the small number of major sets with cognates scattered throughout the many languages it was not possible to establish sufficient sets of regular sound correspondences between languages to gain any reliable insight into historical processes. On the other hand, however, it was also found that within individual cognate sets the differences between cognates was usually not great, even though cognates may have been very widely separated geographically. Take, for example, the following sets of forms for 'taro' (Dutton 1973: 443):

Southern Highlands	Central Papua	Southern Papua	Northern Papua
mai	mafi	haʔu	ma
maa	wadu		ba
ma	vadu		baxa
	madu		
	elo maðu		
	maku		

and 'yam' (Dutton 1973:452)

Western Papua	Gulf of Papua	Central Papua	Southern Papua	Western Papua
buřk ^h u	<u>bapore</u>	<u>boluʔ</u> Λ	<u>bolai</u>	<u>amboro</u>
borometa	<u>mapore</u>	<u>boluk</u> Λ	<u>bolaʔ</u> l	<u>kamboro</u>
bolu	<u>maperi</u>	<u>boluka</u>		
		<u>hopoi</u>		

which are typical of the range of variation found.

Now if this means anything more than that the cognate sets are reflections of the method (for example, in that forms were not regarded as apparent cognates unless they were obviously very similar) it probably means that the forms represent loans rather than retentions, otherwise the different phonological histories of the many languages in Papua would surely have provided a much wider set of variations. However, even if one could accept this it would be something of a double-edged sword for the high degree of regularity in form does not enable one to say anything about whence the forms came or by what route.

In summary then, the phonetic features of the forms do not provide any conclusive evidence as to the status of the forms or their histories, although the general absence of progressive phonological differences between forms within sets over distance suggests borrowings, if it is not a reflection of the adopted method of choice of apparent cognates.

Morphologically it soon becomes apparent that many of the given vernacular forms are actually bimorphemic and at least one tri-morphemic (e.g. *ne ufurana garden* which is a combination of *ne*, *u-* and *-fura(na)* with cognates in many other sets). The following chart gives a listing of examples representative of the different cases found:

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
ba-buro	<i>garden</i>	ki-bani	<i>taro</i>
dzu-wore	<i>garden</i>	sa-gani	<i>taro</i>
ko-fura	<i>garden</i>	elo-siveli	<i>taro</i>
e-gelo	<i>garden</i>	elo-mađu	<i>taro</i>
so-papo	<i>garden</i>	ko-pare	<i>taro</i>
go-gola	<i>fence</i>	tau-?era	<i>yam</i>
xa-mbaro	<i>fence</i>	koroma-kuta	<i>yam</i>
va-bele	<i>fence</i>	sin-kau	<i>yam</i>
ku-rīta	<i>fence</i>		
a-kira	<i>sweet potato</i>		
kaire-kuta	<i>sweet potato</i>		
au-kava	<i>sweet potato</i>		
kaua-mose	<i>sweet potato</i>		
ini-veyu	<i>sweet potato</i>		
gob-e?u	<i>sweet potato</i>		

In this chart hyphens indicate both probable and certain morpheme boundaries even though in some cases (e.g. *kaire-kuta sweet potato*) the forms were recorded as free forms elsewhere.

The interesting thing about these is that only a limited number of morphemes seems to participate in this kind of compounding (the most common ones being variants of *ko*, *kero*, *buru*, *hina*, and *kuta*) and that, furthermore, none of these compounds involved either '*banana*' or '*sugarcane*'. In other words whereas the principal staples are often described in terms of each other '*banana*' and '*sugarcane*' never are, though as we shall see later '*banana*' does participate in semantic changes with other foodstuffs in certain areas, and names for sugarcane seem to have been loaned around even though the item itself is indigenous. The reasons for this dissimilarity across items must surely lie in the obvious differences between the physical, culinary, agricultural and other properties of the different crops. Thus banana and sugarcane do not resemble sweet potato, taro or yam in shape, taste, texture, etc., are not principal staples, and do not need to be protected or tended in the same way that these principal staples do. However, this does not mean that all meanings of present-day forms for sweet potato, taro, yam, garden and fence are transparent, for they are not. For example, while *baburo garden* can be seen to be a compound derived from the words *ba taro* and *buro garden* respectively in areas where it occurs it is difficult (from a semantic point of view) to see how something like *kaua mose sweet*

potato derives from a combination of *kaua*, which when unqualified, refers to 'yam' and *mose sweet potato*. Loaning and semantic shift are obviously involved although at this point it is difficult to see any pattern in the distribution of these but we shall return to this question again later.

5.2.3.2. DISTRIBUTIONAL ASPECTS OF MAJOR SETS

The central feature of this aspect of major sets was found to be that most cognates cluster in one of two broad areas: (i) Western; and (ii) Central and South-East Papua. The former includes all languages approximately west of the Kikori River in the Gulf of Papua, and the latter, languages approximately east of Port Moresby excluding Yele of Rossel Island but including the AN languages of area I just west of Port Moresby. Separating these areas and including Yele just mentioned are other areas in which cognates are only rarely found. These areas include languages around the Gulf of Papua and inland of it, which are genetically very isolated or only remotely related to other NAN languages of Papua.^{††}

Within these two broad areas of concentration the distribution of cognates per set falls into a number of recurrent patterns with coastal and inland components, the first four of which are in Western Papua and the remainder in Central and South-East Papua. These are:

- 1) A weak Torres Straits component extending south from the Papuan coast across the Torres Straits;
- 2) A strong Kiwai coast component connecting coastal areas between Irian Jaya and the heel of the Gulf of Papua;
- 3) A weak Fly River component linking the Upper Fly, the Strickland, and Lake Murray areas with the south-west coast;
- 4) A very strong Turama-Kikori Rivers component linking the inland areas around Mt Bosavi and the Southern Highlands with the Kiwai coastal component;
- 5) A very weak Hiri component connecting the Gulf of Papua with the central coast around Port Moresby;
- 6) A strong central and south coast component connecting the central and south coast with the Hiri component and the islands of the mainland;
- 7) Various Trans-Owen Stanley components linking the Hiri and central and south coast components with the north coast.

^{††}Recent research has shown this assumption to be incorrect - see below.

Now if these components are compared with those of traditional trading routes as outlined by McCarthy (1939) it will be found that the two correspond in all except one major respect, viz. that no Purari River component appears in the linguistic data corresponding to the trade route of the same name connecting the inland areas of the Gulf of Papua with the coast. Disregarding this exception for the time being, the reason for such a high correspondence in distributional patterns is either that the distribution of cognates has resulted from contact between languages along traditional trading routes, or that the distributions represent patterns of common retentions, which, for other reasons, just happen to be distributed in a way that coincides with trade routes. What evidence is there for choosing between these two?

Firstly there is the general fact that wherever cognates are found in neighbouring areas across genetically diverse languages borrowing is more probable than retention. However, even though this applies well to many of the patterns just listed it does not apply to all, for example, the Kolarian (KOI), Yareban (YAR), and Dagan (DAG) language families of South-East Papua which span the 'tail' of Papua. Hence the principle provides only weak support for borrowing versus retention in this case. However, further support is to be found in the distribution of PAN reflexes in Papua. If these are examined as a separate subset they will be found to be distributed in precisely the same way as cognates of other sets, and since we know that wherever PAN reflexes occur in NAN languages they must have been borrowed at some time from some AN source it can be safely claimed that the cultural events we are dealing with are borrowings (and therefore 'cultural' in the sense defined in the beginning of this paper) and not retentions. In recognition of this then, and for convenience, I shall henceforth refer to the areas of concentration of cognates and their internal patterned components described above as diffusion areas and diffusion routes respectively.

Before leaving this section, however, there are two further points which need to be considered.

The first has to do with the connection between the two diffusion areas, and the second with the Purari trade route mentioned earlier.

With respect to the first it is to be noted that many cognate sets have members appearing in both diffusion areas, the highest correspondence being between the Trans-Fly Stock languages (especially the Kiwai Family) and languages in central Papua (notably Binanderean languages and AN languages of area II - see Map 1). This connection is surprising in view of the fact that many of the cognate sets concerned

are PAN ones and that the two areas are separated by a large non-diffusion area around the Gulf of Papua. The reasons for this correspondence are probably complex but amongst them were thought to be the following:

(a) One is that the cognates were borrowed from Hiri (or Police) Motu, the common lingua franca of mainland Papua. If so this must have been very recent since this lingua franca has only spread to western Papua since 'Pax Australiana'. Moreover, it cannot be true for all items since there are cases like *kamara sweet potato*, *anega taro* and *wara fence* in western Papua which are not, and as far as is known have not been, part of Hiri Motu vocabulary.¹⁶

(b) Another explanation might be that these items were distributed via trading links around the Gulf of Papua but have now been lost from those languages.¹⁷ But why should this be so? Could it be that the selected items under consideration were not culturally important to the Gulf people who may merely have acted as intermediaries in distributing these items but who never retained any of the names for the items themselves? Unlikely, but perhaps if one considered pottery and say, sago, the principal items of trade in this area, the picture may be different.

(c) A third but very weak hypothesis is that the words came from different but related sources into both areas - those in the west from Indonesia via Irian Jaya and those in the east via AN languages.

(d) Perhaps there was closer direct contact between western Papuans and the AN's of the central coast by way of trading voyages across the Gulf of Papua, for example, which have never been recorded or are now lost to memory.

(e) Finally, could some of the AN's of Central and South-East Papua have come from Indonesia, as Capell (1943) has suggested, into Papua via the Torres Straits touching Western Papua before finally establishing themselves in approximately their present position. There is a lot that such a suggestion might explain¹⁸ although it does not explain the recent items like *kumara sweet potato*. However, without further evidence from Eastern Indonesia (particularly between the Moluccas and Timor), for example, it cannot be profitably pursued here. Perhaps some or all of these explanations are involved.

Neither could much be said about the other cognate sets which have members in the east and west diffusion areas. Some of the same explanations possibly apply, others (like number 1 in Appendix 2 for example) obviously do not. We shall return to the question of direction of diffusion in the next section where semantic aspects of major sets are considered.

Meanwhile there is still the second point noted earlier to be considered, viz. the non-diffusion areas and the absence of a Purari River component in the linguistic evidence in particular. Part of the reason for this situation undoubtedly has to do with the fact, also noted earlier, that the languages in this area are linguistic isolates of one sort or another^{††} and that the area is sparsely populated by semi-nomadic groups. Part may also be, for example, that the languages in this area show connections in other directions, which, because this study was limited to Papua, cannot be seen in the present data but which may appear if data from New Guinea (as distinct from Papua) were included. However, if this is not the case, and if the non-appearance of cognates is indeed not because of the failure to recognise them, then the correspondence between this non-appearance and the comparatively high degree of genetic isolation of these languages becomes more significant. Could it be that these languages represent relatively recent arrivals (probably from the Central Highlands to the north) into areas until then relatively unpopulated? But even so it is strange that there is virtually no evidence of a Purari River trading route component in the present data. Perhaps this is to be explained by the nature of the data used in this survey or by the nature of the terrain, which is notoriously different, although it is hard to see why this should interfere with the borrowing of linguistic items when it does not seem to have affected trading in non-linguistic ones.

In review then, it was felt that it could safely be said that the results of the investigation thus far indicated that there are two diffusion areas of foodstuffs in Papua - one in Western Papua and the other in Central and South-East Papua - within which the diffusion of items has been along major traditional trading routes, although it was impossible to say anything yet about the direction of movement along these.

5.2.3.3. SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF MAJOR SETS

One of the other most noticeable things about many major (and some minor) cognate sets is that they cross item boundaries, that is, related forms appear in different languages as labels for different items. Sometimes these related forms merely refer to different species of the same genera, e.g. maho (< *mao taro (MN-Chowning 1963)) in difficult parts of the Rigo area just east of Port Moresby may refer to either of two species of yam *dioscorea esculenta* or *dioscorea elata*,¹⁹ but

^{††} Recent research (see (I)2.7.5.-8. and (I)2.15.3.1.) has however shown that most of the languages of this area are, though remotely, related to other NAN languages, with one of them (Porome) still remaining an isolate.

generally they extend well beyond that. A sample listing of these sets is given in Appendix 2 to this paper.

Much of the information from which this sample is drawn can be summarised as a table of features of the following form which will serve to begin more detailed discussion of the characteristics of the semantic changes undergone by reflexes of established or proposed proto-forms throughout Papua. In this chart, as in Appendix 2, starred capitalised forms are used to represent tentative reconstructed proto-forms for those sets for which there are no previous established or proposed reconstructions.

SEMANTIC FEATURES OF COGNATE SETS THAT CROSS ITEM BOUNDARIES

Group Number	Proto-Form	Cognate Meanings							Notes
		<i>garden</i>	<i>fence</i>	<i>sweet potato</i>	<i>taro</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>banana</i>	<i>sugarcane</i>	
1.	*kumara	x		x		x			Reflex of PN <i>sweet potato</i>
2.	*kale			x	x	x			Reflex of MN <i>taro</i>
3.	*mao			x		x			Reflex of MN <i>taro</i>
4.	*kubi	x		x	x	x	x		Reflex of PAN <i>yam</i>
5.	*kani				x	x	x		Reflex of POC <i>food, to eat</i>
6.	*(T)ISIABURU	x	x	x	x	x			
7.	*KERO	x		x	x	x			
8.	*(M)BERE	x	x		x	x			
9.	*KAU	x		x	x	x			
10.	*KUTA		(x?)	x		x			
11.	*KARA	x	x						
12.	*(KI)BANI				x	x			
13.	*HINA			x		x			
14.	*ADARI			x	x				
15.	*WAIA			x		x			
16.	*KOKIA			x	x				
17.	*HAGO				x	x	x		
18.	*BA	x			x				
TOTAL:		10	5/6?	12	12	14	3	0	

To begin with it is clear from this chart that the items garden, fence, sweet potato, taro, and yam regularly occur together or in groups in a way that banana and sugarcane do not. In fact sugarcane stands out from all the rest in being totally independent - reflexes of proto-forms for it never appear as anything other than 'sugarcane'. Thus the generalisation to be made here seems to be that whereas the principal staples and associated agricultural terms fluctuate in an integrated way the words for the supplementary foodstuffs do not (in the case of sugarcane) or do so only marginally (in the case of banana).²⁰ The question then arises, what are the determinants, if any, of this fluctuation, and what can it tell us about the diffusion of these items across Papua? In seeking to answer these questions, of course, one needs to look at the semantic changes to see what kinds of hypotheses allow for the explanation of the changes, e.g.: Is there a consistent sequence of change from item to item and/or from language to language? How do these relate to the distribution of present-day staples? In the fuller version of this paper these items were treated in the following natural groupings: associated agricultural items (garden and fence); principal staples (taro, yam, sweet potato), and supplementary foodstuffs (banana, sugarcane).

5.2.3.3.1. Associated Agricultural Items: Garden and Fence

When these items were studied in groups in which they occur together or with other items it was found that there was little evidence regarding changes in meaning involving these two items. Although there is obviously a close association between gardens and fences and the crops they contain or protect there was no clear evidence to indicate whether semantic changes have occurred in the forms discussed, and if so, whether these have been from garden to fence, or vice versa, or from principal crop to each independently. In only two cases was it possible to suggest some sort of historical development. One of those was *KARA which is evidently a proto-form for 'fence', reflexes of which now refer to 'garden' in certain dialects of three AN languages in Central and South-East Papua. The other was BURU which represents a development from *(T)ISIABURU *sweet potato* discussed further below which split into two parts representable as (T)ISIA or BURU which were reapplied to 'taro' and 'yam' and eventually to 'garden' in some areas where there is no linguistic connection between this form and present-day (given) forms for 'taro' and 'yam'.

5.2.3.3.2. Principal Staples: Taro, Yam, Sweet Potato

When these were considered in the same way it was found that they grouped together in the following way:

Case	Items
A	taro, yam
B	taro, sweet potato
C	yam, sweet potato
D	taro, yam, sweet potato

Case A was considered separately from the others because it did not contain any forms for sweet potato which for historical reasons has an important bearing on the interpretation of the data in the other cases. However, there was nothing in the data of case A to indicate the historical precedence of taro over yam or vice versa, or to indicate why forms have changed meaning in different areas.

Cases B, C, and D were treated together but in two subdivisions - those forms which reflect Proto-AN ones and those which do not.

In the former subset it was found that out of the Proto-AN forms that are reflected in Papua two have undergone semantic changes which are unsystematic, i.e. are unrelated to the present-day distribution of principal food sources while two are systematic but opposing in terms of the direction of change, suggesting that different time periods are probably involved. At the same time it seems that, if the name of an item can be said to be introduced with the item, many items have probably been introduced to NAN languages in Papua via AN languages of South-East Papua.

In the remaining subset of items containing '*sweet potato*' it was found that there was a variety of evidence which was in general agreement despite variations in the quality of the data. For example, in the *(T)ISIABURU example given in Appendix 2 to this paper there is a complex of forms which appear to be related by virtue of the fact that the smaller forms (which for argument's sake will be represented as (T)ISIA and BURU) can be identified as parts of a larger form tentatively reconstructed as *(T)ISIABURU. Distributionally and semantically these forms have the following characteristics:

(1) reflexes of the full form *(T)ISIABURU occur as words for '*sweet potato*' in NAN languages of the 'Bird's Head' area of Irian Jaya and the southern highlands of North-West Papua, and as the word for '*garden*' in a Binanderean language of North-East Papua;

(ii) reflexes of the part (T)ISIA occur as '*taro*' in South-East Papua (BIN, DOG, KOI, II) (for the location of languages and groups denoted by these abbreviations see Map 1, and Appendix 1 for an explanation of the abbreviations themselves), and in North-West Papua in one isolated instance (ESF);

(iii) reflexes of the part BURU occur (a) as '*garden*' in Central and South-East Papua with sporadic occurrences also in Western Papua (KIW) and in the Gulf of Papua (ELE, TAT); (b) as '*fence*' in a restricted area of North-East Papua (BIN, VIII); (c) as '*yam*' in Central and South-East Papua but with some sporadic occurrences in Western Papua (ETF, TEB) and the Gulf (ELE, TAT); (d) as '*taro*' in two isolated cases in South-East Papua (II, V).

Such a distribution of forms and meanings may be explained by any one of a number of hypotheses. However, that which most easily and naturally explains this distribution in terms of the historical record as far as this is known is that which sees the smaller forms as different remnants of the larger one in different areas. That is, it claims that a form something like *(T)ISIABURU denoting one variety of sweet potato entered North-West Papua from Irian Jaya (and ultimately Indonesia, where it will be recalled (see 5.2.1. above) that the sweet potato is thought to have been introduced by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century), and spread into South-West Papua via the mountainous backbone where it split into (T)ISIA and BURU as names for '*taro*' and '*yam*' in areas where sweet potato has not become the principal staple. Furthermore, the split into (T)ISIA and BURU must have been subsequent to the spread of the full form since the full form occurs in one area of South-East Papua as the word for '*garden*'. If the change '*sweet potato*' → '*garden*' represents a subsequent development as was suggested by some evidence then reflexes of *(T)ISIABURU must have spread to at least the north coast of South-East Papua as '*sweet potato*' before being reapplied as the word '*garden*', and before splitting into the two elements (T)ISIA and BURU. Moreover, the passage of *(T)ISIABURU into Papua via Irian Jaya must have been south or north of the Central Highlands of New Guinea as no reflexes of this form have been recorded in that area despite the fact that sweet potato is the principal staple there.²¹ If south, then one has to ask how the forms got into South-East Papua across the non-culture area around the Gulf of Papua without trace. If north, then one can expect to find traces of it in languages of the Morobe Province along the Papuan border to the north when more data is taken into account.

Irrespective of these problems, however, a hypothesis of the form '*sweet potato*' → '*taro, yam*' (as one moves from north-west to south-east)

was generally found to satisfy the remaining examples in the subset, although there are exceptions which should be considered if the data were more complete. However, attempts to correlate each change with individual languages fails because no pattern emerges, that is, the same changes do not occur in the same place.

In summary then there appeared to be a variety of evidence in this subsection which suggested that the sweet potato spread into Papua, mainly but not exclusively, from the north-west via Irian Jaya, some having entered from AN areas probably from the east. Moreover, this spread must have been rapid and the impact great judging by the completeness of the spread in the several hundred years since the sweet potato is thought to have been introduced into Indonesia, as well as by the number of semantic changes that have occurred involving this item and others, including '*garden*' and '*fence*'. Not only that but the spread must have been accompanied by multiple independent developments since attempts to correlate changes with individual languages of language families or areas failed although there are individual cases of correlations between various semantic readings of forms and present-day distributions of principal staples, particularly yam and sweet potato. Yet the data raise many problems and leave many questions unanswered that should be investigated when more data become available.

5.2.3.3.3. Supplementary Foodstuffs: Banana and Sugarcane

As already noted these two items participate only marginally (in the case of banana) or not at all (in the case of sugarcane) in semantic changes across item boundaries. That is, the names of the supplementary foodstuffs tend to be stable except where they approach principal staple status. When this happens the name will be found to fluctuate with those of the principal staples with which they come into competition.²² For example, in the present data '*banana*' was found to alternate with '*yam*' and '*taro*' in each group of cognates in which it occurs with them (viz. PAN *kubi *yam*, PAN *kani *food, to eat*, and *HAGO) and in those areas of Papua where the banana is an important food-source, notably in Central and South-East Papua, south of the main range. It does not fluctuate with '*sweet potato*' because sweet potato has not yet become an important food-source in much of this area.

Sugarcane, on the other hand, nowhere approaches principal staple status and has no real competitor so that its name is never found alternating with that of principal staples (or any other foodstuff for that matter). It nevertheless shows the same diffusion pattern as the principal staples and is therefore cultural in the same sense. Thus

it appears to be the case that sugarcane has been traded about in much the same way as other items despite the fact that it is believed to be indigenous.

In summary then the evidence in this subsection seems to indicate that there is a general principle underlying the semantic changes that have been discussed throughout this section which may be briefly stated as follows: wherever a foodstuff comes into competition with another either as a principal or supplementary food-source its name will be found to fluctuate with the name for the competing item or items. Banana and sugarcane are good examples of this. Thus the names for both are generally stable - that is, they always refer to these items wherever they are found - except where banana comes into competition with taro and yam as principal food-sources in parts of Central and South-East Papua. Of course such a principle merely summarises the agreements noted between distributions of food-sources and the names used to identify them. It does not explain how, when, or where these changes occurred, though we do have a general idea of the sequences of events that have been involved in these changes. These may be briefly set out as follows:

(i) taro and yam, and in some areas, banana, were basic foodstuffs throughout Papua until the arrival of sweet potato; sugarcane never has been;

(ii) gardening has long been associated with the cultivation of yam and taro;

(iii) the sweet potato is a recent arrival from the north-west and has become the principal staple in many areas, but even in those areas where it has not it has provided many new names for gardens and fences;

(iv) all items have been traded throughout Papua (except for the area around and inland of the Gulf of Papua) in much the same way, though this diffusion has been anything but undirectional.

5.2.4. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have reviewed the results obtained by taking a set of vocabulary normally regarded as borrowed and have examined it systematically to see whether the suspicions held about it are justified, and then to see what other conclusions can be drawn from the collected data. In the process I have come to the conclusion that all except those individual forms or small sets of related ones which are restricted to single languages, or to members of language families or neighbouring languages (herein labelled isolates and minor cognate sets respectively), are borrowed and are therefore justifiably regarded as 'cultural' in the sense defined.

In general related names for these items were found to be concentrated in two main areas - Western, and Central and South-East Papua - separated by a large non-diffusion, or culturally isolated area around and inland of the Gulf of Papua. Within these areas the names were found to be distributed in a way that is consistent with most of the known regular traditional intertribal trading routes although there is little clear evidence of the direction of movement along or between these, except for isolated cases that are referred to further below. Indeed the evidence seems to point to borrowing and loaning being multi-directional and not restricted to any one route or period of time. The distribution also raised the question of why the languages around the Gulf of Papua and inland of it do not show more evidence of contact with either east or west since there is a noticeable connection between the two diffusion areas involving, particularly, coastal languages from around the south-east corner of Western Papua and many languages of Central Papua across this very same Gulf, and especially since we also know that at least some of the coastal languages from around the Gulf of Papua have been in regular contact with traders like the Motu from Central Papua for a long time. Various possible explanations for this situation were discussed but there seemed to be no support for any one hypothesis over another so that the question remains open for further investigation.

As far as the history of individual items themselves was concerned the data turned out to be very difficult to interpret, principally because much of it was too sketchy to gain any insight into the sound changes that have occurred between different areas, and, in consequence, into the historical connections between similar forms in different places. In other respects, however, the data revealed glimpses of regular processes at work which have produced many inter-connecting series of cognates. Thus, for example, it was noted that the names for the principal staples sweet potato, taro, and yam were very unstable (in the sense that the same form will be found to refer to different items in different areas) but that this instability (wherever it could be interpreted) seemed to be related to the recent introduction of sweet potato and the present-day distribution of these staples. Thus it seems to be the case that wherever sweet potato has become an important foodstuff it has generally resulted in the spread of new names for yam especially, but also taro, elsewhere, where these are still important foodstuffs, as noted in the *(T)ISIABURU example discussed at some length. Much the same was also noted for banana in Central and South-East Papua though in a much more limited way. Sugarcane, on the other hand, is very stable though still loaned and borrowed and is never associated with gardens and fences as the principal staples are, probably because it

was indigenous and did not require protection and special tending as the principal staples do. Thus the evidence seems to indicate that wherever a foodstuff has come into competition with another either as a principal or supplementary food-source its name will be found to fluctuate with the name for the competing item or items.

At the same time, the evidence seems to indicate that yam and taro on the one hand, and sugarcane on the other, have been important basic, though complementary foodstuffs in Papua for a long time (at least out of the items considered here). Gardening and fencing have also obviously been long associated with the cultivation of yam and taro (and later sweet potato) since the names for these foodstuffs have gradually become the names for their associated protective and fostering items. However, there is, as yet, no indication of which of yam or taro is primary in time, or indeed, if either is, nor whence they came, except that some were probably introduced from AN areas probably in the east.

More recently the sweet potato has entered the scene and replaced the staples yam and taro in many areas as principal staple with linguistic consequences already outlined. This entry seems to have been mainly, but not exclusively, from the north-east via Irian Jaya and the regular trading routes, although it is still not clear why few traces of this entry are found in vocabularies of languages of the Central Highlands of New Guinea where the sweet potato is the principal staple, or in languages of the non-diffusion area around the Gulf of Papua. Some also entered from AN areas probably in the east though this does not appear to be very important and the varieties represented by the cognate sets in this data do not appear to have established themselves very strongly, especially in Central Papua, where the banana is an important staple. However, irrespective of the uncertainties surrounding the details of the direction of spread, the spread itself must have been rapid and the impact great judging by the completeness of the spread in the several hundred years since the sweet potato is thought to have been introduced into Indonesia, as well as by the number of semantic changes that have occurred involving this item and others, including '*garden*' and '*fence*'.

Finally gardening and fencing were found to be closely associated with the cultivation of the principal foodstuffs sweet potato, taro and yam and the names of these are often given as the names for their associated protective and fostering items. In one case in particular, this association has resulted in a semantic change such that words for garden will be found in many areas to be reflexes of *(T)ISIABURU *sweet potato* where there are no reflexes of this form used as present-day names for either yam, taro or sweet potato.

In conclusion then it is clear that while this survey has provided some insight into the history of some present-day names for the items studied here throughout Papua, it is also equally clear that much more could probably be said given information of the right kind. However, these results are not likely to be achieved lightly. Thus it is apparent from this study that efforts should be concentrated on detailed separate accounts of individual items or sets of related ones (in terms of function, use, appearance to members of user societies, etc.) over a wide area, including especially Eastern Indonesia which is a well-known important centre of distribution for most indigenous economically important plants and foodstuffs in Papua New Guinea today. In such studies, however, one should be prepared to collect not only vernacular forms for as many varieties of the item under investigation as possible, but also those for those items which could possibly be, or have been demonstrated in this study to be, regarded as related. For the starch staples this is likely to run into many hundreds of forms, but for others, like pig, for example, the range is likely to be very much smaller (e.g., village/tame/exchange versus wild/bush). Ideally too such studies should incorporate the more durable items of trade (e.g. pots, shells, axes, betel nut, sago, etc.) and/or other items which are known to have been recently introduced (e.g. cassava, pawpaw, corn, fowl, tobacco, etc.) and must inevitably involve other disciplines, but only in this detailed and co-ordinated way will it be possible to gain real insights into the culture history of Papua New Guinea today.

5.2.0. THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL VOCABULARY IN PAPUA

N O T E S

1. In this paper I shall assume that readers are familiar with the nature and use of basic vocabulary lists. For those who are not may I refer them to references and discussion in other chapters of this volume and especially to Laycock (1970) who gives a comparison of those frequently used for survey work in Papua New Guinea.
2. Normally the decision to regard this or that item as 'cultural' in this sense is based on linguistic and/or other criteria. For example, as will be indicated below, if it is known that certain foodstuffs are non-native to an area (as is the case of many of those discussed in this article) then it is highly likely that the names of those items will be transmitted along with the items themselves. However, this does not mean that the name always remains the same for other factors may intervene (e.g. word taboo) to change it thereby making the task of historical reconstruction more difficult.
3. See again Laycock (1970) for a discussion of the problems associated with eliciting this kind of vocabulary and for comments on the reliability of individual items.
4. Reference should also be made here to Chowning's 1963 article on Proto-Melanesian plant names, though it deals only marginally with Papua New Guinea. It does, however, contain some very useful comparative material and insightful observations which are referred to again later on.
5. For example the debate about the nature of pre-European agriculture and the introduction of the sweet potato into the Central Highlands of New Guinea; see for example Brookfield (1964), Brookfield and White (1968), Golson (1972), Golson and others (1967), Sorenson (1972), and Watson (1964a and elsewhere).

6. See Lea (1970), and Lea and Ward (1970).
7. See Warner (1962), and Womersley (1972a).
8. See Powell (1970), and Brand (1971).
9. See Barrau (1958, 1963, 1965), Brand (1971), Brookfield (1964), Brookfield and White (1968), Bulmer (1964), Golson (1972), Powell (1970), Sorenson (1972), Yen (1971), Watson (1964a, 1965, 1967), and Womersley (1972a).
10. See, for example, Williams (1928:116, fn.1), Sorenson (1972:358), Strathern (1969:193), and Brookfield (1964:21).
11. See Golson (1972), Golson and others (1967), and Powell (1970).
12. In fact we know from other studies that name-switching between different varieties across languages and even between different genres within the same language is to be expected. See for example, Merrill (1946:221-7) and Chowning's (1963) study of Proto-Melanesian plant names in which (p.43, fn.3) it was pointed out that
taro is called completely separate names in garden spells
and everyday usage ... (and) that a Proto-Melanesian word
for planted taro tops, *ufe is reflected in a number of
Melanesian languages in which the words for taro itself are
quite unrelated.
13. The exact number of Austronesian languages is not yet known because of the existence of numerous dialect chains which have not yet been fully described.
14. The only sound laws that have been established so far are those for the Ok Family by Healey (1964). However, Voorhoeve (1970) gives some notes on those in the Suki-Gogodala Stock as does Lloyd (1973) for Angan.
15. The actual status of these forms, i.e. established versus proposed or suggested, is not crucial to this study; they merely provide useful summaries of data found in the Pacific against which the items in this study can be compared.

16. Unfortunately there are no early records of the content of Hiri Motu except for a short wordlist published by Barton (1910), in which, however, only 'taro' (which is glossed therein as *toera*) of this set appears.

17. The only PAN reflex that occurs in Gulf languages is *mao sweet potato* (in PUR) (< **mao taro* (MN: Chowning 1963); or **ɲmao taro* (Grace 1969; Proto-Oceanic from Milke 1968)). For the location of the languages and groups referred to here by abbreviations see Map 1, and Appendix 1 for an explanation of the abbreviations themselves.

18. For example, the claim by the Motu that they came from the west rather than the east; the establishment of the Hiri; the peculiarities of the Motu language in respect of other AN languages of Papua.

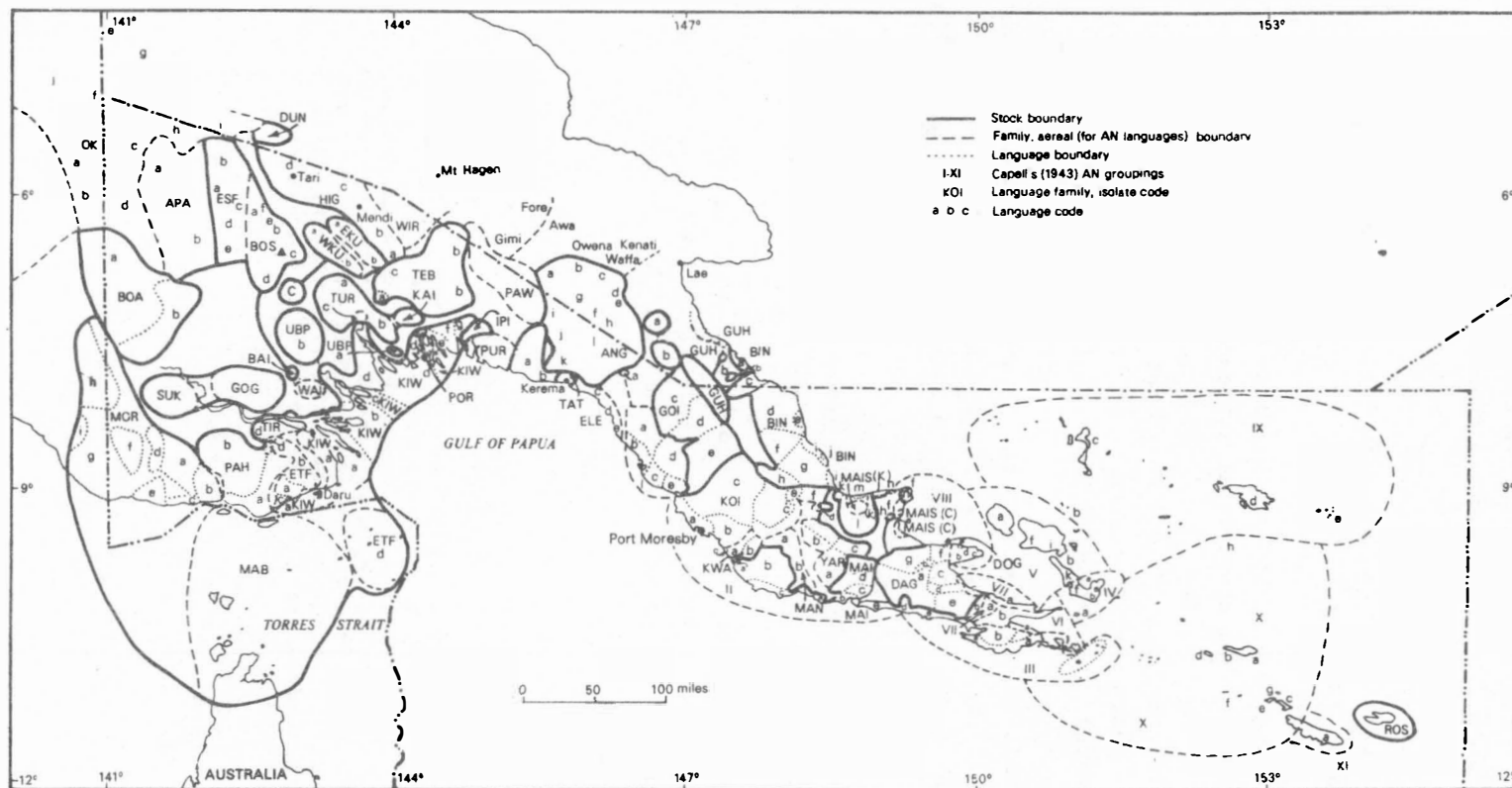
19. Although this is the simplest case it amply illustrates the point made earlier that the full distribution of cognates cannot be known until such times as all species names or folk taxa are included in the data.

20. Note the parallelism between this aspect of the sets and the morphological structure of 'banana' and 'sugarcane' discussed earlier.

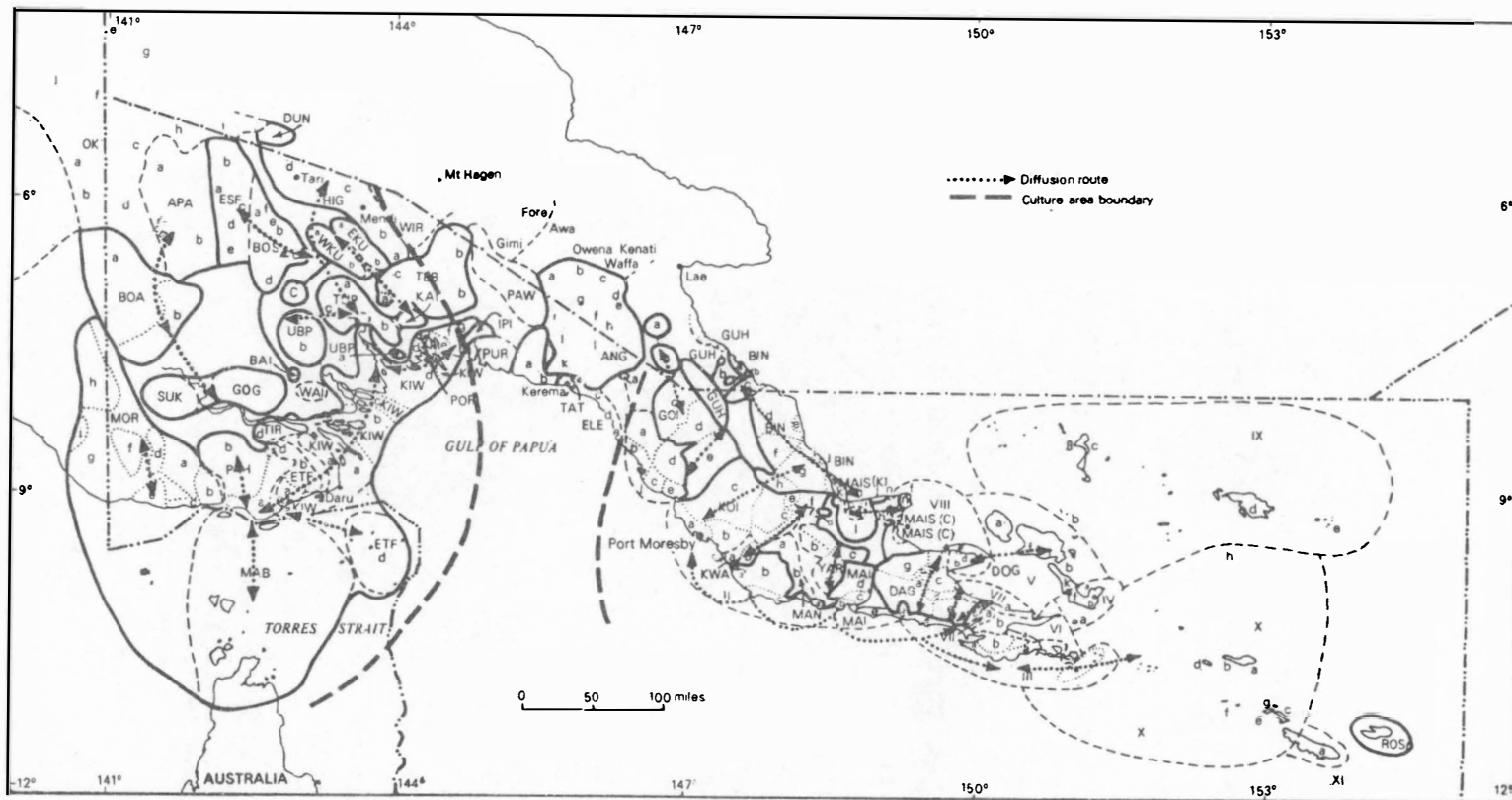
21. We also know that the sweet potato is just reaching some northern parts of the area that borders on the Central Highlands of New Guinea so that it does not seem to have passed that way either. See for example, Sorenson (1972).

22. Somewhat the same observations have been made by Chowning (1963: 42) with respect to sugarcane, *Derris*, and the putty nut throughout island Melanesia. Cf. the following:

the names of the plants other than the starch staples tend to be stable - that is, to remain the same in related languages - as long as the plant itself is regarded and used in the same way by the speakers of those languages. Thus the comparative stability of the names for sugarcane, *Derris*, the putty nut would result from their consistent and virtually exclusive use throughout Melanesia, for, respectively, refreshment, fish poison and canoe caulking.



MAP 1: LINGUISTIC GROUPINGS IN PAPUA



MAP 2: CULTURE DIFFUSION AREAS IN PAPUA

APPENDIX 1

Linguistic Groupings in Papua as Known in 1973

This appendix contains a complete listing of AN and NAN languages of Papua as identified by 1973. In it NAN languages are presented first within family and other higher-level groupings. AN languages are listed within areal groupings. Some dialects are also included. These are identified by small Roman numerals. The location of all languages is shown on Map 1.

NAN LANGUAGES

1. CENTRAL AND SOUTH NEW GUINEA STOCK¹ (McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970:10))

(OK) Ok Family² (McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970:10))

- a. Kati Ninati
- b. Kati Metomka
- c. Ningerum
- d. Yongom
- e. Mianmin
- f. Tifal
- g. Telefol
- h. Faiwol
- i. Bimin
- j. Kauwol

(APA) Awin-Pare Family (McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970:10))

- a. Awin
- b. Pare (Pa, Ba)

2. GOGODALA-SUKI STOCK (McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970:10))

(GOG) Gogodala

(SUK) Suki

¹Voorhoeve's BED Bedamini (Beami) Family of this stock is now Franklin's (1973b) and Franklin and Voorhoeve's (1973) BOSAVIAN STOCK, and his KIWAI and other stocks superseded by Wurm's (1971) classification.

²Only languages c,d,h actually occur in Papua.

3. MARIND STOCK (McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970:10))

(BOA) Boazi Family¹

- a. Boazi
 - i. North
 - ii. South
 - iii. Kuini
- b. Zimakani
 - i. Begua
 - ii. Zimakani

4. TRANS-FLY STOCK (Wurm (1971))

(KIW) Kiwai Family²

- a. South Kiwai
 - i. South
 - ii. Island
 - iii. Coastal
 - iv. South Coast
 - v. East Coast
 - vi. Daru
- b. Wabuda
- c. Bamu
- d. Turama-Kerewo
 - i. Goarl
 - ii. Morigi³
 - iii. Kerewo⁴
- e. Urama-Gope
 - i. Urama-Gope
 - ii. Urama
 - iii. Gope
- f. Arigibi⁵
- g. Gibaio⁵

¹There are two other member families in this stock - Marind and Yaqay - but these are not represented in Papua.

²Miriam was originally included in the Kiwai-Miriam Stock in McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970:10), but is now included in Wurm's (1971) Eastern Trans-Fly Family.

³Misspelled in Wurm's (1971) map. Also shown as a language (not dialect) on the map in Franklin 1973b and Wurm 1973.

⁴Also shown as a language (not dialect) on the map in Franklin 1973b.

⁵Two extra languages of the Kiwai Family shown on the map in Franklin 1973b and in Wurm 1973.

(TIR) Tirio Family

- a. Tirio
- b. Aturu
- c. Lewada-Dewara
- d. Mutum (Paswam)

(ETF) Eastern Trans-Fly Family (Wurm (1971))

- a. Bine
- b. Gidra
- c. Gizra
- d. Miriam

(PAH) Pahoturi River Family (Wurm (1971))

- a. Agöb
- b. Idi

(MOR) Morehead and Upper Maro Rivers Family (Wurm (1971))

- a. Nambu
- b. Iauga (Parb)
- c. Dorro
- d. Upper Morehead (Rouku)
- e. Lower Morehead (Peremka)
- f. Tonda
- g. Kanum
- h. Yey
- i. Moraori

(MAB) Mabulag (Australian)

5. BOSAVIAN STOCK (Map in Franklin 1973b and in Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973)

(ESF) East Strickland Family

- a. Samo
- b. Kubo
- c. Bibo
- d. Honibo
- e. Tomu

(BOS) Bosavian Family

- a. Beam¹
- b. Kaluli²
- c. Kasua²

¹McElhanon and Voorhoeve's (1970:10) Bedamini.

²One of these equals McElhanon and Voorhoeve's (1970:10) Bosavi.

- d. Kware
- e. Waragu¹
- f. Etoroi¹

(BAI) Baiapi

6. KUTUBUAN STOCK (Maps in Franklin 1973b and in Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973)

(WKU) West Kutubuan Family

- a. Fasu
- b. Some
- c. Namumi

(EKU) East Kutubuan Family

- a. Foe
- b. Fiwaga

7. INLAND GULF STOCK (Map in Franklin 1973a, and Franklin 1973b)

(UBP) Upper Bamu-Paibunan Family

- a. Minanibai
- b. Tao-Suamato

(IPI) Ipiko

8. TURAMA-KIKORIAN STOCK (Maps in Franklin 1973b, and in Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973)

(TUR) Turama-Omatian Family

- a. Ikobi
- b. Omati
- c. Mena

(KAI) Kairi

9. TEBERAN STOCK-LEVEL FAMILY (Wurm (1972))

(TEB) Teberan Family (Franklin (1973b))

- a. Daribi
- b. Tebera
- c. Polopa

10. ANGAN STOCK (Wurm (1972))

(ANG) Angan Family (Map in Franklin 1973b, and Lloyd 1973)

- a. Simbari
- b. Baruya
- c. Ampale

¹These languages were only recently identified.

- d. Kawacha
- e. Kamasa
- f. Menya
- g. Yagwoia
- h. Angaataha
- i. Ankave
- j. Ivori
- k. Lohiki
- l. Kapau

11. ELEMEN (or TOARIPI) PHYLUM-LEVEL FAMILY (Wurm (1972))
(ELE) Eleman Family (Map in Franklin 1973b and Brown 1973)

- a. Haura (Orokolo)
- b. Opao
- c. Toaripi
- d. Kaipi
- e. Sepoe

12. HIGHLANDS STOCK (Map in Franklin 1973b)
(HIG) West-Central Family

- a. Sau
- b. Kewa
- c. Mendi
- d. Huli

13. GOILALAN STOCK-LEVEL FAMILY (Wurm (1972))
(GOI) Goilalan Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Biangai
- b. Werl
- c. Kunimaipa
- d. Tauade
- e. Fuyuge

14. KOIARI-MANUBARA-YAREBAN STOCK (Wurm (1972))
(KOI) Koiarian Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Koita
- b. Koiari
 - i. East
 - ii. West
- c. Mountain Koiari
 - i. Southern
 - ii. Central
 - iii. Western

- iv. Northern
- v. Eastern
- vi. Lesser-Eastern
- d. Barai
 - i. North
 - ii. South
- e. Aomie
- f. Managalasi
 - i. East
 - ii. Central
 - iii. West

(KWA) Kwalean Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Humene
- b. Kwale
- c. Mulaha (Extinct)

(MAN) Manubaran Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Doromu
- b. Maria

(YAR) Yareban Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Abia
- b. Doriri
- c. Yareba
- d. Bariji

15. MAILUAN STOCK-LEVEL FAMILY (Wurm (1972))

(MAI) Mailuan Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Domu
- b. Morawa
- c. Binahari
 - i. Ma
 - ii. Neme
- d. Bauwaki
- e. Magi
 - i. Domara
 - ii. Mailu Island
 - iii. Borebo
 - iv. Derebai
 - v. Asiaulo
 - vi. Darava
 - vii. Geagea
 - viii. Ilai

- ix. Baibara
- x. Other islands
- xi. Gadaisu

16. DAGAN STOCK-LEVEL FAMILY (Wurm (1972))

(DAG) Dagan Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Daga
 - i. Northern
 - ii. Southern
- b. Mapena
- c. Gwedena
- d. Ginuman
- e. Sona
 - i. Northern
 - ii. Southern
- f. Jimajima
- g. Maiwa
- h. Onjob

17. BINANDEREAN STOCK (Hooley and McElhanon (1970))

(BIN) Binanderean Family (Dutton (1971))

- a. Suenā
- b. Yekora
- c. Zia
- d. Binandere
- e. Ambasi
- f. Aeka
- g. Orokaiva
 - i. Sohe
 - ii. Waseda
 - iii. Popondetta
 - iv. Dobuduru
- h. Hunjara
- i. Notu
- j. Yega
- k. Gaina
- l. Baruga
- m. Dogoro
- n. Korafe

(GUH) Guhu-Samane

18. YELE-SOLOMONS-WASI STOCK (Wurm (1972))

(ROS) Rossel Island Family

a. Yele

Gulf District Isolates (Franklin (1973b))

(POR) Porome

(PAW) Pawaian

(PUR) Purari

(TAT) Tate

(WAI) Waia

(WIR) Wiru

Unclassified (Dutton (1971))

(DOG) Doga

(MAIS) Maisin

AN LANGUAGES

(I) Area I

a. Mekeo

b. Roro

c. Nara

d. Kuni

e. Kabadī

f. Doura

(II) Area II

a. Motu

b. Sinagoro

i. Ikolu

ii. Balawaia

iii. Saroa

iv. Kwabida?

v. Taboro

vi. Boku

vii. Ikega

viii. Wiga

ix. Buaga

x. Kubuli

xi. Tubulamo?

xii. Omene

xiii. Kwaibo

xiv. Alepa?

xv. Vora

xvi. Oruone

xvii. Babagarupu

c. Keapara

i. Hula

ii. Babaga?

iii. Kalo

iv. Keapara

v. Aloma

vi. Maopa

vii. Wanigela

viii. Kapari?

ix. Lalaura

d. Magori

(III) Area III

a. Suau

i. Bonarua

ii. Dahuni

iii. Dalomoni

iv. Dauī

v. Logea

vi. Mugula

vii. Sariha

viii. Suau

b. Buhutu

c. Tubetube

(IV) Area IV

- a. Nuakata
- b. Guregure
- c. Kelologean?
- d. Noboda
- e. Sawabwara
- f. Urada

(V) Area V

- a. Bwaidoga
- b. Dobu
- c. Enataulu
- d. Galeya
- e. Gilagila?
- f. Kukuya
- g. Lakulakuia
- h. Mataita
- i. Molima
- j. Nada
- k. Sewa Bay

(VI) Area VI

- a. Wagawaga
- b. Kehelala
 - i. Basilaki
 - ii. Kehelala
 - iii. East Cape
 - iv. Yalaba?
 - v. Maiwara
 - vi. Tabara

(VII) Area VII

- a. Wedau
 - i. Wedau
 - ii. Taupota
 - iii. Awalama
- b. Dawawa
- c. Boianaki

(VIII) Area VIII

- a. Igora
- b. Paiwa
- c. Mukawa
- d. Gabobora
- e. Ubir
- f. Arifama-Miniafia
 - i. Arifama
 - ii. Miniafia
 - iii. Oyan
 - iv. Lakwa

(IX) Area IX

- a. Gawa
- b. Gumasi
- c. Kiriwina
- d. Murua
- e. Nada

(X) Area X

- a. Alinganda
- b. Bobohahean
- c. Nimoa
- d. Panayati
- e. Panakrusima
- f. Sabari
- g. Tokuna

(XI) Area XI

- a. Sud-Est

(PM) Police Motu or Hiri Motu,
the principal lingua franca
of Papua

5.2.0. THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL VOCABULARY IN PAPUA

APPENDIX 2

Some Examples of Cognate Sets that Cross Item Boundaries

This appendix groups together those cognate sets from different items which appear to be reflexes of the same proto-form. The first five contain reflexes of established or proposed Proto-AN forms, the remainder, reflexes of as yet unestablished proto-forms which are tentatively represented herein by starred capitalised forms, e.g. *BURU. For further details see Dutton 1973. The listing follows:

1. *Kumara

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
amara	<i>garden</i>	DAG/f; DOG	<i>garden</i> : set 27 in Dutton 1973
kumwala	<i>sweet potato</i>	III/c; V/c	<i>sweet potato</i> : set 9 in Dutton 1973
komwara		V/b	
kumuara		V/d,k	
kumala		VI/bv1	
kumara		KOI/b11	
kamara		KIW/e111	
amareta		ETF/b	
ambara }		GOI/c	
biro }			
thambara		BIN/g	
tambara		BIN/e,1	
kevara		MAN/a	
evara		KOI/d11	
gumala	<i>yam</i>	KWA/c	<i>yam</i> : set 25 in Dutton 1973
kubara		MAN/b	
[umana]		KWA/a	
gubara		MAN/b	
Reflexes of:			
kumala ¹	<i>sweet potato</i>	Polynesian (Ray 1907:168)	
kumara			
?umala			
gumala			
kumaa			
¹ See Brand 1971:359-63 for a discussion of the origin of this word and refutation of the notion that it is related to the American Indian Quechua word cumar.			

2. *Kale

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
kali	<i>sweet potato</i>	TEB/a	<i>sweet potato</i> : set 3 in Dutton 1973
gali		TEB/b	
ga		IPI	
ale		HIG/c(N.Mendi)	
sali		PAW	
kairē		DOG;VII/b	
kairē kut}		VIII/e	
kairē kut			
kairē kuta		VIII/f1,f11,f111	
kāle}		DAG/d,e1,e11,f	
kairē			
kairē kuta		MAIS(C)	
kairu kuta}		BIN/m	
kairē tuta			
kiru kuta		BIN/n	
baire		DAG/a1(Gwedena),b,c	
baere		DAG/c	
bairen		DAG/c,g	
kare	<i>taro</i>	MAN/a	<i>taro</i> : set 25 in Dutton 1973
kale		II/b1,b11,bv1,bv11,bv111, bxv1,c1,c111	
kae		BIN/g;II/bx	
?ale		II/civ	
galiyo	<i>yam</i>	ESF/a	<i>yam</i> : set 6 in Dutton 1973
gāyo		ESF/b	
gali		ESF/c,d	
kara		BOS/a	
kaaliya		BOS/a	
[yare]		KOI/d11	
kae		BIN/g	
gae		BIN/1	
Reflexes of:			
*kale	<i>taro</i>	MN-Chowning 1963	

3. *Mao

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
mao	<i>sweet potato</i>	PUR	<i>sweet potato</i> : Isolates
mao	<i>yam</i>	BOA/a111;II/bv	<i>yam</i> : set 3 in Dutton 1973
maho		KIW/d111,e11,e111;UBP/a; IPI;KWA/a;PM;II/a	
ma.o		II/b	
mau		BIN/e	
ma?ou		KIW/g	
[maho]		KWA/a;MAI/b	
[maho?uro]		KWA/b	
Reflexes of:			
*mao	<i>taro</i>	MN-Chowning 1963	
*ηmao	<i>taro</i>	Grace 1969 (POC from Milke 1968)	

4. *Kubi

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
upi tupi	<i>garden</i>	DAG/c DAG/d	<i>garden</i> : set 20 in Dutton 1973
hope ² a ¹ hobe ² a ¹ }	<i>sweet potato</i>	ANG/l	<i>sweet potato</i> : set 11 in Dutton 1973
gobe ² u		KOI/ci	
kobe ² u		KOI/ci	
gobou		KOI/ci(Eava)	
gobeu		KOI/cii	
kubeu		KOI/ciii	
gobeu		KOI/b,civ,cv,cvi	
kobe ² a		KOI/b	
gobe ² u		KOI/dii	
kupe		GOI/d	
kupe		GOI/e(Karukaru)	
kupe		GOI/d	
kupa		GOI/d,e	
uvi ²	<i>yam</i>	VII/c	<i>yam</i> : set 7 in Dutton 1973
kubi		VIII/c	
kuv		IX/d	
ubi		DOG	
kuve kuvalava kubu }	<i>taro</i>	GOI/d	<i>taro</i> : Isolates
ufi	<i>banana</i>	KOI/ai,aii	<i>banana</i> : set 7 in Dutton 1973
uhi		KOI/ai,aii	
wi		KOI/ai	
wyhi		KOI/ai	
uvu		KOI/ci	
uve		KOI/cii,ciii,civ,cv,cvi	
udze		KOI/e	
kufe		GOI/d	
Reflexes of:			
*huvi	<i>yam</i>	MN-Chowning 1963	
*qupi	<i>yam</i>	Grace 1969 (POC from PAN in Capell 1943)	
*qubi[² h]	<i>yam</i>	PAN-Dyen and McFarland 1970	
*qumbi[² h]	<i>yam</i>	PAN-Dempwolff 1934-38	
*ubi	<i>yam</i>	IN-Capell 1943	
hubi	<i>yam</i>		
¹ For e ² a, e ² u : <i>yam</i> : set 41 in Dutton 1973.			
² Perhaps also related to kombi, komba etc. given in <i>yam</i> : set 18 in Dutton 1973.			

5. *Kani

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
kani }	<i>taro</i>	VII/c	<i>taro</i> : set 7 in Dutton 1973
?ani }			
?ani		DAG/c	
?an		DAG/e1	
an		DAG/e11	
aneg		ETF/d	
anega		KIW/a111	
sagani		KIW/d11,d111	
tagani		KIW/f	
ganisa		ANG/g	
gani	<i>yam</i>	III/cv11	<i>yam</i> : set 19 in Dutton 1973
yan		II/cv,cv1,cix	
kanikani		V/q	
anemai		I/a	
aniani		V/f	
narem		III/a11	
sagani		KIW/d11	
aniani	<i>food</i>	II/a	
yan	<i>banana</i>	II/bv,c111	<i>banana</i> : set 31 in Dutton 1973
nan		II/b	
?ani }		I/f	
a:ni }		II/civ	
ani			
Reflexes of:			
*ka, *kai	<i>food</i>	Grace 1969 (from Biggs 1965)	
*kani	<i>to eat, food</i>	Grace 1969 (POC from PAN in Capell 1943)	

6. *(T)ISIABURU

This large group is divided into (T)ISIA and BURU subgroups for ease of comparison. Some data are common to both.

6a. The (T)ISIA subgroup

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
isiaburo	<i>garden</i>	BIN/m	<i>garden</i> : set 1 in Dutton 1973
siyofulu	<i>sweet potato</i>	ESF/a	<i>sweet potato</i> : set 10 in Dutton 1973
siyafuu		ESF/b	
siyobulu		ESF/e	
siyabul		ESF/d	
siapuru }		BOS/a,b,c;WKU/a	
siabulu			
siyabulu		BOS/a	
siapuri		BAI	
supuru		WKU/a	
tia		HIG/a	
dia		TEB/c	
diani		TUR/Barika	

<u>sesiayuro</u>		4. Iria ¹	Information supplied by C.L.
<u>sersiabura</u>		5. Asienarā	Voorhoeve and J.C. Anceaux
<u>sie, sibu</u>		11. Iha	
<u>tiawu</u>		12. Barau	
<u>sia?i</u>		17. Puragi	
<u>sijapido</u>		20. Inanwatan	
<u>siap</u>		41. Borāi	
<u>siew</u>		42. Hattam	
<u>isia</u>	<i>taro</i>	BIN/k,l,m,n	<i>taro</i> : set 13 in Dutton 1973
<u>yisiya</u>		BIN/n	
<u>gesī</u>		DOG	
<u>sisi</u>		II/Labu	
<u>diyas</u>		ESF/c	
<u>iya</u>		KOI/c11	

¹The locations of these languages are as follows:

4. Iria (NAN)
 5. Asienarā (NAN) } Western side of Kamarau Bay
10. Baham (NAN)
 11. Iha (NAN)
 12. Barau (NAN) } Eastern side of McCluer Gulf and around to Rijklof Van Goens Bay
17. Puragi (NAN)
 20. Inanwatan (NAN) } Western side of McCluer Gulf
41. Borāi (AN)
 42. Hattam (AN) } North-western side of Geelvink Bay

6b. The BURU subgroup

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
moro	<i>garden</i> ¹	KIW/b	<i>garden</i> : set 1 in Dutton 1973
muro		MAN/a,b	
bua		BIN/a	
buro		BIN/e,i,j,k,l,m	
pure		BIN/f,g,h	
baburo		BIN/i	
isiaburo		BIN/m	
<u>kopura</u>			
<u>kupura</u>		VII/c	
<u>upura</u>			
<u>kofura</u>		DAG/d	
<u>ne ufurana</u>			
<u>dzuwore</u>		KOI/f1	
<u>dzuwora</u>		KOI/f111	
<u>dzuwari</u>			
<u>dzuwai</u>		KOI/d	
<u>dzuru</u>			
<u>dzaure</u>			
<u>dzura?e</u>		KOI/f111	
ware		BIN/n	
buru		KOI/b1,c1,c11,c111,cv	
bu:		GOI/e(Karukaru)	
vu:		KOI/civ	
mu: }			
mue		KOI/e	

<u>forova oti</u>		ELE/b,c	
<u>oru(uta)</u>		ELE/c	
<u>faura</u>		TAT	
<u>vo.ore</u>		KWA/a	
<u>porotuto</u>	<i>fence</i>	VIII/b	<i>fence</i> : set 4 in Dutton 1973
<u>varanue</u>			
<u>furu</u>	<i>fence</i>	VIII/f1;BIN/m	<i>fence</i> : set 16 in Dutton 1973
<u>fuř</u>		VIII/f11,f111	
<u>furo</u>		BIN/m	
<u>siyofulu</u>	<i>sweet potato</i>	ESF/a	<i>sweet potato</i> : set 10 in
<u>siyafuu</u>		ESF/b	Dutton 1973
<u>siyobulu</u>		ESF/e	
<u>siyabul</u>		ESF/d	
<u>siapurur</u>		BOS/a,b,c;WKU/a	
<u>siabulu</u>			
<u>siyabulu</u>		BOS/a	
<u>siapuri</u>		BAI	
<u>supuru</u>		WKU/a	
<u>sesiayuro</u>	<i>sweet potato</i>	4. Iria	Information supplied by C.L.
<u>sersiabura</u>		5. Asienarā	Voorhoeve and J.C. Anceaux
<u>sibu</u>		11. Iha	
<u>tiawu</u>		12. Barau	
<u>siaʔi</u>		17. Furagl	
<u>si japido</u>		20. Inanwatan	
<u>siap</u>		41. Borāi	
<u>siew</u>		42. Hattam	
<u>buřku</u>	<i>yam</i>	ETF/c	<i>yam</i> : set 4 in Dutton 1973
<u>borometa</u>		ETF/c	
<u>bolu</u>		TEB/a	
<u>[boluʔʌ]</u>		KOI/c	
<u>[bɔlukʌ]</u>		KOI/c11	
<u>[boluka]</u>		KOI/c111,civ	
<u>bapore</u>		ELE/a	
<u>mapore</u>		ELE/a,c	
<u>maperi</u>		TAT	
<u>[amboro]</u>		BIN/h	
<u>[kamboro]</u>		BIN/1,k	
<u>[hopoi]</u>		GOI/c	
<u>[bolai]</u>		DAG/a11,e1	
<u>[bolaʔi]</u>		DAG/e1	
<u>olu</u>	<i>taro</i>	II/Bina	<i>taro</i> : set 38 in Dutton 1973
<u>boro</u>		V/b	

¹ Cf. related forms in *fence*: sets 4 and 16; *sweet potato*: set 10; *yam*: set 4; *taro*: set 38 in Dutton 1973.

7. *KERO¹

Cognates	Meaning	Languages	Source
e <u>gelo</u> <u>igenai</u>	<i>garden</i>	BCS/b BCS/c	<i>garden</i> : set 2 in Dutton 1973
<u>gero</u> <u>kirutua</u> <u>irui</u> <u>keloto</u> <u>kilote</u> <u>akira</u> <u>agira</u>	<i>sweet potato</i>	BIN/a KOI/f1 KAI KOI/f111 EKU/a	<i>sweet potato</i> : set 2 in Dutton 1973
<u>kera</u> <u>elomaðu</u> <u>kero</u> <u>keru</u>	<i>taro</i>	KIW/a11 KOI/d1 VIII/d1 VIII/c	<i>taro</i> : set 21 in Dutton 1973
<u>elo</u> sivel <u>iro</u> <u>kiroma</u> <u>ilo</u> [<u>iro</u>] [<u>iro</u> ma] <u>keru</u>	<i>yam</i>	KOI/d1 KOI/d1,d11 MAN/a YAR/d KOI/d MAN/b(Uder1) VIII/b	<i>yam</i> : set 13 in Dutton 1973

¹ This group may also include mokela, mosera etc. given in *sweet potato*: set 1 in Dutton 1973.

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P A R T 5.3.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

5.3.0. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IN A LINGUISTIC SETTING: A CASE STUDY

Donald F. Tuzin

5.3.1. INTRODUCTION

During the last 20 years, the study of kinship terminology has been one of the most contentious and provocative fields of anthropological inquiry.¹ Controversies framed about the questions of what, ontologically, kinship terminologies are and how one should study them, have led interested scholars to examine closely the epistemological assumptions of themselves and their opponents - an exercise that cannot but have salutary effects on the quality of general theoretical discourse. Though far from conclusive, the exchanges should be followed carefully, for they aspire to understand fundamental - and as yet unresolved - issues of human behaviour and cultural coding. Despite, however, their anthropological and linguistic importance, these trends have had curiously little traffic with New Guinea scholarship, the latter being commonly neither a data source for general theories nor a testing ground for hypotheses derived from such theories. With a few notable exceptions (Leach 1958; Pospisil 1960; Lounsbury 1965; Elmberg 1968; Schwimmer 1970; Scheffler 1971; Korn 1971; Forge 1971) New Guinea kinship terminologies have not received the sort of theoretical treatment given to systems recorded for the cultures of South and South-East Asia, Australia, and the Americas.²

In this chapter I shall consider sibling terms among the Ilahita Arapesh (East Sepik Province, New Guinea), in a manner demonstrating the utility of certain conceptual constructs which have emerged from the theoretical dialogues.³ The mandate for my approach is contained in Scheffler's observation: 'The real problem is not what kinship terms mean but the nature of the relations among the genealogical designata and significata of certain words and between those designata and any other designata those words may have' (Scheffler 1972:311). Adoption

of Scheffler's view requires acceptance (at least *pro tem*) of the notion that kinterm polysemy is a product of semantic extensions from a focal kintype (Scheffler 1972:313ff.). Acknowledging the complex theoretical issues involved here, I shall say only that my empirical understanding of Arapesh sibling-term semantics conforms to the extensionist perspective, and I shall therefore apply it in this chapter without providing elaborate justification for doing so.

To anticipate the discussion slightly, it will be seen that Arapesh sibling terms subsume three reference fields. The first of these contains the focal kintypes and the range of denotata derived from these foci; connotative features present in this semantic field are then extended metaphorically to become the criterial bases for sibling-term attribution in the second and third fields, consisting of descent and ritual divisions, respectively. (For convenience I shall hereafter call these fields 'categories', not to be confused with the technical sense in which this word is sometimes used by kinship theorists.) The use of slightly different - though etymologically related - terms to designate these categories enables the speaker to indicate which of the alternative sets of meanings is intended, thereby disambiguating the root expression. However, this feature raises the problem of whether we are justified in maintaining the extensionist perspective when these so-called 'extensions' are marked by linguistic alternations. After examining the morphology of these terms, it will be argued that this feature poses no obstacle to the present analysis.

In concluding these preliminary remarks, I should note that the ethnographic relevance of what follows is potentially twofold. First, the widespread (though usually unanalysed) occurrence of kinterm metaphors in the New Guinea literature, with respect to jural and ritual phenomena, suggests that the conclusions reached here may have application elsewhere in the region. Second, the nature of metaphor in these societies has scarcely been explored (*vide* Ryan 1958; Strathern 1970, n.d.; Wagner 1972), and thus, to paraphrase Whitehead, there seems a need for studies which, however slightly, might obscure the vast darkness of the subject.

5.3.2. CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The Ilahita Arapesh number about 5,000 persons and occupy a territory of 60 square miles in the western Maprik District, East Sepik Province. Their country is the rolling lower foothills of the Torricelli Mountains, a dissected plain which flattens as it slopes south to the Sepik River. The Ilahita speak a dialect of the Southern Arapesh language (Laycock 1973), and are culturally distinguishable from other dialect-groups

living northwards in the higher foothills of the mountains. Ilahita distinctiveness is largely a product of prolonged and intense contact with the Abelam (to the east and south-east) and the Kwanga (to the south), fierce Middle Sepik groups who have pushed north from the river in a predatory expansion continuing until European contact (Forge 1966: 24). On various evidences, it appears that Middle Sepik influences transformed, intensified, and/or added to certain important elements of aboriginal Ilahita culture. Thus, numerous dispersed hamlets were consolidated into seven large, sedentary villages;⁴ garden technology was improved and intensified, with horticultural and prestige-striving activities centering on the yam (Tuzin 1972); inter-village warfare expanded in scale and significance, and, under conditions of land scarcity resulting from Middle Sepik encroachment, territorial conquest was the objective; finally, upon an age-old initiation structure was superimposed a secret male cult glorifying war and male prowess and promoting astounding artistic and architectural achievements (*vide* Tuzin 1973).⁵

A preliminary note regarding social organisation. The Ilahita subscribe to a patrilineal ideology, with internally segmented totemic clans and a normative preference for patri-virilocal residence. In common with most other New Guinea societies, the 'rules' of descent-group membership admit a high degree of optation (*cf.* de Lepervanche 1967-68; Kaberry 1967): adoption is frequent and jurally unencumbered; genealogies are shallow, with the result that descendants of co-residing non-agnates achieve full rights of membership within a couple of generations (*cf.* Barnes 1962); and, also, strong filiative ties with maternal and affinal kin yield residual rights and obligations that can be utilised in membership transfers. Invocation of these non-agnatic kin ties is relatively easy, due to the high rate of local endogamy - reaching over 90 percent at the village level.

The village itself is divided into named, semi-autonomous wards, which are themselves divided into residential precincts or hamlets. Descent groups - clans and their subunits - are domiciled in several of these hamlets within a particular ward, with elements from two or three clans occasionally occupying different portions of a single hamlet.

Before looking at sibling terms in detail, it seems advisable to place them in the context of the general terminological system, its features and modes of usage.

5.3.3. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The Ilahita Arapesh use vernacular kinterms almost exclusively in reference contexts.⁶ In nearly two years of fieldwork, a vernacular kinterm was heard used in address only once: when the encounter with *Alter* was potentially hostile, and it was momentarily in *Ego's* interests to avoid trouble by invoking a remote, untraceable kinship link.⁷ Though other similar instances probably occurred (unobserved) during this period, there can be little doubt that it is an exceptional and context-bound usage. Apart from these, the only vernacular recognition- or address-terms are in the infant lexicon. Thus, an infant addresses the primary care-giving female as *mama*. Later on, recognition of the adult male most frequently associated with this female is signalled with the utterance *papa* or (as adult informants insist it should be rendered) *hapaapa*'. From about age four the child regularly addresses these individuals (and everyone else besides) by their proper names. Thereafter, and for the rest of his life, *Ego* maintains this usage, reverting to the infantile forms only in moments of (non-directed) extreme negative affect (fear, pain, despair, grief), and occasionally to express dependency in the supplication of parental ghosts.

Non-systematic observations of general language acquisition in children suggest that knowledge of the kinship lexicon, and its proper application, comes about through imitating older children. In general, a crawling and babbling infant is 'talked at' more by children (especially siblings) than by adults; and, at an age when the child struggles to master complicated grammatical conventions, the older children mock and tease him into acceptable usage. Presumably, knowledge of kinterms develops in a similar manner. Whereas interviewing small children on such topics is virtually impossible, older children and young adolescents are eager to co-operate; interestingly, they commonly fail to discriminate kin categories which are distinguished in adult usage. Cross-parallel distinctions succumb to a generalised extension of parent and sibling terms 'across the board' in the appropriate generations. Indeed, my impression is that in most cases full mastery of the kinship lexicon does not come until early adulthood, when the exigencies of marriage and jural succession require competence in this domain.

In contrast with the vernacular usage, Arapesh-speakers rely heavily on Pidgin kinterms in contexts of address, especially the terms *kandere* (*kinsman on the mother's side*, var. *kandere-mama*) and *tambu* (*relative-in-law*). Use of these terms is practically universal in the society, including by elderly persons whose general grasp of Pidgin is rudimentary or nonexistent. The only other domain which Pidgin has penetrated quite

so thoroughly is the vocabulary of abuse and obscenity, an interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

The Ilahita kinship lexicon is shown in Table 1. In its merging of parallel cousins and siblings, and in its distinctive cross-cousin terms, the system is somewhat Iroquois-like in its extensions (Murdock 1949:223), but the extensive bilateral merging within generations would suggest that the system is essentially Modified Hawaiian in type (H.W. Scheffler, personal communication).⁸ Beyond the first (ascending and descending) generation, this extension is seen to obliterate cross-parallel, relative age (in a linking kinsman) and consanguineal-affinal distinctions, with sex of *Alter* remaining as the only distinguishing feature within that generational category. It should be noted, however, that application of these terms is subject to a minimum appropriateness in the relative ages of *Ego* and *Alter*. That *Ego* may refer to *Alter* by the 'proper' term is not to say that he will do so, except under very unusual circumstances. Thus, in cases where age-peers are technically related as *bafalomwen* (*grandfather/grandson*), they are far more likely to refer to one another with sibling terms, the particular form selected being a function of relative age rather than of genealogical standing.⁹ The likelihood of this occurring is related to factors of residential proximity and interactional history, but when these factors are inauspicious the greater probability is that *Ego* and *Alter* will regard each other as non-kinsmen, rather than employ reference terms which imply intimacy ('*brother*') or which do not reflect their similar life situations ('*grandfather*/'*grandson*').

TABLE 1
Ilahita Kinship Terminology

1 <i>akonamwi</i> ^a	FFF,FMF,MFF,MMF,SSS,DSS,SDS,DDS; all consanguineal and affinal males of the third ascending and descending generations
2 <i>akomwi</i>	FFM,FMM,MFM,MMM,DDD,SSD,DSD,SDD; all consanguineal and affinal females of the third ascending and descending generations
3 <i>bafalomwi</i>	FF,FFB,FFZH,MF,MFB,MFZH,SS,BSS,WBSS,DS,WBDS,BDS; all consanguineal and affinal males of the second ascending and descending generations
4 <i>ehamwi</i>	FM,FMZ,FMBW,MM,MMZ,MMBW,SD,ZSD,HZSD,DD,ZDD,HZDD; all consanguineal and affinal females of the second ascending and descending generations
5 <i>ahalomwi</i>	F,FB,FZH*,FMZS,FMBS*,FFZS*,MZH,MH,MFBS,MMZS,MFZS*,MMBS*; in the first ascending generation, all male agnates and husbands of female agnates; all husbands of females <i>Ego</i> calls <i>mama'wi</i>

6	mama'wi	M,MZ,MFBD,MMZD,MFZD*,MMBD*,FZ*,FBW,FW,FMBD*,FFZD*; in the first ascending generation, all female agnates and wives of male agnates; all wives of males <i>Ego</i> calls ahalomwi
7	tanganamwi	MB,(m.s.)ZS,(m.s.)ZDH,FZH*
8	tangomwi	MBW,(m.s.)ZD,(m.s.)ZSW,FZ*
9	sahalomwi	eB,FeBS,MeZS,HeB,(w.s.)eZH,WeZH,FeBDH,MeZDH,(w.s.)MBDH,(w.s.)FZDH
10	sahomwi	eZ,FeBD,MeZD,WeZ,(m.s.)eBW,HeBW,FeBSW,MeZSW
11	owalomwi	yB,FyBS,MyZS,HyB,(w.s.)yZH,WyZH,FyBDH,MyZDH,(w.s.)MBDH,(w.s.)FZDH
12	owamwi	yZ,FyBD,MyZD,WyZ,(m.s.)yBW,HyBW,FyBSW,MyZSW
13	nemata'w unamwi	FZS,FZD,FFZS*,FFZD*,MFZS*,MFZD*
14	amen inamwi	MBS,MBD,FMBS*,FMBD*,MMBS*,MMBD*
15	nengalomwi	S,BS,WZS,WBS,HBS,HZS,(w.s.)ZS
16	nengamwi	D,BD,WZD,WBD,HBD,HZD,(w.s.)ZD
17	mafomwi	(m.s.)ZH,(m.s.)FBDH,WB,(m.s.)MZDH,WMZS,WFB
18	nenganamwi	HZ,(w.s.)BW,(w.s.)MBSW,(w.s.)FZSW
19	mafomwi nasi'akw	WBW
20	nenganamwi kwasiena	HZH
21	waolumwi	W,(m.s.)FZSW,(m.s.)MBSW
22	waolunamwi	H,HMBS,HFZS
23	nengaona	DH,BDH,WZDH,WBDH,HBDH,HZDH,(m.s.)MBDH,(m.s.)FZDH
24	mefimwi	SW,BSW,WZSW,WBSW,HZSW,HBSW
25	fafomwi	WF,WFB,WFZH,WMB,WMZH,HF,HFB,HFZH,HMB,HMZH; in the first ascending generation, all male consanguines and affines of spouse
26	ma'mwi	WM,WMZ,WMBW,WFZ,WFBW,HM,HMZ,HMBW,HFZ,HFBW

^aForms are given in the first person singular possessive, signified by the suffix -wi; kinterm No.23 is irregular in this regard. The third person singular form has a suffix indicating gender: thus, akonamen, but akoma'w, for kinterm Nos.1 and 2, respectively.

An asterisk indicates that the kintype has alternative designations and appears more than once on the table. Usage here depends on various sociological factors and on the degree of familiarity between *Ego* and *Alter*.

This practice of sibling-ising relationships - a source of some exasperation in genealogy collecting - has the effect of rectifying wide age discrepancies within genealogical generations. That is, because descendant generations relate to one another as though *Ego* and

alter were 'siblings' of a sort - not realising that an adjustment had occurred in actual usage - the practice, so to speak, moves groups up and down in genealogical space. This is not done by decree or wilful design,¹⁰ but is the result of individuals designating one another in ways that seem 'natural' and appropriate in the circumstances.

Other features of the terminological system call for interpretation, but space allows only a passing mention of them. First, though the system features broad lateral merging within generations, there is a special designation of MB/(m.s.)ZCh. The possible recency of this intrusion may account for the descriptiveness of cross-cousin terms (lit. '*offspring of the male*', recip. '*offspring of the female*').¹¹ It may also be associated with the lack of polarity in the reciprocals MBW/HZCh, on the one hand, and SpMB/(m.s.)ZChSp, on the other. The second unusual feature is that male *Ego* refers to the spouses of his cross-cousins as '*wife*' (MBSW-FZSW) and '*son-in-law*' (MBDH-FZDH), with the expected polar reciprocals. Female *Ego*, on the other hand, refers to these persons as though they were married to her siblings, and they reciprocate accordingly. Thus, for female *Ego*, MBDH-FZDH is '*brother*' (elder or younger depending on age of linking female relative to *Ego*) and MBSW-FZSW is '*sister-in-law*'.

5.3.4. SIBLING-TERM MORPHOLOGY

It can be seen in Table 2 that, although there is no term which we may gloss as '*sibling*' or even '*brother*' or '*sister*', the recurrence of two basic stems suggests a primary meaning of '*elder sibling*' and '*younger sibling*'. The Arapesh possess three categories of sibling terms, each with a distinct set of designata. Before discussing the semantics of these terms, it will be shown that the morphological relationship between the categories can be explicated by inferences drawn from grammatical conventions in the language.

To begin with, though the stems saho- and owa- clearly signify '*elder*' and '*younger*', respectively, they are bound morphemes and do not occur independently. However, their morphological relationship appears to exemplify a common sociolinguistic phenomenon in this culture, namely, the expression of conceptual inversions with linguistic metatheses. The rising inflection of owa- and the falling inflection of saho- are, in tandem, a manifestation of this pattern.¹²

TABLE 2
Arapesh Sibling Terms

CATEGORY	TERM		ENGLISH GLOSS
	Singular	Plural	
1	sahalomen	sahopwen	<i>elder brother(s)</i>
	owalomen	owapwen	<i>younger brother(s)</i>
	sahomen	sahowamen	<i>elder sister(s)</i>
	owamen	owawamen	<i>younger sister(s)</i>
2	sahopwas inguf		<i>those of the elder brothers' line</i>
	owapwas inguf		<i>those of the younger brothers' line</i>
3	sahopwas		<i>elder brothers</i>
	owapwas		<i>younger brothers</i>

The plural forms of Category-1 terms are grammatically irregular. That is to say, the medial consonant shift involved in pluralisation deviates from the usual practice of using plural suffixes, which are specified within a system of 15 noun classes. With few exceptions all nouns are pluralised according to which noun class they belong. On morphological grounds, we would expect Category-1 terms to be pluralised by substituting the final -n with a final -s, preceded by a slight vowel shift: thus, *sahalomen* → *sahalomas*, *owalomen* → *owalomas*, and so forth. This is not, however, what happens; moreover, actual usage can only be comprehended by comparing Category 1 with Category 3.

If we regard the masculine plurals of Category 1 as themselves in need of pluralising, then, applying the common convention just described, we may predict that the transformations would be *sahopwen* → *sahopwas* and *owapwen* → *owapwas*. The new 'plurals' are, in fact, precisely the terms we find in Category 3.¹³ The semantic significance of this super-plural is that the designatum of each Category-3 term is a class of males which is itself a congeries of coeval subclasses. This will be discussed further below.

With respect to Category 2, the -inguf suffix distinguishing these terms from those of Category 3 is a morpheme used for pluralising the nouns of certain classes, but its function in the present context is not that of yet another (super-super-) plural. Rather, it effectively qualifies the Category-3 terms by stressing the unitary, internally undifferentiated character of the designated class. In this capacity -inguf is like certain other morphemes which may, for example, be tacked on place names to signify the collective residents thereof.

Moreover, the designata of the terms of Categories 2 and 3 are to some extent coextensive, and therefore the *-inguf* suffix disambiguates the reference.

In sum, the morphological relationships in Table 2 have to do with a singular form (Category 1) and three species of plural: an irregular simple plural (Category 1), a regular super-plural (Category 3), and a regular collective plural (Category 2).¹⁴ That the categories are related in this way entitles us to view them as grammatical variants of the same set of terms, or more precisely, the same set of basic stems. Hence, the distribution of these terms over the range of designata is legitimately perceived as extensions from the focal kintypes '*elder brother*' and '*younger brother*'. The categories of sibling terms therefore constitute *in toto* a cognitive subset within the Arapesh terminological system. Equally important, however, is the fact that they are linguistically distinct, and thus the extension entails the transfer of certain cognitive components (the *saho-/owa-* significata) and the modification of others (the scales of plurality indicated by the suffixes). These linguistic features are the basis for interpreting the semantic dimension of these sibling terms. To simplify the discussion, I shall hereafter refer to the terms by category or by stem and category (*saho-1*, *saho-2*, etc.).

5.3.5. DESIGNATA

Starting with the focal kintypes (*eB,yB,eZ,yZ*), Table 3 specifies the range of distribution of Category-1 terms. As indicated earlier (see Table 2), the remaining two categories are exclusively masculine and exclusively plural. Furthermore, in contrast with Category 1, they lose their egocentric focus and are assigned instead to designated social classes; that is, (male) *Ego* may use one of these terms to designate a class of which he himself is a member. Category-2 terms designate the complementary subclans within each patriclan. There are always and only two such subclans within a patriclan, with the exception of clans which are very small, in which case this dual relationship obtains with another clan related to it through fictive or forgotten genealogical ties. The age-option (*saho-/owa-*) identifies the genealogically senior and junior groups (usually subclans), respectively. And, although they share a clan-name and totem, members of complementary subclans do not normally regard each other as kinsmen.

TABLE 3
Category-1 Denotata

ENGLISH GLOSS	DESCRIPTION ^a
1 <i>sibling(s)</i>	offspring of F and M
2 <i>half-sibling(s)</i>	offspring of F by a female other than M, the age-option determined by whether this FW is junior or senior to M, or, in case of serial polygyny, whether this FW followed or preceded M in sequence; offspring of M by a male other than F, the age-option determined by the place of M in this MH's sequence of wives
3 <i>step-sibling(s)</i>	FWCh (where FW≠M), with junior age-option to signify prior, consanguineal link of Ego to F; MHCh (where MH≠F), with senior age-option to signify prior, consanguineal link of Alter to MH
4 <i>parallel cousin(s)</i>	MZCh, FBCh, with age-option determined by relative age of M/MZ and F/FB, respectively
5 <i>close agnate(s)</i>	co-generational of Ego's patrilineal segment with whom genealogical connection can be traced, the age-option determined by relative ages of linking ancestors
6 <i>intermediate agnate(s)</i>	co-generational of Ego's subclan with whom genealogical connection may not be traceable, the age-option determined by relative seniority of Ego's patrilineal segment as against the patrilineal segment of Alter
7 <i>collateral(s)</i>	child of parent's cross-cousin, with age-option determined by relative ages of parent and parent's cross-cousin; child of parent's parallel-cousin, with age-option determined by relative ages of grandparental sibling-pair ^b
8 <i>primary affine(s)</i>	spouse of same-sex sibling, appropriately gendered, with age-option determined by age of linking sibling relative to Ego
9 <i>secondary affine(s)</i>	spouse of spouse's same-sex sibling, with age-option determined by relative ages of the linking sibling-pair

^aSingle-letter abbreviations denote primary kin.

^bIn the latter case, actual usage would be patterned after that employed by parents of Ego and Alter, in their relationship of 'sibling'.

Category-3 terms refer to the two initiation classes in the society. Between members of the respective classes, neither descent nor genealogical relationship is presumed, and the age-option is determined by the relative ritual seniority of the one class as against the other. At points in the initiation cycle the statuses and associated terms reverse themselves, so that at one time *Ego* may belong to *saho-3*, but at the next turn in the cycle he (and his ritual group-mates) become *owa-3*.

5.3.6. DISCUSSION

Scheffler has recently noted that, 'Structural semantics is concerned with ... the logical relations among the several senses of a word as it appears in a variety of specifiable linguistic and social contexts of usage' (Scheffler 1972:314). In his view, considerable confusion has arisen in the study of kinship semantics by a failure to distinguish between the distinctive and non-distinctive feature of kin categories. A semantic condition of signification obtains when the relationship between *Ego* and *Alter* possesses genealogically-based features which are criterial to *Alter's* denotation by the kinterm, and which constitute the necessary and sufficient features defining the category designated by that term (cf. Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971:4). Thus, to use Scheffler's example (Scheffler 1972:320), in English usage *Ego's* genitor is designated '*father*' by virtue of having sired *Ego*, regardless of whether or not *Alter* behaves as a '*father*' should. Nevertheless, certain rights and duties are ascribed to men in respect of their offspring and the expression '*father*' connotes these attributes. They are contingent features, and neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for membership in the kin category designated '*father*'. In general, even assuming that all members of a class share such connotative attributes, they remain non-essential features of the class *qua* kinclass.

It is not uncommon, however, for a kinterm like '*father*' to be applied to non-kin and thus to designate kin-like categories. This may occur through metaphorical extension, which

... consists in suspending one or more of the defining features (criterial attributes) of the primary sense of the word and substituting in its place some feature of connotative meaning which is associated with the primary sense of some simple widened sense of the word. In the process connotative features become criterial... (Scheffler 1972:319).

The phrase '*he is a father to me*' may mean that *Alter* possesses certain jural and/or behavioural attributes which qualify him for inclusion in a category ('*father*') conceptually related to, but separated

from, the category of genitor (also '*father*'). With these conceptual distinctions in mind, let us consider Arapesh sibling terms.

As one surveys the range of Category-1 denotata (see Table 3), it can be seen that while they embody a semantic condition of signification, the way in which criterial features become attenuated discloses the most likely course of metaphorical extension. Thus, with respect to those denotata unambiguously defined by genealogical criteria (Nos. 1-5, 7-9), the terms possess singular and plural forms which are used appropriately. Members of denotatum 6 ('*intermediate agnate(s)*') are referred to by the same terms; however, the criterion for selecting an age-option ceases to be 'relative ages of linking siblings' and becomes 'relative seniority of *Ego's* patrilineal segment as against the patrilineal segment of *Alter*'. This rule applies whether or not genealogical connection can be traced.

Now, it might be argued that the criterion for age-option selection in this case is still genealogical since the matter of seniority is traced to the birth-order of the male sibling-group from which the patrilineal segments are descended. While not denying that for the Arapesh descent-group relations ultimately imply genealogical connection, whether remembered or not, I would say that analytical insistence on this implication may at times obscure or conceal the cognitive aspect of kinterm usage. Observations indicate that, at the range of '*intermediate agnate*', the saliency of the genealogical feature diminishes considerably. *Ego* is raised hearing his brothers refer to 'that group of men our own age living in the next hamlet' as *saho-l*, even though they may be younger in age than *Ego* and his brothers. Moreover, *Ego* hears his father refer to his (the father's) co-generational in the neighbouring group in the same way. Sibling-term attribution thus appears to shift somewhat from denotation of *Alter* by genealogical criteria to designation of a class of individuals who are collectively related to *Ego's* class, with denotation of a particular *Alter* derivative of his membership in the referent class. Significantly, these 'classes' are social groups, co-resident males forming a closely-knit agnatic network. And yet the shift is not complete. Ambiguity is evident in that the terms are identical to those used with reference to close kintypes, the persistence of a singular form allows individualised denotation, and in certain circumstances genealogical connection may be a salient feature. This suggests that the designation '*intermediate agnate*' is on the threshold of metaphoric usage.

As noted above, Category-2 terms refer to complementary subclans which are perceived as plural and collectively masculine. These subclans

are exogamous, they occasionally recognise subsidiary totems, their constituent patrilineal segments are commonly domiciled near one another in the village ward, and some pairs of them have myths tracing common descent from two brothers or paternal half-brothers. Although the designata technically include female agnates, it is rare for a woman to be referred to by one of these terms, the reasons being fairly obvious. First, patri-virilocality entails that these females disperse upon marriage, after which (if not before) their subclan of origin is a matter of indifference to an *Ego* in the opposite subclan. Upon departure from their natal subclans, their places are taken by their brothers' wives. The second reason is that, whereas male agnates of a subclan form a corporate unity in matters of land tenure, marriage exchange, war-making and ritual, the female agnates are effectively not a part of this jural collectivity again, their places are taken by their brothers' wives.¹⁵

At this point it is necessary to distinguish carefully between two aspects of Category-2 usage: first, the convention whereby a subclan designates the opposite subclan as '*brothers*', and, second, the fixed age-options attending this designation. Members of opposite subclans do not, by virtue of their descent status and despite the sibling terminology, regard each other as relatives, and there are no restrictions against intermarriage. Paradoxically, the temporal remoteness of their assumed common origin negates the sense of kinship between them, while at the same time it justifies a unity which separates them from all other subclans. Thus the sibling terms are indicative of a relationship modelled on kinship, and perhaps historically derived from kinship, but one whose functions now concern the activities mentioned in the previous paragraph.

The heritage of common origin (which may or may not be enshrined in legend) also prescribes which subclan is designated '*elder*' and which '*younger*', thus ignoring relative age and generational status between individual members of the respective groups. There is a precedent for this usage even within the semantics of Category 1 where, for example, the age-option *Ego* uses in denoting his FBS is determined by the birth order of their fathers rather than by their own chronological ages. This practice - occurring in the extended uses of Category 1, but more attenuated in Category 2 - re-defines, as it were, elder/younger to mean senior/junior, thereby assigning contextual saliency to the rights and duties normatively associated with this relationship (see above). Between close kinsmen a situation dystonic with respect to relative age and seniority contains potential conflict, for the senior (but

younger) party is occasionally required to exercise prerogatives over the junior (but older) brother, a man who has perhaps dominated him for much of his early life.

A parallel occurrence between members of opposite subclans is technically incapable of producing tension of this particular sort. In the first place, subclans are slightly removed from one another residually, and thus a dominance relationship between *Ego* and *Alter* would less likely have derived from interaction during their formative years. Second, even when their history includes such interaction, disputes arising between the individuals by virtue of their subclan membership are immediately taken over by the larger groups as common cause. That is, the dispute is defined corporately and can only be litigated corporately. In cases where the disputants are very senior men, it may be difficult to separate the individual from the corporate contents of the issue; nevertheless, it remains theoretically impossible for individuals to dispute as members of opposite subclans. This is merely another way of saying that Category-1 terms have to do with individuals while Category-2 terms are concerned with groups; hence, a dystonic situation may occur in the former but not in the latter. This distinction, moreover, is reflected in the exclusive plural form associated with Category 2.

From the foregoing it is clear that a degree of metaphorisation is present in the semantics of Category 2. Whereas putative genealogical connection may warrant a sibling designation between descent groups, the same cannot be said of the age-option component. That is, while individuals or homologous groups may be related as '*brothers*', the latter - which contain all ages - cannot be conceived as elder/younger except in a metaphorical sense. This metaphor focusses on the connotative feature of the relationship as it exists in Category 1, viz., the presumption of senior/junior status distinctions between brothers. And yet, despite this usage, as well as various sub-totemic insignia symbolising super-subordination, the rights and privileges of paired subclans are exactly equivalent.

In conclusion, the age-option component of Category-2 terms appears metaphorically to identify a relationship founded on reciprocity - a notion often cast by the Arapesh as a state of asymmetrical complementarity - and the model for this is present in the structure of sibling terms. Additionally, this terminology masks the jural equivalence of subclans. Why is this necessary or desirable? In brief, the positing of such equality would (in the Arapesh view) underscore the potential cleavage between paired subclans and the viability of a separate existence. Under conditions of chronic warfare, which prevailed prior to

1950, reduction of village strength was rigorously avoided; accordingly, many of the social-control and ritual conventions of the society were (and are) more or less explicitly aimed at restoring harmony during times of internal stress (Tuzin 1974). The semantics of Category 2, which may be viewed as part of this total adaptational pattern, expresses an interdependency derived from the connotative features of real brotherhood. As we will now see, a more pronounced version of this convention has occurred in the application of Category-3 terms to the society-wide initiation classes.

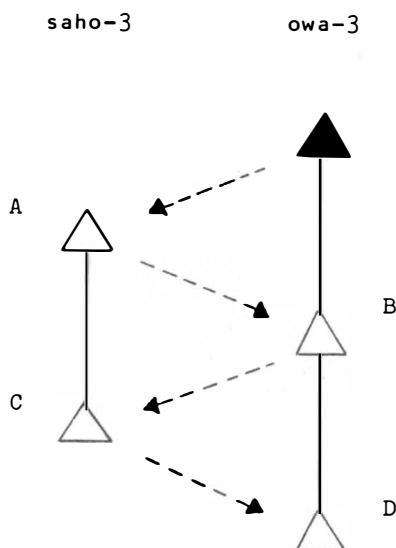
Category-3 terms are entirely metaphorical in the sense that the connotative feature of Category-1 designation - that of senior/junior status - is here made strictly criterial to terminological attribution. When asked why the plurals of Category 1 cannot be used interchangeably with Category-3 terms, informants explain that the latter are not 'really' brothers, but rather the social relationship between them resembles the fraternal tie in some ways: the non-kin, kin-like metaphor. These resemblances centre on the relative statuses (in this case, ritual statuses) of the groups vis-à-vis one another. Unlike genealogical brotherhood, where *Ego* is saho-1 to some *Alters* and owa-1 to some other *Alters*, in this semantic domain *Ego* is a member of a class of males defined and named in terms of the opposite (terminologically polar) class of males. Thus, at a given point in time *Ego* (and approximately half the men of the society) are saho-3, while the other half of male society are owa-3. Consistent with this sociocentric usage is the exclusively plural form, specifically - for reasons we shall discover in a moment - a super-plural form.

The situation in Category 3 is complicated by the fact that the statuses and terms reverse themselves periodically in the initiation cycle: if *Ego* is saho-3 now, with the next turn in the cycle he and his group become owa-3, and their ritual opposites become saho-3. This alternation aspect confirms that the criterial feature of term attribution is senior/junior ritual (and jural) status,¹⁶ an element which is merely connotative in the genealogically-based Category-1 relationship. That this is so, is revealed even more clearly in the connection between these society-wide initiation classes and the units through which they operate - the subclans.

Category-3 terms have a general referent, viz., the two halves of Arapesh male society, but this meaning is also specifiable to the polar subclans within each patriclan. In other words, the social groups referred to by saho-2/owa-2, on the one hand, and saho-3/owa-3, on the other, are co-extensive; the difference is that, whereas the latter periodically reverse themselves with respect to labelled groups, the former remain constant.

Furthermore, within the context of Category-3 usage the relationship operates at two levels simultaneously. An owa-3 *Ego* refers to all men of the opposite initiation class as saho-3, and on ceremonial occasions the performing roles are taken by these large groups. However, *Ego* recognises certain of the men of the opposite group (ideally members of the opposite subclan) as his particular initiation partners, a relationship both parties have inherited from their fathers. As shown schematically in Figure 1, the paired patriline initiate each other into the successive grades of the men's secret cult, such that A initiates B, B initiates A's son (C), C initiates B's son (D), and so forth.

FIGURE 1
Initiation Sequence



Initiation entails acquiring from one's partner the paraphernalia associated with the named spirit(s) of the particular grade, a spirit 'owned' by the clan to which both partners belong.¹⁷ Because there are five grades in the cult, the owa-3 group, who are conceived of as the junior initiands, are in fact acting as initiators with respect to lower grades of the cult. Superior ritual status (designated saho-3) is assigned to the group currently in possession of the paraphernalia associated with the penultimate grade of the cult. Moreover, surrounding each initiation rite, there is a series of lavish feasts. The

food flows in both directions between partner groups, though the participants regard it as payment to the senior group by the junior group for the latter's initiation.

Recalling the earlier discussion on subclans, it can be seen that reversible ritual statuses are here being superimposed on constant genealogical (*qua* descent) statuses. At one phase in the initiation cycle the ascendant subclan is also ritually senior (*saho*-3); at the next phase the same group - still genealogically ascendant - becomes ritually junior (*owa*-3), and vice versa.¹⁸ This further confirms that the terminological extensions linking genealogical, descent, and ritual spheres are semantically distinguished by differences in the nature of the relative-age option, this being a feature which in the inner ranges of the semantic field (Category 1) derives from the birth-order of the living, or of the easily remembered dead. At the broader ranges of descent alignments (Category 2), where genealogical connection is problematical or nonexistent, the relative-age option is preserved, albeit semantically altered to apply to the fixed hierarchical ordering of allegedly connected descent groups. That is, the relative ages of *Ego* and *Alter* is made a fiction contingent on presumed birth-orders occurring in mythical time, or else beyond memory altogether. Finally, in the metaphorical extensions of Category 3, the fixed relationship between subclans becomes apparent rather than real, and the 'absolute' status differential implied by the terminology becomes a fiction also, contingent on the alternating sequences of the initiation cycle.

In sum, the kinterm extensions disclose a coherent expansion of significant social relations in the dimension of structural time. The inner semantic range is consistent with the immediate interpersonal relations of individuals raised in relatively close proximity, relations where birth-order directly affects matters of inheritance, jural rights and obligations, and the physical domination of elder over younger during the formative years. Temporal precedence becomes something else when viewed as an element in the intercourse between agnatically related descent groups. Attention shifts to the collective, corporate nature of the interacting entities. When *Ego* refers to *Alter* in these terms the criterion he uses is the jural standing of their two groups in relation to one another. This does not imply that he must refer to *Alter* in these terms: he may well refer to him by his proper name, by a kinterm appropriate to their particular relationship (e.g. MB, WB), or even in rare circumstances by the term appropriate to 'sibling' as a kintype. However, by using the set *saho*-2/*owa*-2, *Ego* is unambiguously contextualising the reference: *Alter* may be referrable by many other terms, but here and now what is stressed is his membership in a social

group jurally relevant to *Ego's* own group. Use of sibling-term variants injects a temporal dimension into the relationship which is patterned after, but phenomenally distinct from, that obtaining between 'real' brothers as kinterm denotata; the '*elder/younger*' component of sibling terms is drawn upon to metaphorise the jural relations between complementary subclans.

Sibling terminology in the context of ritual categories again imparts a seemingly temporal element in the relations, whether as defined by chronological precedence or fixed descent-based hierarchies. However, this time there is an ironic twist: the preservation of relative-age significata stresses the veritable timelessness of the ritual relationship. In an atemporal dimension appropriate to sacred activities, the polar statuses may be reversed - indeed, must be reversed. The elder becomes younger, the younger elder; the senior becomes junior, the junior senior. The asymmetry of the moment dissolves into balanced equivalence when cast into the timeless perspective of the initiation cycle as a whole.

Significantly, however, this abstraction is never realised. The alternating states of inequality must logically never end, since for the Arapesh true equality of structurally equivalent parts can only be emergent in the continuing state of alternating inequality. Short of redesigning the entire initiation system, the effect of some great leader declaring the initiation groups equal would be to force indigent theorists into devising other ways of maintaining functional equivalence between groups. As Forge (1972:533-4) has observed, in achievement-oriented societies the maintenance of equality between men and groups is a prodigious task; indeed, such a state is almost impossible to contemplate in New Guinea. However, the Ilahita have achieved what appears to be the next-best thing: they have established a sanctioned inequality between specified groups which conventionally overturns itself at regular intervals.

The problem of maintaining solidarity between structurally coeval groups (or individuals) is something few New Guinea societies have overcome - or perhaps would wish to. In the Sepik, however, villages are often large and enduring, suggesting that the ritual structures described above, reported in varying forms throughout the Sepik basin, have proved an effective way of managing divisive tendencies within the polities. In Ilahita at least, the linguistic metaphors used for the ritual categories provide a clue as to what these divisive tendencies might be, and how the symbolic relationships effect management of them. In this culture, and reportedly elsewhere in the Sepik (Whiting 1941: 55ff.; Mead 1963:174,178; Bateson 1936:213; Hogbin 1970:87), fraternal

relations are, for a variety of reasons, fraught with rivalry and tension. Numerous case-histories recount how major social cleavages began with a falling-out between brothers or more distantly related agnates. At the same time, countervailing pressures favouring mutual help and support amongst agnates (war, exchange, marriage, etc.) have produced an awareness that a modicum of fraternal harmony is highly desirable.

It is this fundamental ambivalence - aggressive rivalry combined with acknowledged mutual dependence and amity - which also informs the ritual relations of Category 3 and the descent relations of Category 2. In these metaphorical and quasi-metaphorical domains, however, the rivalrous component is closely controlled by the conventions governing the symbolic contexts in which it is acted out. These contexts being sacred celebrations of the power and coherence of the total group, in which Category-3 relations are highlighted, but where also the inter-dependencies rooted in the other categories are also infused with religious meaning, the prescribed agonistic displays are enlisted to serve the very ends which, if allowed to occur freely, they would subvert. Moreover, by linguistically harnessing the sibling relationship, with the load of psychocultural connotations that implies, the metaphor appears well-suited to resonate the intuitions and experiences of most individuals in the congregation.

5.3.7. FINAL REMARKS

It is, I think, worth considering why New Guinea anthropologists and linguists have generally neither sought nor found place in the inner circles of modern kinship theory, the consequence being that these general developments have left New Guinea largely untouched.¹⁹ To begin with, a high priority in New Guinea linguistic research has been the establishment of taxonomic relationships in a complex linguistic field which, not so many years ago, was thought to have no order at all. Pursuing this and other specifically linguistic problems, these researchers have left the analysis of kinship terminologies to anthropologists working in the region. The lack of direction in the anthropological treatment of these phenomena is, in my view, revealing in terms of the general nature of New Guinea society and also in terms of the character of modern kinship theory.

To the extent that the 'social-category school' of kinship theory is relevant to New Guinea contexts, it presupposes an agreement as to what the significant social groups are: the principles governing recruitment and membership, patterns of inter-group relations of war, alliance,

exchange, and so forth. Now, a substantial part of the monographic and theoretical literature on New Guinea society is concerned with precisely this point of definition. Having landed the red-herring of 'African Models' (Barnes 1962), New Guinea anthropologists are still seeking social-structural and processual paradigms having applicability beyond the immediate ethnographic situation. Consequently, systematic attempts to analyse kinship terminologies in the terms set forth by, for example, prescriptive-alliance theorists must necessarily at this time founder on this unresolved and analytically prior problem.

The apparent (and perhaps inherent) fluidity of New Guinea kinship and descent may also have inhibited the adoption of formal methods of kinship analysis. As the anthropologist formulates models of kinship behaviour and terminology, there frequently lurks in him the suspicion that these generalisations may not apply even outside the immediate group with whom he is living. If he stays long enough in one place, or visits other communities in the culture, he may well find that his neatly defined components of kinterm attribution are manipulated in every conceivable manner. In this situation the formalistically inclined anthropologist is likely to feel himself in a double bind. That is to say, the mixture of synchronic and diachronic complexities, with attendant formal inconsistencies, makes the exercise technically very demanding. The dividend is, presumably, psychologically valid insights into indigenous cognitive structures; but, disconcertingly, a successful execution of the formal method may in the circumstances actually entail prior delineation of these same structures, or at least some fairly specific assumptions about them. Unless the formal analysis is to be an end in itself - an objective most anthropologists rightly eschew - or unless the goal is the more worthy one of producing abstractions of comparative value, the analyst must decide whether the gain is equal to the effort. The paucity of such treatments, implying a negative judgement by most researchers, is symptomatic of the narrow scope of much New Guinea theory. This is neither to endorse formal analysis nor to condemn New Guinea anthropology, but rather to indicate what seems to be a felt inappropriateness in combining them at this time. The distinct impression one gets reading the literature on this area is that, for various reasons, the systematic comparative study of New Guinea cultures has hardly begun. To be sure, some progress has been made in characterising the major sub-regions (e.g. the Highlands, the Austro-nesian-speaking coastal areas, etc.) and there have been a few comparative studies and symposia, but these amount to a small proportion of the scientific output. The continuing priority appears rather to be the documenting of relatively unacculturated peoples before it is too late.

The absence of any discernible trend in the analysis of New Guinea kinship terminology, in either linguistic or anthropological dimension, is, in my view, reflective of this general state of affairs. Pending, however, the further development of comparative ethnographic theory, there are issues and perspectives emerging at the level of general theory which provide possible avenues of approach to the New Guinea material. In considering the semantics of Arapesh sibling terms, in their linguistic setting, the present chapter is offered as an example of what one of those avenues might be.

N O T E S

1. Buchler and Selby (1968) have reviewed the field; see also Barnes (1971). Broadly speaking, it is divided between those who treat kin-term taxonomies as derived from, and indicative of, significant social categories and processes, and those who contend that such systems are derived from, and indicative of, genealogical space and the formal properties of human cognition. For clear statements of the former view, see Leach (1958) and Needham (1971); for the latter, see Lounsbury (1964, 1965), Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971), Goodenough (1965), and the critiques by Burling (1964) and Schneider (1965).

2. The scarcity of published analyses may soon be rectified by a collection of essays on kinship in the New Guinea Highlands currently being prepared under the editorship of Edwin A. Cook and Denise O'Brien (n.d.). It should be mentioned that other important works (e.g. Meggitt 1965; Wagner 1967; Glasse 1968; Strathern 1972) deal with kinship terminology *inter alia* in the context of analysing descent principles.

3. Research was conducted during 21 months of fieldwork in the period 1969-72, while the author was a Research Scholar in the Department of Anthropology, Australian National University. Grateful acknowledgement is made to that institution for providing financial support and academic auspices, and also to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, whose supplementary grant-in-aid enabled the author to return to New Guinea for an important cult ceremony.

The author is also indebted to Roy G. D'Andrade and Melford E. Spiro for helpful discussions during the preparation of this chapter, and especially to David K. Jordan and Harold W. Scheffler for their penetrating criticisms of an earlier draft. Naturally, it should not be assumed that these scholars are in agreement with all points of the analysis.

4. The villages of this region are among the largest in all of New Guinea. Ilahita, the fieldwork base and the village after which the dialect takes its name, numbers over 1500 - the second largest village in the province.

5. These developments have also yielded sharp divergences from other Arapesh-speaking cultures, among them the Mountain Arapesh (Mead 1938, 1940, 1947; Fortune 1942). The Arapesh family of languages, it should be added, belongs to the Torricelli Phylum, whose speakers occupy a 100-mile belt of southern slopes and foothills along the Torricelli Range (Laycock 1973).

6. Mead (1947:185) reports a similar situation among the 'Plains Arapesh' who, although speaking the Mountain Arapesh language, appear from Mead's accounts to be culturally more similar to the Ilahita Arapesh. Such restricted usage does not appear to be common in the Sepik region.

7. Pidgin kinterms may also be used in such situations. Naturally, *Alter* registers the hyperbole and/or irregular usages, from which ensues an unspoken regress of the '*You know/I know you know...*' variety. Suffice it to say that the communicative event is rather more complex than it appears.

8. Indeed the cumbersome descriptiveness of cross-cousin terms may partly explain why *Ego* occasionally lapses into referring to these persons with sibling terms. It is quite likely that such irregularity is cognitively significant.

9. To those who would argue that this is evidence contra-indicating siblingness as a primary component of what I am calling 'sibling terms', I can only say that an explication of why this is so would lead the chapter too far astray. Cf. my adoption of the extensionist perspective in the Introduction (see 5.3.1.).

10. I observed no instances of genealogical manipulation used as a political strategy; neither is genealogical wisdom *per se* a potent political weapon as it is in some New Guinea societies (*vide* Epstein 1969:191-2).

11. The only other occasion for descriptive reference is with regard to certain secondary affines (see Table 1).

12. Note that in their singular forms, the feminine sibling terms appear to be unmarked, as against the masculine forms which possess an additional medial syllable. The significance of this - if any - has not yet been analysed.

13. Feminine forms are dropped out in the second and third categories, for reasons I shall discuss in the next section.

14. While it is true that the terms of Category 3 appear to precede (logically and/or historically) those of Category 2, by virtue of being unmarked in relation to them, the designata of these categories are essentially two aspects of the same referent.

15. The degree to which a woman takes up jural membership in her husband's agnatic group varies greatly according to individual temperament and physical proximity to her own agnatic group.

16. In Ilahita society ritual and jural seniority are closely conjoined as mutually reinforcing bases for social control. See Tuzin (1974).

17. Shown in the figure as individuals, the actual partnerships commonly obtain between male sibling groups, or between larger patrilineal segments with the subclans. In most cases the clan is large enough to support several such partnerships, with the paraphernalia replicated for each.

18. In contrast to a point made earlier regarding the carry-over of Category-1 connotations to Category 2, the conjunction between Category 2 and Category 3 consists of alternating states of syntony and dystony. One functionally important result is that the senior subclan is, by virtue of its periodic ritual inferiority, in no danger of establishing general and permanent superiority over the junior subclan.

19. I am aware that some New Guinea scholars (e.g. Ward Goodenough and John Barnes) are important contributors to kinship theory. On the whole, however, they have drawn very little on the New Guinea material in this aspect of their scholarship.

5.3.0. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY IN A LINGUISTIC SETTING: A CASE STUDY

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P A R T 5.4.

SPECIAL LANGUAGES

5.4.0. SPECIAL LANGUAGES IN PARTS OF THE NEW GUINEA AREA

D.C. Laycock

5.4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter are considered special languages that are subsets of normal language, or are special modifications of it. The comments will be brief, as the field has been little investigated for the New Guinea area. I have been greatly assisted by unpublished observations from a number of sources, particularly M. Reay (Australian National University) for Kuma (Wahgi) data, R. Bulmer (University of Auckland) for Enga and Kalam data, and I. Riebe (Australian National University) for Kalam data. Buin and Abelam data are from my unpublished notes.

Special languages can be considered from the viewpoint of either form or function, but such a division is not appropriate when data on one or the other aspect are lacking. A mixed approach is therefore adopted here, where headings such as 'Baby Talk' refer to a form of language used in a particular social context, whereas the heading 'Ludlings' refers to sublanguages recognisable by a particular form. A brief section is added on 'Drum and Trumpet Signals', although this subject is treated by I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt in chapter 6.1., in order to add a few additional observations and references. (A full discussion of vocal and instrumental speech-surrogates in general, with a particularly valuable account of possible taxonomies, is provided by Umiker (1974); an earlier analysis is that of Stern (1957).)

5.4.2. BABY TALK AND CHILDREN'S LANGUAGES

Neither the languages used by parents (especially mothers), nor the forms of language used by young children themselves, have been described for the New Guinea area; impressions of frequent repetition, key phrases, and extensive use of kinship terms, have been noted for Kalam, Kuma, and

Buin. Kalam mothers, when talking to babies, substitute voiced phonemes for unvoiced, and [tʃ] for [s] - thus Kalam /aps/ becomes /abwc/. Kuma mothers use diminutives of kinship terms, and use those of address, rather than of reference, when speaking to children; a woman will say ndab-o 'my father' (otherwise a term used primarily during mourning rituals) to a child to mean 'your father'. In the same way, Buin mothers will use a form such as moka 'my father' (or even rogoma moka 'your my-father'), rather than ruumo 'your father', when speaking to a child. Such usages are almost certainly designed to teach the child correct kinship terminology, from his or her own point of view.

5.4.3. LUDLINGS

Ludlings are a category of special language with a formal definition - the result of a transformation or a series of transformations acting regularly on an ordinary language text, with the intent of altering the form but not the content of the original message, for purposes of concealment or comic effect. (Laycock 1972)

Examples in English are Pig-Latin, spoonerisms, Alfalfa, and Zipf. Examples from Papua New Guinea are rare; Aufinger (1949) gives examples of New Guinea Pidgin spoken backwards, and Manam being written backwards; the data are also discussed by Baker (1966). Examples are:

Normal language	Special language
Pidgin: yupela wok, masta i kam <i>'you all work, the boss is coming'</i>	alapui wok, atsam i mak
Pidgin: mi kilim mumut <i>'I killed a bandicoot [=pig?]</i>	im mlilik tumum
Manam: ruagnagu bua aludi masa goina ba ngakina kalea ngaena lo <i>'my friend, send me some betel nut this month'</i>	ugangaur aub idula asam anio ab anikang aleak ol aneang

Aufinger also says that some speakers used this 'backwards talk' with a mixture of their own vernacular and Pidgin. Backwards Pidgin is also encountered in modern Pidgin slang; a man will say mi laikim supsup 'I want a fish-spear' for mi laikim puspup 'I want sexual intercourse'.

Kuma-speakers are reported to substitute glottal stops for all or most medial consonants, as a form of linguistic play indulged in by adolescent boys and girls; the same system was reported for Chimbu by Laycock (1972: example 110), but no actual forms are available.

Two Buin ludlings are also discussed by Laycock (1969). In the first of these, the syllables are reversed in disyllables, and the first two

syllables placed at the end of the word in polysyllables (with gemination of the third vowel in trisyllables):

Normal language	Special language
moi 'canarium nut'	imo
omio 'give me!'	oomi
oreu 'breadfruit'	uore
amanoko 'many'	nokoama
ummainerai 'all villages'	maineraion

No opportunity presented itself to observe the use of this type of language in its social setting, though statements made about it suggest that it is again a jargon used by adolescents.

The second type of ludling, representing the speech of a dog in a story, involves two processes: the omission of stops between identical vowels, and the (phonologically conditioned) suffixation of -noko/-roko:

Normal language	Special language
ia ŋkoma muo pai oromui?	ia ŋkoroko muoroko pai oromuinoko?
kagatarei tou kagatokui.	kaatarei tou kaatokui.
topokarei menu perekoku aruere	tookarei menu perekoku aruere
topogorogui	toogorogui
<i>'who placed this coconut here for me? I cannot shell it, but if I roll it down the mountain it will break on the stones'</i>	

Such forms of 'play-language' seem, from the data provided by Laycock (1972), to be endemic in Austronesian languages, and can perhaps be expected to be widespread in non-Austronesian languages as well; Schuhmacher (1972) accounts for sound-changes in Austronesian languages of the western Solomon Islands on the basis of common ludling transformations.

5.4.4. SECRET LANGUAGES WITH LEXICAL SUBSTITUTION

Other secret languages reported for the New Guinea area involve lexical substitution. The first instances available for the New Guinea area are those for the Austronesian language of Bilibil, as an appendix to a paper by Dempwolff (1909). I cite some of the examples, with my interpretation (based on the glossary provided by Dempwolff) of the origin of the words of the secret language:

English	Normal language	Special language	Derivation
'ghost'	mariberáb ¹	burtamale	bur 'forest', tomol 'man'
'people of Miok'	mók	malhé	mal 'loincloth', he 'not'
'paddle'	féo	poluala	pólu 'run', polani 'to paddle'
'sail'	baínde	báinde	báin 'wing'
'pot'	bódi	tópi	[consonant reversal?]
'arrow'	yu	dúri	durí 'fetch' (?)
'knife'	badír	aoala	aowara 'carry (in hand?)' (?)
'taro'	ma	auaranek	aowara 'carry (in hand?)' (?)
'water'	yóu	medidin	madidi 'cold'
'coconut'	níu	potuande	pótu 'star' (?)
'sugar-cane'	tóu	seliék	seleiseleí 'in bushels?' (?)
'dog'	gaon	sasás	sasami 'shark'

Similar examples are given for a number of closely-related Austronesian languages by Aufinger (1942-45, 1949), along with many more examples of connected speech than are provided by Dempwolff. Aufinger also provides instances of secret language in a non-Austronesian language, Suroi, from the villages of Rimba, Sorang, and Masi. The lexical replacements are fairly predictable; 'man' and 'woman' are expressed by words meaning 'dog' and 'bitch', and 'loincloth' by 'liana species' or 'woven circular flower-stand'. A section on Pidgin tok bokis ('secret talk') is added in the 1949 translation of the 1942-45 paper, with such phrases as go kisim bilinat bilong mi 'fetch my betel nut', meaning 'send for my girlfriend'. (Tok bokis is now a common feature of urban Pidgin in Papua New Guinea, though it has been little studied; many of the expressions would, however, be better classified as slang, rather than secret language; see Brash 1971).

Aufinger distinguishes between 'figurative language' and 'secret language', but the distinction is not always easy to make. 'Secret language' in the New Guinea area often functions more as a 'group language' than as a means of disguising the meaning of a discourse; outsiders may catch the meaning, but are excluded from the group because they do not have active control of the 'secret' language. In this sense, secret languages occur commonly in the New Guinea Highlands, usually (as among the Kuma) as clan languages; such languages are specifically taught to all clan members, including strangers who take up permanent residence with the clan. The mechanism is again that of lexical substitution, and the types of phrases used are comparable with those reported by Aufenanger (1962) for various parts of the eastern Highlands; thus, for example, 'they hit the bird with a stick' can mean 'they blow

the spirit flutes'. 'Opposite speech' is quite common; 'go down' can mean 'go up', and 'I am a miserable man' can mean 'I am a strong, healthy man'. (Compare also the metaphorical usages in Kewa songs in Franklin 1970.)

Secret clan languages are commonly used by clan members on hunting expeditions; the Kuman say that this is so other men will not hear them and know of their plans, but in other areas explanations involving deeper tabus are offered. Thus, the Kalam say that their *alqaw mnm* ('pandanus language', Bulmer 1967, 1968) is necessary on pandanus-collecting expeditions, as otherwise the pandanus kernels will be soft and watery on removal from the earth-ovens.

In Buin, tabus are placed on certain words - principally names of individuals, and names of spirits - in certain areas of bush inhabited by specific spirits; but the tabu on uttering the names of animals being hunted has a different basis - namely, that the animals understand the Buin language, and will run away and hide if they know that the hunters are seeking them (Laycock 1969).

A ritual pandanus language is described in detail by Franklin (1972). This language, used only by the clans who have the right to harvest in the restricted pandanus area of Mt Giluwe, involves not only lexical substitution, but also a regularisation and restriction of the grammar of the normal language (Kewa). The most important consideration is that the ritual language should be recognisably distinct from the normal language; West Kewa speakers stated that outsiders could speak Pidgin if the ritual language were unknown to them.²

Franklin mentions the existence of ritual languages among the Kalam, the Duna, the Huli, and the Telefol, but gives no examples. Perhaps worthy of further consideration is however his statement on the social divisiveness of 'hidden' languages:

Within social and political contexts almost any example of hidden language can be shown to be ominous Hidden language, because of its function, is often the source of disruption and ill-feeling between clans that have a history of friction.

5.4.5. POETIC LANGUAGE

The language of songs, speeches, and traditional tales in the New Guinea area may exhibit features which distinguish it from everyday language; these features may be those which have already been discussed in the previous sections, but may also include the use of archaic, dialectal - or simply rare - words or grammatical forms. The fullest discussion of any poetical language in the New Guinea area is probably to be found in Malinowski's analysis (1935) of Kiriwina texts, though

other anthropologists, such as Fortune (1932), have also dealt with the subject. (A popular account of Dobu poetry, based on Fortune's material, is provided by Franklyn 1936.)

However, the system of creating a poetic lexicon in Buin, described by Laycock (1969), appears to be unique to that language - or perhaps to the languages of the South Bougainville Stock of the East Papuan Phylum. The first two or last two syllables are taken out of the words of the normal language, and to these syllables are added a fairly arbitrary two-syllabled prefix or suffix; the resulting four-syllabled word is then the 'poetic' form used in songs. The origins of this procedure are not completely clear; obviously, lexical tabu plays a part - especially as personal and locality names obligatorily undergo this transformation - and metrical considerations are relevant, as the slot in which the names are inserted in songs requires four syllables. (Four-syllable words predominate in Buin, and almost all words are even-syllabled.) Some examples:

	Normal language	Special language
[male name]	amakai	kainei
[male name]	kaakai	kainei
[male name]	meekai	kainei
[male name]	tiŋkai	kainei
[village name]	omitaro	tarorai
[village name]	raitaro	tarorai
'bereaved sibling'	uoreku	rekumanu
[male name]	moio	moiaka
[male name]	moiru	moiaka
[village name]	paagui	paakei
[village name]	paare	paakei
'rat'	inakia	kiarou
'sea hawk'	keerai	keekono, rainei

Poetic language in Buin may also involve the use of archaic or restricted morphology (for examples, see 5.6.7.).

5.4.6. CALL LANGUAGES

By 'call languages' are understood the forms of language used for transmitting messages over long distances, usually across valleys, the speaker being located on high ground; such a language from Wahgi valley may be heard on record (Sheridan 1958).

'Call languages' may frequently be heard in the Highlands areas of Papua New Guinea - though it is reported that their use is on the wane, in the face of the greater information-carrying capacity of local radio

stations - but have not been studied, in comparison with normal language. Acoustically, they give the impression of yodelling; vowels are held to abnormal lengths, especially finally, and consonant clusters may be simplified in some languages, but specific data are lacking. The tonal pattern also apparently differs from that of the normal language.

The brief notice by Wurm (1972) is worth quoting here in full:

LANGUAGES, CALL. In many of the mountain areas of New Guinea, messages are shouted across narrow valleys or gorges by natives who, for topographical reasons, have difficulties in getting together. These shouts carry over amazing distances, and special forms of the local languages are employed for them. These are described as call languages. The message is repeated a number of times, and the utterance cut down to the essentials, comparable to telegram style. A message is usually preceded by a long-drawn-out modulated call to attract attention, whereupon the message itself is shouted, with vowels of the most important word prolonged and shouted at maximum loudness but with correct relative pitch and length in relation to each other. The consonants are neglected and sometimes almost entirely omitted. At the end of such an important word, modulated shouts are often added. These seem to contribute in a not yet clearly understood way to making the message more intelligible. The call as described is repeated a few times, and then at subsequent repetitions, other words in the message are treated as important words. Another type of call language is used at large gatherings, festivities, food distributions, and the like, to give information concerning all those present. In this type every word in the - often abbreviated - sentences is drawn out as described above, with modulated shouts preceding and terminating the message call.

Call languages are not restricted to the Highlands areas; I have heard a call language being used by Mountain Arapesh-speakers, in the East Sepik District, and suspect that special modifications or ordinary language for shouting can be found virtually throughout the New Guinea area, even in the lowlands and on the coast. Townsend (1968) mentions call language among Wom-speakers (see quote in 5.4.7. below), and it is also reported for speakers of the Yambes language. Further examples are mentioned by Eilers (1967), and a recorded example (from Medlpa) can be heard on the disc accompanying Curth 1968.

5.4.7. WHISTLE LANGUAGES

Communication by means of whistling is reported for a number of areas, but no studies have been made; see Eilers (1967) for references not given here. The occurrence of whistled speech in an area is not necessarily an indication that the language of the whistlers is tonal; whistled speech occurs, on hearsay evidence, among speakers of the Au, Urat, and Wom (Torricelli Phylum) languages in the Sepik region, languages which are certainly not tonal in any normally accepted sense of the word

(though a certain amount of marginal tonological phenomena may be present). Townsend (1968:67) provides one of the few published mentions of whistled speech (and call language) among Wom-speakers of 'Arasili' (Arisili) village, East Sepik District:

I was now awake and soon realised that some of the village people were actually conversing with one another by means of low whistles.

From the direction of a nearby hut came a "wi wa wi wo", which was answered by the boy with "we wu". The hut repeated its signal in a most decisive manner and the boy got up off his haunches and went to the hut. I looked round for my sergeant, to see him grinning at me.

"All of the Arasili people are whistle people", he said, in Pidgin. "In the village when there are strangers about they whistle like a bamboo flute; when they call from the mountain they call like a garamut (wooden slit-gong)."

In the Papua New Guinea Highlands, whistled speech is used by trance-mediums to communicate messages from the spirits; this practice is reported for two parts of the Highlands, among the Kuma and the Enga, and is probably widespread. The whistled speech reproduces the tones of the spoken language (both Kuma and Enga are tonal), and, from report, is intelligible with virtually no ambiguity. Umiker (1974) also quotes M. Frantz (Summer Institute of Linguistics) as noting the use of whistled speech in the tonal language of Gadsup (Trans-New Guinea Phylum). The Kalam, whose language is not tonal, use a code of whistle-signals when hunting.

5.4.8. DISGUISED SPEECH

Although it is common for the sound of flutes and of whistles to be regarded as the voices of spirits, I have not found many reports of the human voice being disguised or distorted for this purpose; some references are given by Eilers (1967). The phenomenon can be heard on a recording of a singer distorting his voice by means of a half-coconut shell; the accompanying pamphlet states (Sheridan 1958):

An empty coconut shell distorts the voice of the person speaking or singing into it. This example is in the style used by the primitive tree-dwellers of early Sepik history. In this way messages could be passed from one tree house to the next without the meaning being understood by the invading warriors on the ground. Today, this type of speaking survives in Sepik ritual. (Side One, Item 3b)

(The 'primitive tree-dwellers of early Sepik history' are unverified entities, but the explanation may well have been the one given by the indigenous performer.)

I also have a tape-recording (made in 1959) of an Abelam-speaker singing a ritual song in a distorted voice (low pitch with extreme

faucalisation); the explanation was that as the song was sung out of context (in my hut, by day) it should not be heard by chance passers-by.

The Sheridan record also has a song from the 'Numi' (Lumi) area (the language being probably Olo), illustrating 'a nasal style of singing ... regarded as the true voice in this area'; but such singing styles, which include the widespread choice of a high nasal voice-style for female singers, can only marginally be considered as voice distortion, and even less as 'special languages'.

5.4.9. DRUM AND TRUMPET SIGNALS

'Drum signals' are taken as being the signals beaten out on the large slitgongs (garamut), widespread, but by no means universal, in lowland areas of the New Guinea region; the smaller hand-drums (kundu) are used only for rhythm accompaniment to dancing.

The fullest accounts of drum-signals in general, with lists of further reading, are those of Graf (1950a), Hermann (1943), and Eilers (1967); to these we may add a detailed treatment of the drum language of Kwoma-speakers of the East Sepik District by Zemp and Kaufmann (1969); four examples of Monumbo signals (in musical notation) are also given by Graf (1950b). These publications raise, in varying forms, the question of whether there is a true drum 'language' in the New Guinea area, and, if so, what its relationship to normal spoken language can be stated to be. The fullest answer would seem to be that of Zemp and Kaufmann (1969), who conclude that, for the Kwoma at least, the 'drum language' consists of a number of discrete signals, with distinct meanings, each signal being independent of the linguistic content of its message, and being distinguished from others by a 'unit of repetition' which is repeated during that signal, but which cannot be substituted meaningfully in any other signal. (The possibility of combining entire signals, by sending one after the other, is not discussed, but I formed the impression in 1959 that some such method accounted for the ability of Wogamusin-speakers (neighbours of the Kwoma) to recall individuals to the village, by specifying first the clan or sib, and then a further restricting detail.)

My recordings of Abelam slitgong signals would seem to support the Zemp and Kaufmann analysis; certainly there is no possibility of assigning a unique spoken-language utterance to any signal, nor is it possible to equate a fixed number of beats with any signal or signal-segment, since the number of beats varies considerably in repetitions of the same call.

Further data on the use of arbitrary signals for individuals are given in an anonymous (1913) account of slitgongs in the Bogia area;

the relevant paragraph, with the belief (unsupported, however, by any evidence) that there is a relationship between the spoken language and the signal, is also cited by Umiker (1974):

Für den Nachrichtendienst hat jeder Mann sein bestimmtes Zeichen, das allen Männern seines Stammes bekannt ist. Gewöhnlich ist es ein ganz willkürliches Zeichen. Auch wechselt er es schon mal, wenn er glaubt, ein besseres gefunden zu haben. Die Zeichen werden nach bestimmten Worten getrommelt; doch passt weder Silbenzahl noch Akzent auf das Zeichen; es darf aber nicht gesagt werden, dass es willkürlich mit den Worten verbunden ist.

Only one modern writer (Snyders 1968) has made the claim that there is a drum language in Melanesia directly based on the spoken language; he asserts that the drum signals on San Cristoval (Solomon Islands) represent spoken utterances, that each low note of the two-note drum corresponds to the vowel a, and that each high note corresponds to the vowels e, ê, i, o, u. But the analysis is statistically unconvincing, and even with many arbitrary decisions the author cannot achieve more than a 78% correlation between signal and linguistic message. Much more evidence would be needed to establish the existence in Melanesia of a true signalling code based on spoken language. (Further additional references on this aspect of the subject include Börnstein (1916), Eberlein (1910), Gerstner (1934-35), Höltker (1942-45), and Neuhauss (1911:314, 316).)

On the question of whether signal-systems coincide with linguistic boundaries, discussed by both Behrmann (1924) (who says that drum signal-systems do not cross linguistic boundaries), and by Eilers (1967:159) (who says the same system is used by speakers of different languages east and west of the Yuat River), my observations are inconclusive. In the northern Sepik plains, where the Abelam and Arapesh languages meet, slitgong signals of the Arapesh are recognised and understood by the Abelam, and vice versa; but I was unable to determine whether there is overlap between the signal systems, or whether a single system is found throughout each of the language areas.

A relevant factor is the carrying-power of the drums, estimated at at least 15 km (with a claimed maximum of 30 km) for large drums in the Sepik plains areas, and (from observation) about 10 km along the Sepik River. Physical geography and the resonance of the drums affect the carrying-power, as do also playing techniques. Drums in the areas north of the Sepik River are usually beaten by a standing player wielding a single stick, with considerable body-force, while those on the Sepik River are usually beaten by a sitting player holding a short stick in each hand. In any case, adult individuals can recognise all calls in their listening area. Additional clues to the meaning of a signal are

provided by the direction from which it comes (for instance, if it is common knowledge that a particular village is ready to inaugurate a new clubhouse) and the drum on which it is beaten. Individual drums are clan- and individual-owned, and are identified by their tone; some drums are reserved for messages connected with the owners - or in some instances even more specific messages. The analogy with church-bells in European communities is obvious, and, like church-bells, drums often bear individual names. In the Abelam village of Kalabu in 1959 I counted - without attempting a full census - a total of 17 drums, many - perhaps all - of which were individually named, and recognised, reportedly in the surrounding villages. In assessing the communicative function of slitgong-signalling, such extra-linguistic contextual information obviously needs to be taken into account.

The learning of the signal system by each new generation is also of interest. Tabus on touching the drums, except when a signal is sent, and the lack of practice on the drums beforehand, mean that knowledge of the signals is first acquired passively (by hearing the signals and having their meaning explained); after that, the signals may be practised on any suitable medium (see e.g. Burridge 1959:142). However, in at least some societies the signals may be taught by rhythmic mnemonics, which have little or no linguistic meaning. Thus the Abelam (East Sepik) call for '*the administrative officer is coming*' is explained as *tuan tuan, tuan tuan, tuan-tuan-tuan-tuan-tuan-tuan-tuan* (two pairs of slow beats followed by approximately seven fast beats); *tuan* (a loanword from Malay) means '*white man*'. (The signal is stated by Abelam-speakers to be based on that used in pre-contact times for '*there is trouble brewing*', and this is confirmed by my recordings of slitgong signals from the southern Abelam area. The same equation of signals was reported to me by Arapesh-speakers, and may be widespread.) The mnemonic for the '*singsing*' call contains only one recognisable Abelam word (*kan* '*hand-drum*'), and that may be fortuitous; the mnemonic runs *kan králte kan králte kan kálte kálte kan*.³ This is a call beaten by two men on two drums of differing pitch (interval of a tenth); the accented syllables are those beaten on the drum of higher pitch.

Acoustic signalling by the use of wind instruments (mainly bamboo trumpets) has been mentioned by various authors (see bibliography by Hermann 1943, and Eilers 1967), but has not been studied. Trumpet signalling seems well-developed in areas where slitgongs do not occur, such as the northern 'border area' of the West Sepik District, but elsewhere may complement the use of slitgongs. Wogamusin-speakers of the Upper Sepik River (who also use slitgongs) are accustomed to carry bamboo trumpets of about ten feet long in canoes, for signalling on the

river; the signals consist of vocal noises and lip vibration amplified by the trumpets.⁴ (A slitgong would normally be too large and too heavy for canoes.) In the same way, coastal dwellers frequently make use of triton or conch shells (taur) for signalling across stretches of ocean. Such deliberate use of wind instruments for signalling differs, of course, from the widespread use of flutes and whistles to represent, to the uninitiated the voices of the spirits.

5.4.10. FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

This necessarily brief account of special languages in the New Guinea area shows how little we know of forms of language at any levels other than the most mundane - or at any levels other than those necessary for writing grammars. It is obvious that much of the sociolinguistic field is still virtually unexplored in the New Guinea area, and its exploration will be the logical sequel to the production of grammars. It is only when a linguist knows at least some of the 'special languages' that he can be said to be fully 'initiated' into the linguistics of the New Guinea area.

5.4.0. SPECIAL LANGUAGES IN PARTS OF THE NEW GUINEA AREA

N O T E S

1. I have simplified and updated Dempwolff's orthography by writing his ä ë ï ö ü ñ j ñ as a e ë i i o u u f y ŋ; I have, however, retained his stress-marking.
2. A not unrelated linguistic phenomenon is that of Kuma youths pretending to speak English (by imitation of phonetic patterns), as observed by Marie Reay in 1953.
3. These and other Abelam drum calls were recorded by the author in 1960. Drum calls from Buin, imitated with sticks, were also recorded in 1967. None of these calls has yet been published. Some further published garamut signals from Buka can be found in Thomas 1931, who also has a brief but overstated note on slitgong signalling (Thomas 1965). Recordings of a slitgong signaller 'calling a man from another village' and of 'a leader of another clan being called' are to be found on the disc accompanying Curth 1968.
4. Recordings of bamboo trumpets played by Wogamusin-speakers from Washkuk village were made by the author in 1960.

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P A R T 5.5.

LEXICOGRAPHY

5.5.1. PROBLEMS OF NEW GUINEA LEXICOGRAPHY: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Adrianne Lang

5.5.1.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In this chapter it is my purpose to evaluate the theoretical aspects of the principal published contributions to lexicography for New Guinea (i.e. New Guinea in the widest sense, including both Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea). Very few of the works considered here (as listed in the Appendix) have been compiled by professional linguists; instead the majority of the dictionaries and wordlists have been written mainly by missionaries resident for extended periods of time in a particular speech community. Although many of the works produced have remained unpublished or only locally available, the contribution to our linguistic knowledge made by these authors is not to be underestimated. Often hampered by a lack of knowledge of lexicographic theory and impeded by notions of a 'proper' dictionary, nonetheless the authors approached their task with enthusiasm and vigour and the resulting works are to be commended as providing the foundation for present and future lexicographic research in this area of the world.

Given the linguistic situation of New Guinea with its multiplicity of vernacular languages and *lingue franche*, our lexicographic problem corresponds fairly closely to that of Central and South America, where we find a major introduced and more prestigious language, Spanish, co-occurring with the vernacular languages. Fortunately a clear outline for dictionary-making has been provided for this area by Robinson in his extensive *Manual for Bilingual Dictionaries* (1969). I propose to use Robinson's model of an ideal dictionary as our model for dictionaries in New Guinea because of the similarity of historical background and present conditions.

An ideal dictionary (cf. Robinson 1969) should contain a phonological and grammatical sketch (preferably contrastive) of the more prestigious or official language (or in New Guinea, one of the *lingue franche*) and the vernacular.¹ The dictionary should be an alphabetical listing of at least 5,000 entries ('compilations' of less than this are usually wordlists or glossaries) and should contain the following information: complete sense discriminations of the languages involved; the grammatical information necessary to use the entry practically; cross references; and illustrative sentences taken from natural conversation, fables, myths or songs.² A map of New Guinea should be provided, as well as one of the language areas involved; additional information (which would make the work an encyclopaedic dictionary) would appear in appendices of culturally relevant items, such as kinship terms, forms of greeting, farewell, address and swearing, colour terms, number systems, house types and their construction, artifacts, methods of food gathering, preparation and serving of foods, ceremonies, magic, and the flora and fauna (including the Latin names). The appendices should contain for all this information the ethnoclassifications used by the people themselves for these classes. Understandably enough, no such work exists for any of the 700 languages of New Guinea. In discussing the published dictionaries, I will focus first on selected aspects of the dictionaries (scope, organisation, grammatical information, and definitions), and then on the dictionaries as a whole.

5.5.1.2. ASPECTS OF THE DICTIONARIES

The number of vernacular entries in the dictionaries varies from 1,500 to 8,000 plus. The average 1,500-entry publication is usually a wordlist or glossary, while the longer (5,000 plus) works contain more of the information of our ideal dictionary. For example, the shorter works do not normally include the appendices (discussed above) or additional information on the culture, and no identifications have been made of plants, birds, animals, fishes, shells, etc. The innovation of including line drawings was made by Brown (1968); the drawings are well done and add greatly to the information content of the dictionary.

All of the dictionaries are in standard alphabetical order. The usual entry consists of main entry, part of speech (grammatical designation), gloss or definition, illustrative phrase or sentence, second gloss, and illustrative phrases, as in McElhanon and McElhanon 1970:

bet (av.) *later, afterwards*: bet garomawot *they will come later; behind*; bet pilâop *he threw it behind* (1970:14).

The lexicographers working in New Guinea have made no attempt to integrate their grammatical description into their dictionaries. This persistent oversight of lexicographers in general was criticised by Weinreich (1964) in his review of Webster's Third International Dictionary. The lack of sufficient grammatical or syntactic information is one of the main theoretical faults of modern lexicography, from monolingual English to bilingual English-Indo-European language dictionaries. It is almost always the case that the user of any dictionary sooner or later encounters a completely unknown word, and the grammatical information given does not allow a non-native speaker to utilise the unknown entry with anything approaching the competence (or performance) of the native speaker. About one-third of the works reviewed have some sort of grammatical sketch; Lister-Turner and Clark (1954) includes a brief contrastive grammar of Motu-Indonesian-Melanesian.

The lexicographers have usually produced English translations of the entries of the target language.³ However, Nilles (1969) and Mager (1952) have produced encyclopaedic dictionaries with a wealth of information about the culture and environment of the people. In such entries as the following, Nilles (1969) reveals aspects of the Kuman (Chimbu) beliefs:

mogena engrikwa = 'food stepping over' (a woman steps over food her husband or other person is going to eat in order to cause sickness in retaliation for received insults)
(Nilles 1969:62)

And the importance of grease or fat in the culture is explained in:

wamuna, wamun, wam, wamuno (N) = 'my, your ... fat, grease'.
wam minge = 'fat container (bamboo tube)'. (Lard and bacon of the pig are melted and poured into the bamboo container. Often mixed with the red sap of Komba, a Pandanus palm fruit, kept for embellishment, ointment of the body)
wam erukwa = wam aguogwa = 'ointment he put (on his skin)'. (In former times such fat and grease container were essential parts of the cosmetic parlour of every family. A family was regarded as poor that had no such container in the house. The fat was smeared on the skin to make it shiny, glistening and besides regarded as for embellishment, it gave the person a warm feeling against the cold in the morning. Men and women going abroad always put such ointment on their skins; a dancer anointed his body before putting on other decorations for the dance. At every important occasion in life; initiation, marriage, burial, dancing, war, such ointment has been used. Young girls may embellish themselves every morning, though when married and doing so they are scolded by inlaws and husbands for such behaviour, making themselves attractive to other men. The fat in the container turns rancy [sic], but the natives never seem to mind about dreadful smell on their skins. Nowadays, the pig grease ointment has mostly been replaced by concrete and fluid brilliantines which are bought in local trade stores.)
(Nilles 1969:240)

Similarly, Mager (1952) gives extensive information on Gedaged kinship in such entries as:

nenaten, n. (nenate-, nenete-.) Z. nenaten, B. netegen, T. giten, St. ten, Sg. noten, H. neten 'father-in-law, son-in-law relationship'. It indicates male persons who are in the self reciprocal relationship of father-in-law, son-in-law, i.e. the persons a male speaks of as his nenaten are: 1. all the husbands of persons classified as nanug pain; 2. husbands of all female gai in his child's generation, including those on his wife's side; 3. all the males in the father's generation on his wife's side (i.e. wife's father, her father's brother; her mother's brother; her mother's sister's husband; her father's sister's husband; all the sons of her grandparents; all the husbands of her grandparent's daughters).

When persons in this class address each other they say ten. A person would be greatly embarrassed if he should forget himself and call his nenaten by name. There is a great solidarity between two persons in the nenaten class. Cf. zauan, ten. (Mager 1952:221)

In discussing the organisation of the dictionaries, I will deal first with those which are English to vernacular (Koschade 1969, Mannering 1967, and Draper 1958). Koschade presents a simple wordlist of the form

'chapter' mōkêlatu

'charred' gasi-gasi (Koschade 1969:47)

Mannering in his English-Kuanua (Tolai) dictionary glosses the verb 'go' as follows:

'go': vana, ba, pa (Mannering 1967:7)

The entry is then followed by other entries including 'go', such as 'go about', 'go back', 'go before', concluding with 'go from place to place' and 'let go'.

In the corresponding Kuanua-English volume by Wright, ba is glossed as:

3. v.t. and int. 'To go into the bush' ... 4 ... 'to tread', hence 'to go' (Wright 1964:17), while pa is glossed as

4. v. int. 'To go' (used only in compounds) (Wright 1964:133), and vana, glossed also as 'to go' contains more than a column of sub-entries listing the compounds and modes of going, from vana ar, v. int. 'to go out of the way' to vana varbaiai ra nuknuk, 'to differ in opinion' (Wright 1964:200f.).

Although Mannering has stated that his aim is to assist the 'native people' learning English, the entries themselves are not adequate for non-native speakers of English to distinguish the correct usages.⁴

Draper's English-Kyaka Enga dictionary (1958) was produced for the Baptist Mission expatriate staff. It is one of the major dictionaries,

and includes multiple glosses, alternative spellings and cross-references, and sub-entries. It also includes sections dealing with the Enga calendar, garden technology, clan names, forms of greeting, and common epithets and swear-words. In fact, the main fault with Draper's work is the lack of a Kyaka Enga-English index.

The dictionaries which are vernacular to English can be divided into two groups, those which include a reverse index (Brown 1968, Lanyon-Orgill 1960, Lister-Turner and Clark 1954, Mihalic 1971, Koloa and Collier 1972, Lang 1973, and the van Hasselts 1947),⁵ and those which do not. Thus, a given vernacular form is easily located in the dictionary, but the only way for the user to find the English equivalent of the vernacular item is to compile his own English-vernacular index. In view of the fact that the lexicographers producing these works are nearly all compiling bilingual dictionaries,⁶ the lack of a reverse index is a shocking omission. The omission is even more deplorable when it is realised that probably most of the lexicographers involved had in fact compiled a reverse index, if only for their own use.

5.5.1.3. THE DICTIONARIES AS A WHOLE

The Table included in this section presents most of the dictionaries examined and the kinds of information found; the table is in the form of a matrix, i.e. the most frequently occurring features occur at the top of the table, and the dictionaries containing the largest number of the kinds of information examined (essentially the Robinson (1969) criteria) occur to the left side of the table, thus, the 'most complete' dictionaries occur at the leftmost side of the table.

TABLE OF DICTIONARIES¹

Language and Author	GEDAGE Mager ²	ENGA Lang ³	SELEPET McElhanon and McElhanon	FIDGIN Mihalic ⁴	RAJUNA (KUNUA) Lanyon-Orgill	KATE Keyser ⁵	KYAKA ENGA Draper ⁶	TOARIP Brown	KUMAN Nilles	MOTU Lister-Turner and Clark	NOENFOOR van Hasselts ⁷	EKAGI Steltenpool	MAILU Saville (Lanyon-Orgill)	KUNUA Wright (Methodist Mission)	MARIND Geurtjens	BALAWAIA Koloa and Collier	DOBU Grant	FIDGIN Steinbauer
Approximate Number of Entries	5,000	5,000	3,400	3,000	6,000	8,000	4,500	4,000	4,000	6,800	4,300	4,000	3,000	6,400	3,500	1,500	3,600	2,000
Part of Speech	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x				(some)	x			
Cross-References	x	x					x	x	x	x	x	(some)		(some)				
Illustrative Phrase or Sentence	x		x	x		x	x	x	x					(some)				
Reverse Index		x		x	x			x	x		x							
Sub-entries	x		x	x				x			x	x		x	x			
Introduction	x	x	x		x	x						x	x				x	
Abbreviations	x	x	x		x	x						x						
Vernacular Orthography		x	x	x					x							x		
Vernacular Grammar		x		x					x	x						x		
Vernacular Pronunciation	x	x	x		x	x			x									
How to use the dictionary	x	x	x				x											
Identification																		
a) Flora	x	x	x			x				x	few							
b) Fauna	x	x	x			x		x		x	few							
Other languages						German					Dutch	Dutch and Indonesian			Dutch			German

NOTES:

¹All the works examined contained as a minimum an entry and a corresponding equivalent gloss; therefore this is omitted from the table. Works which contained only an entry and a gloss (i.e. wordlists) were not included in the table; these include Brett et al (1962), Bromilow (1904), Doble (1960), Hubers (no date), King (1901), King (1927), Koschade (1969), Lanyon-Orgill (1944), Lithgow and Lithgow (1974), van der Stap (n.d.).

²Mager's work includes a large number of sense discriminations, the exception among all the dictionaries examined; he also includes many etymologies.

³Lang's work includes some semantic restrictions on entries, a map of the local area, and an appendix of names.

⁴Mihalic's work includes a list of geographical names and appendices of practical word terms: schoolroom, physiological, medicine, diseases, household, clothing, flora and fauna, mechanics and engineering, nautical, Doctrinal, Biblical and liturgical terms.

⁵Keyser includes appendices on the flora, fauna, kinship, medicinal and nutritive plants and minerals.

⁶Draper includes appendices on greeting and farewells, insults and epithets, the Enga calendar, gardening notes, and the clan, chief and place names.

⁷The van Hasselts include several of the dialects within their entries.

As mentioned above, one of the major shortcomings of the dictionaries is the lack of a reverse index. In any lexicographical undertaking which is basically bilingual (as all these dictionaries are), a reverse dictionary (or index-glossary at the minimum) should be provided. Another major omission is the lack of any sort of English orthography, pronunciation, grammatical sketch or even list of the major irregular verbs (such as is generally found in bilingual dictionaries of Indo-European languages which include English as one of the languages). Clearly this omission is based on the assumption that the intended users of these words are native speakers of English; the dictionaries were not intended to aid the local inhabitants in their study of English. Considering the present educational conditions in this area, future lexicographers should hasten to repair this omission.

Connected with this is the complete lack of any detailed information in practically all the dictionaries examined of (a) semantic information (for either the vernacular or English), (b) lack of sense discriminations, especially for the English forms (those which the newly literate would use), and (c) grammatical information on the English definitions given. With regard to the grammatical information given, this appears in the works generally as a 'part of speech' classification, as

kaiminíngi n. 'brother' (Lang 1973:29)

ángf injíngi vp. 'to come of age' (1973:9)

This sort of classification appears in Brown (1968), Draper (1958), Lang (1973), Lister-Turner and Clark (1954), and McElhanon and McElhanon (1970). In the remainder of the works studied, this information can be assumed only from the form of the entry's definition:

tugu 'to send'

tuari 'war' (Koloa and Collier 1973:66).

In these cases, we are to assume that tugu is a verb, and that tuari is a noun; this works satisfactorily in most cases, until we are faced with an entry such as:

metabubu 'blind' (1973:52)

Is this the verb 'to blind someone', or the noun for a blind person?

The inclusion of illustrative phrases or sentences was mentioned in the introduction as part of the ideal dictionary. Several of the dictionaries examined include illustrative phrases or sentences (Draper 1958, Brown 1968, Keysser 1969, McElhanon and McElhanon 1970, Mager 1952, Wright (Methodist Overseas Mission) 1964, Nilles 1969, and Mihalic 1971), and these are to be commended, although their adequacy may be questioned. The aim of illustrative text is surely to show the

grammatical restrictions of the entry, while illustrating some of the sense discriminations. As Robinson (1969) points out, illustrative texts provide an excellent opportunity to give anthropological information about the culture involved. Thus, a useful illustrative sentence for the Enga entry *lépé* 'sweet flag' (*Acorus calumnus*) might be, for example, *Wáné patáŋge dúpa sangái pétala, lépé pokengé* 'Young men plant sweet flag at the bachelor purification ceremony'.

Instead, typical illustrative phrases and sentences found in the dictionaries mentioned above are:

hikinge (n.) 'sheltered area - and therefore dry': *nak hikinŋan getalop* 'he sat down in the shelter of the tree'

ane (n.) 'forest' (only with *hewukŋe*): *ane hewuk* 'thick forest, deep forest'; *ane hewukŋe pato gam yahap* 'a big thick forest appeared and grew' (McElhanon and McElhanon 1970:52)

meteta'zun, n. ... 'Presentiment, premonition, anxiety, uneasiness, apprehension, misboding, inkling' ... *metetazun* [sic] *funag* 'I had a premonition' (Mager 1952:201)

strafim, 'to punish someone' *Yu no pret long strafim pikinini* = 'Don't be afraid to punish a child' (Mihalic 1971:184).

Although the dictionaries that have been discussed contain various weaknesses, they are the product of the state of lexicography in the New Guinea area during the recent era, and there is no point in overly criticising these works for defects which any modern lexicographer would attempt to eliminate. The assets of the individual works are found in the appendices containing a trove of encyclopaedic information, as detailed in the notes to the Table of Dictionaries. It is hoped that the evaluation presented here will enlighten future lexicographers in the New Guinea area and stimulate additional work in this field.

POSTSCRIPT

Since completion of this chapter (1973) the *Middle Wahgi Dictionary* by Evelyn Ramsey (1975) has appeared. This excellent and complete work of 3,500 entries contains nearly all the features discussed, and includes detailed sub-entries, cross-references, cultural notes, an addendum of cultural references, principal nouns and verb roots, and an English-Middle Wahgi thesaurus - the first published thesaurus of a Papua New Guinea language. Ramsey has neglected only an English-Middle Wahgi index and apologises for her omission of a grammatical description of the vernacular.

5.5.1. PROBLEMS OF NEW GUINEA LEXICOGRAPHY: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

APPENDIX

Dictionaries Examined

The following (published) dictionaries were examined:

AUTHOR	LANGUAGE
Brett, Brown, Brown and Foreman	Police Motu
Brown	Toaripi
Draper	Kyaka Enga
Geurtjens	Marind
Grant	Dobu
Hasselt, van and van Hasselt	Noemfoor
Koloa and Collier	Balawaia
Keysser	Kâte
Koschade	Jabêm
Lang	Enga
Lanyon-Orgill	Raluana (Kuanua)
Lister-Turner and Clark	Motu
McElhanon and McElhanon	Selepet
Mager	Gedaged
Mannering	Kuanua (Tolai)
Mihalic	Pidgin
Nilles	Kuman
Ramsey	Middle Wahgi
Saville	Mailu
Steinbauer	Pidgin
Steltenpool	Ekagi
Wright (Methodist Overseas Mission)	Kuanua (Tolai)

A. LANG

N O T E S

1. In this context it is worthwhile to note that this material is routinely included in bilingual dictionaries of Indo-European languages.
2. Illustrative sentences drawn from Western-culturally oriented sources such as the Bible should be avoided.
3. Other languages used are Dutch (Doble, Steltenpool, van Hasselts and Geurtjens), German (Keysser and Steinbauer), Indonesian (Steltenpool), Malayan (Doble), and Fijian and Samoan (Bromilow).
4. The people would have rather a difficult time, as no grammatical sketch of English is included, no English verb paradigms, no list of irregular verbs, or even a section dealing with English orthography, pronunciation and spelling.
5. Nilles (1969) includes a short (about 480 item) reverse index.
6. A monolingual dictionary provided the basis for Lang 1973; most of the dictionaries were produced by and for expatriates who could not use a monolingual dictionary. Balint's proposed work (1973) will be the first published dictionary for this area.

5.5.1. PROBLEMS OF NEW GUINEA LEXICOGRAPHY: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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5.5.2. A HISTORY OF LEXICOGRAPHY IN THE NEW GUINEA AREA

D.C. Laycock

5.5.2.1. INTRODUCTION

In the history of the linguistics of a given area, wordlists (including sporadic vocabulary items and phrases) precede grammars, and grammars precede dictionaries. In the New Guinea area, where few grammars that could be regarded as adequate have yet been produced, it is not surprising that there are virtually no dictionaries that can be considered as adequate (in the terms set out by A. Lang in 5.5.1.1.). The study of the languages of the New Guinea area is probably too recent for a detailed knowledge of them to coexist with a detailed knowledge of lexicographic theory, at least before the 1970s.

Nevertheless, many works called 'dictionaries', and others of comparable extent called 'vocabularies', have been produced for languages of our defined region (lying between Santa Cruz and Halmahera). Most have been the work of missionaries, who, for their own language-learning purposes, and for the convenience of those who followed them in the mission, usually compiled extensive lexical materials. Such materials often began as a card-file, and only later were gathered together in a handwritten, typed, or mimeographed form, for easier reference.

Many more of these 'dictionaries' were produced than were ever published, and some of those published were produced on mission presses, with very limited distribution. The reasons for this were economic; the languages were - and are - esoteric, and books on them could appeal only to a limited audience; the only printing available was letterpress, which was costly and slow, especially when the orthography of the language required unusual symbols or diacritics; and proof-reading was a difficult process, with virtually the only non-native speaker of the language located on a remote Pacific mission station, thousands of miles, many ships, and erratic mails away from the printing press.

This situation does not make the task of the bibliographer any easier. Books in small and limited editions are hard to find, and may go through several editions without any overt notification of the fact. But the reproduction of manuscripts and typescripts gives most trouble; multiple copies may exist in various locations, as carbons, mimeographed copies, photocopies, and microfilm; collation may differ from one copy to the next, and some copies may have handwritten emendations by the author or any of the later possessors. Indications of date and place, even when given on the manuscript or typescript, also cause difficulties; the copy may have been made far from its original location, and bear a substantially later date. In this way, extant copies, or even publications, may reflect the state of linguistic and lexicographic knowledge of several decades earlier.

For these reasons, the bibliography provided with this chapter cannot be regarded as exhaustive, or even completely accurate. Items which I have not personally seen are preceded by an asterisk; many of these which were not published, or not produced in multiple copies, may not even exist any longer, and for others the details may be incorrect. Even the manuscripts (including microfilms and photocopies) and mimeographs that I have examined are not given full collation details (which would have taken more time than it appeared to be worth); I have contented myself with quoting the number on the final text page (so that introductory matter and unnumbered pages are often excluded). Many of the earlier manuscripts that have not been consulted are taken from references given by Capell (1954, 1962); some were once in his possession, but have since been sold. Other references are taken from Lang (1973) and Lanyon-Orgill (1960). The chapters in volumes I and II, and also in the present volume, on the history of research in various parts of the New Guinea area may throw further light on some of the unexamined items.

It is inevitable also that many unpublished items have been missed, though a high proportion of the extant early ones are probably represented; however, no real coverage can be expected of unpublished material produced later than about 1950, as with the increasing interest in languages of the New Guinea area the tendency has been for most missions with language interest to compile lexical material - if only in the form of a card-file - for the major mission languages.

5.5.2.2. DICTIONARIES OF AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

So much by way of introduction. We can now take the dictionaries in roughly chronological order, over the last hundred years, for the main

subregions of our geographical area. The earliest dictionaries were of Austronesian languages, mainly because the earliest European settlements (mission and administration) tended to be near the coast, in predominantly AN-speaking areas. Although a clear distinction between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages came relatively late (see (I) 2.1.1.3.), the relationship between 'Melanesian' languages and those of Indonesia and Polynesia was perceived by many of the early dictionary makers, and this meant that they were able to draw on the lexicographic experience of both the Eastern and Western Austronesian areas, and to include, in some cases, cognates from other Austronesian languages. This is not the case with the earliest such dictionary known to me, that of van Hasselt (1876) for Numfoor; but this two-way dictionary of some 1,700 Numfoor words nevertheless contains some advanced features, such as the marking of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and the labelling of borrowings in the Dutch-Numfoor section as Malay, 'bastard Malay' (*Verbasterd Maleisch*) and 'bastard Dutch' (*Verbasterd Hollandsch*). (These words are omitted in the revision by J.L. and F.J.F. van Hasselt (1947), perhaps because the Dutch-Numfoor section has been reduced to a mere index; but the dictionary is improved in a number of other ways, principally in the providing of more accurate, and often encyclopaedic glosses, as well as in the listing of dialect forms and forms in other Austronesian languages of the area, and in Malay.)¹

In the eastern half of New Guinea, the earliest dictionaries were of the well-known languages Kuanua (Tolai) in the north, and Motu in the south. The Kuanua dictionaries of the nineteenth century include Brown and Danks (1882), Rickard (1889), and Abel (1899), though these remained unpublished. The first published Kuanua dictionary appears to have been that of Bley (1900), but that of Costantini (1907) was not far behind. Lanyon-Orgill, who drew on all previous sources for his Kuanua dictionary (1960) mentions Costantini's original manuscript as having been prepared in 1905, and cites also a number of other early manuscripts, mostly completed prior to World War II: Anon 1895-1900, Rickard n.d. (Nodup dialect), Humboldt 1914, Koltenko 1912-15 and 1914, and Meyer 1921 (microfilmed 1961). The first of these last-cited manuscripts may well be the H. Fellmann version of Rickard (1889), for which however Wright in his later revision (1964) gives the date 1918. An intermediate version of the same work is that by Linggood, of which Lanyon-Orgill (1960) notes (giving the author/editor's name as Lingwood): 'only 100 copies printed, most of which were destroyed during the war; a copy is preserved at the Mission's headquarters at 139, Castlereagh Street, Sydney; photostat in the Mitchell Library'. The same fate seems to have overtaken Lanyon-Orgill's first attempt (1942); these works,

together with the manuscripts, have not been sighted. Two other Kuanua dictionaries from the prolific Methodist Mission in Rabaul are those of Poole (1953), and the same author's revision after remarriage (Mannering 1967); this last is essentially the English-Kuanua counterpart of Wright (1964), and, as in most such reversals, sense-discrimination of the Kuanua glosses is not offered - the reader has to check the Kuanua-English section. Lanyon-Orgill's dictionary (1960) remains the most usable Kuanua dictionary; sense-discriminations and usages are lacking, but the entries are extensive (12,000 'basic Raluana words', according to the introduction, but only 6,000, according to A. Lang (5.5.1.2.)), and include much information on dialect forms. The extensive introduction is an important contribution to Pacific linguistic history.

The extant works on Motu, which is a language in many ways parallel to Kuanua, are much less extensive. Lawes' grammar and vocabulary (1885, with two further editions before 1900) was extensively revised by Lister-Turner and Clark (1930), and this work was further revised by Percy Chatterton (Lister-Turner and Clark 1954a, 1954b); but all versions consist only of single-word or short-phrase Motu glosses of English words, with no examples of usage. Many archaic forms are included, but these play no part in Chatterton's own 'Basic Motu Dictionary', incorporated into Lister-Turner and Clark 1954b. The dictionary of Brett and others (1962) fills some of the need for a dictionary of the modern spoken language, though in this case the language is the pidginised form of Motu known as Hiri Motu (formerly 'Police Motu'). There remains a great need, not completely met by the 1976 Hiri Motu dictionary (Office of Information).

The Austronesian languages of the British Solomon Islands can boast of a large number of dictionaries, almost all of which have been published, and which are of a fairly high standard - though again usually lacking any information on usage. The majority of the dictionaries have been produced by only two authors, of whom the more prolific is W.G. Ivens, with considerable lexical materials in the languages of Sa'a, Ulawa, Lau, Longgu, Bugotu, and Marau Sound (bibliography, various dates 1919-40). The second author is C.E. Fox, with three dictionaries to his credit (Lau, Nggela, Arosi - see bibliography 1954-74). (The 1974 Lau dictionary is apparently a revision of the 1954 microfilmed manuscript.) Roviana is fairly well documented in the three editions of a dictionary by Waterhouse (1923, 1928, 1949); however, the reviser of the 1949 edition (L.M. Jones) decided - mistakenly, in my opinion - to omit words from the earlier editions which are no longer in current use, instead of retaining them with an indication of their obsolete or obsolescent

status. Other Solomon dictionaries are those by Geerts (1970: 'Āre'āre) and Keesing (1975: Kwaio); the latter is a very extensive and generally adequate dictionary.

The remaining Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area proper are far less well served. Published dictionaries, of limited extent, including only King's very early (and very rare) grammar and dictionary of Wedau (1901a), Jennings' recent (but still rare) dictionary of the same language (1956), Mager's dictionary of Gedaged (1952) - notable for its extensive comparative material, which unfortunately is not always accurate - and Koschade's Jabêm dictionary (1955); this last probably draws heavily on the dictionary of 13,000 entries by Zahn (1917), and perhaps other Jabêm manuscripts which also have not been sighted by me. Manuscripts with lexical material exist for a number of languages of the Bismarck Archipelago, and include Peekel (n.d.) and Neuhaus (1966) for Papa, Schumm (n.d.) for Bola, and Jones and Zepczyk (1964) for Lavongai; an announced dictionary of Tanga by Bell (197-?) swells the list somewhat, and may well complement the large dictionary by Maurer (1972). In Papua, the only unpublished dictionaries of Austronesian languages that have come to my attention are an anonymous (undated and unplaced) mimeographed brief wordlist for Ubir, Green's fairly extensive manuscript grammar and dictionary (1917) of Bwaidoga (Goodenough I.), which passed from the possession of A. Capell into the hands of an antiquarian bookseller in Sydney, and a recently-prepared vocabulary of the Balawaia dialect of Sinagoro (Koloa and Collier 1972). The revised version of this last (including the grammatical material) has been published as Kolia 1975. All these manuscripts are however eclipsed in extent by the massive typescript French-Roro dictionary of Coluccia (1941), which on my count contains some 17,000 French entries with Roro glosses, and extensive information on usage; the number of Roro entries is impossible to determine.

The Austronesian languages of north-eastern New Guinea are barely documented lexically; Klaffl and Vormann (1905) give about 700 lexemes for Ali, and Schultze (1911) includes only about 700 items in his study of Tumleo. Hubers' typescript (n.d.) for Takia ('Taikia') is also fairly limited (1,500 entries). Capell (1962) mentions a Manam dictionary by Böhm (n.d.), apparently the same as that now published in Böhm 1975. Further west we can cite only the Waropen dictionary of Held (1942).

5.5.2.3. DICTIONARIES OF NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

In recent years the focus has been on the non-Austronesian languages of the Papua New Guinea area. It is true that the earliest dictionaries

of non-Austronesian languages bear dates not much later than those of the earliest Austronesian languages (van Baarda 1895: Galela (on Halmahera); King 1901b (and revision 1927): Binandere; Hanke 1909: Bongu; Vormann and Scharfenberger 1914: Monumbo), but one does not find the same degree of continuity as with the Austronesian languages. In the interbellum period we can name, as published material, only Keysser's (1925) extensive - and still widely-used - dictionary of Kâte (important as a missionary lingua franca) (a revised version of it is Flierl and Strauss 1976) and dictionaries of Marind in Irian Jaya by van de Kolk and Vertenten (1922) and Geurtjens (1933). Unpublished items include a Baining dictionary prepared by Theil (1939), and an undated manuscript of the same language by Volmer, but I have not seen these. The unpublished manuscripts of W.J.V. Saville (n.d.a, n.d.b, but attributable to some time in the 1930s) should also be mentioned here; these were published with omission of the appendices, and a minimum of editing, by Lanyon-Orgill (1944), who, however, here as with his Kuanua dictionary (1960), must be given credit for scrupulous acknowledgement of his sources.

Schneider's grammar of Sulka is cited as a 1942 'Grammatik und Wörterbuch' by Capell (1954), but only the grammar appears on microfilm (1962); perhaps the dictionary has become lost. Similar dictionary materials that were produced long before they were microfilmed are those by Aufenanger (1952, 1953) for Gende and Wahgi (Nondugl dialect), Schäfer (1953) for Chimbu (an earlier version apparently exists in mimeographed form), and Schmidt (1953) for Murik. Undated manuscripts of approximately the same period are those of Bergmann (Chimbu), Tropper (Chimbu), Neuhaus (Butam), M. and J. Rule (Huli) and Schorr (Mikarew). Slightly later works, of the 1950s and early 1960s, include a number of mission publications on Enga: Budke 1964, Bus n.d., Crotty 1951, Draper 1953, 1958, and Finney 1964. These are cited by Lang in her dictionary (1973), which sets a high standard for future dictionaries to attempt to achieve; apart from a useful sketch grammar of Enga, an introduction in Enga for indigenous speakers, a locality map, and an appendix of Biblical names, the dictionary includes (maximally) the following information for the approximately 5,000 entries:

1. The Enga entry (word or phrase)
2. The existential verb
3. The dialect
4. The grammatical classification of the entry
5. The English definition(s)
6. Cross-references to other Enga entries of the same or similar semantic domain (Lang 1973:xiii)

Loanwords and levels of usage such as baby talk and 'bush language' are identified as such.

Other Highlands languages having reasonably available lexical material are Duna (Cochrane n.d.), Chimbu (Hannemann 1958, Tropper 1962, Nilles 1969), Siane (Salisbury 1956), but these continue to suffer from the deficiencies of all the older dictionaries, in not including essential information on usage, taxa, levels, and so on. A number of dictionaries recently published, or in preparation, will, hopefully, be regarded as having attained a higher level of descriptive adequacy; these include K. and N. McElhanon's Selepet dictionary (1970), R. and A. Loving's Awa dictionary (1975), the extensive 'taxonomic' dictionary of Karam (Kalam) by Bulmer, Pawley, and Biggs (1969, 1974), Middle Wahgi dictionary by Ramsey (1975), the Telefol dictionary by Healey (1977), the Yagaria dictionary by Renck (1977) and Laycock's Buin dictionary (1977). This last will draw on extensive lexical material collected in Buin (Bougainville) by R. Thurnwald, but the inaccuracies in his work, and the complete failure to understand Buin morphology, has meant that the work has had to be created anew.

Mention must also be made of Brown's Toaripi dictionary (1968), which makes use of line-illustrations in the text, where appropriate; this principle will also be followed in Laycock's Buin dictionary, cited above, but in a somewhat different format.

In Irian Jaya, post-war dictionaries exist in only three non-Austronesian languages: Drabbe (1959: Asmat), Doble (1960: Kapauku), and Steltenpool (1969: Ekagi); the materials and style in each case are somewhat older than the publication date. Doble's Kapauku dictionary is worthy of remark in that it attempts a quadrilingual lexicon - with of course, a necessary limitation on the number of Kapauku entries (about 2,000) that can be accommodated.

5.5.2.4. DICTIONARIES OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

Dictionaries of New Guinea Pidgin (Neo-Melanesian) are in a somewhat different category from those of any other languages of the New Guinea area. The beginnings of a distinct variety of New Guinea Pidgin, differing from Beach-la-mar and other Pacific pidgins (for which see some lexical material by Churchill (1911)), cannot be put any further back than the 1880s, and the stage of the language in which there were sufficient identifiable lexical items was hardly reached until about the time of World War I. Accordingly, there are no very early dictionaries of New Guinea Pidgin; the earliest I have found is a brief lexical key (Brenninkmeyer 1925) appended to an equally brief Pidgin grammar (Brenninkmeyer 1924); the total number of Pidgin entries is less than 500. Somewhat more extensive, but still containing no more than 1,000

Pidgin entries, is a typescript by Borchardt (1926); an anonymous dictionary (Anon n.d.b) of perhaps the same period (or anything up to 20 years later) contains some 4,000 German entries, with Pidgin glosses, but the number of Pidgin entries is not likely to exceed a third of this number (since, for example, the German entries *Heidenbekehrer* and *Missionar* are both glossed as Pidgin *misinare*). Other undated Pidgin typescripts, which appear to date from the interbellum period, are those by Anon (n.d.c), van Baar (n.d.) and Kutscher (1940); they are no more adequate as dictionaries, and are mentioned only for completeness, and for the data they provide on the historical development of New Guinea Pidgin.

The Second World War saw an upsurge in the production of Pidgin dictionaries, many of them explicitly intended for the use of troops in the south-west Pacific area; some are laughable and lexically inadequate (e.g. Helton 1943, which contains only about 500 Pidgin words, in anglicised orthography), but others, such as Murphy 1943, filled a definite need - and this last work, which contains a good deal of practical (if now somewhat dated) advice on Pidgin and a vocabulary of some 1,500 items, continues to be reprinted and sold to the present day. The war was also responsible for the first work on Pidgin by a linguist (of the then new 'structuralist' school); this is the grammar, texts, and vocabulary of Hall (1943). The emphasis is on the grammar and texts rather than on the lexicon, but a vocabulary of about 1,000 items is given; O'Reilly (1946) claims that these are closely based on ('une traduction anglaise maquillée') a Pijin-Lexikon of 'German Catholic missionaries in the Sepik region' (presumably the dictionary by Schebesta (n.d.b), though the source is Alexishafen, not Sepik). I have not been able to check this claim, not having access to the Pijin-Lexikon, but certainly the revised version (Schebesta and Meiser 1945) differs greatly from Hall's vocabulary, in being much more extensive (almost 1,800 entries), and in providing many more examples of usage. In fairness to Hall, it should also be said that any 2,000-word vocabularies of the Pidgin of the 1930s and 1940s must inevitably contain the same entries and usages; and Hall in any case acknowledges his use of the Pijin-Lexikon.

The first relatively 'modern' dictionary of New Guinea Pidgin was that of Mihalic (1957) containing about 2,000 entries; the revised form (1971) is almost 50 percent larger. Both versions contain a grammatical introduction, and useful appended material, in the form of arrangements of words by semantic domains; but both suffer from a somewhat disordered arrangement of sub-entries, the failure to distinguish polysemy and homonymy, inaccurate etymologies, and lack of marking of obsolete or

regional words. Even with these shortcomings, however, Mihalic's dictionary (which one assumes will be further revised in future editions) is not likely to be surpassed for some time as the major Pidgin dictionary, although a 'dictionary of urban Pidgin' - still in the planning stages - will provide much needed data on slang and urban idioms.²

On a slightly smaller scale (2,000 entries, and lacking the supplementary material) is Steinbauer's (1969) Pidgin dictionary, which uses German as well as English as a glossing language, and which contains a large number of useful illustrative sentences. Altogether different is the 'dictionary of sports' included with Balint's phrase-book in 1969; this contains so much wrong Pidgin, largely invented by the author, as to make it laughable - the classic example is the glossing of the archery term '*quiver*' by the Pidgin words *sek* and *gurla*, both of which mean '*quiver*' in the sense of '*shake, tremble*'. The same author proposes a monolingual 'encyclopedic' dictionary, which, on the basis of the sample given in his paper (Balint 1973), promises to display a host of idiosyncratic neologisms and a high degree of ignorance of existing Pidgin lexemes, to such an extent that the dictionary, if published, is likely to serve more as a source of Pidgin amusement than as a workable dictionary for Niuginians.

On monolingual Pidgin dictionaries, it is worth mentioning that the Tok Boi Wörterbuch of Borchardt (1926) has, in addition to English and German glosses, monolingual definitions of Pidgin words - for example:

gas (gauze, Gaze). gas: i olosem tavunam, bolong putim
long hai bolong suva...

kola (collar, Kragen). vanela hap laplap ol i vokim
bolong nek. Sopus ol i putim siot, ol i save putim tu.³

The monolingual principle is also followed in definitions in the extensive (1,800 item) two-way dictionary, existing in typescript, of Father Dahmen (1949a, 1949b); the entry for *anis ant* is worth quoting:

anis, n. *ant.*
Anis: em liklik samting i stap long graun, em i gat lek
bolong em, han tu, em i save kaikai divai tu, tit bolong
em i strong tumas; sopus i kaikai man, i pen; i save go
antap long ol hap kaikai, ol i putim. I no vanela tasol,
planti; sopus longpela divai tumas, ol i save goap tu long
em. I gat planti kain anis; sampela i ret, sampela i vet,
sampela i blak; sampela i smolpela, sampela i bikpela.⁴

This dictionary would be well worth publishing, even in unedited form, for the valuable material which it contains.

This survey of lexicography would not be complete without a brief mention of articles on dictionary-making relevant to the New Guinea area. There are very few of these; Balint's paper (1973) on the desirability of a monolingual Pidgin dictionary has already been cited; to this we can add Kilham's (1971) article on preparation of bilingual dictionaries

for indigenous peoples, Laycock's (1976) observations on general lexicographic problems of the Pacific area, Pawley's (1970) discussion of the possibility of 'emic' dictionaries (conforming to indigenous taxonomical systems), and of course Lang's chapter on the ideals of the lexicographer, in 5.5.1. Some other works of more marginal relevance will be found listed in the section on semantics ((I) 2.3.4.2.) and research on Papuan languages ((I) 2.1.1.5.3., Applied Linguistics).

5.5.2.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Overall, then, the lexicographic records of the New Guinea area is not good. Even on the most generous estimate, extensive lexical materials exist in no more than about 52 of the more than a thousand languages of the region, and the selection is not made on any rational linguistic basis. The greater ease with which dictionaries can be produced today - with offset printing rather than letterpress - makes the task of the lexicographer easier, and if this can be matched with a deeper understanding of the indigenous languages themselves, and of the ideals of both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, then we may yet see the situation remedied somewhat in the next few decades. It would, however, be optimistic to expect anything like adequate dictionary coverage of the languages of the New Guinea area before about the end of this century.

5.5.2. A HISTORY OF LEXICOGRAPHY IN THE NEW GUINEA AREA

N O T E S

1. The proofs of this dictionary were ready by 1940, but were hidden away during the war, lest they fall into the hands of the Germans, and ultimately of the Japanese, who were then pursuing 'een uiterst aggressieve politiek tegenover Nederlandsch-Indië.' New Guinean languages have long since ceased to play such an important role in global politics.

2. The original researchers were B. Hull, H. Littlewood, and L. Sunderlin. However, the project has been indefinitely postponed. The materials are kept in the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies.

3. The orthography is not the modern standard, but is intelligible. The definitions read:

gauze: something like a mosquito net (tavunam = taunam), for putting on the centre of sores... collar: a piece of cloth made for the neck. When one puts a shirt on, one puts this on too.

4. An ant is a small thing found on the ground, with feet and arms; in addition, it eats wood, and its teeth are strong; if it bites a man, he feels pain; it goes on to any food that has been set down. Ants are very numerous; they are able to climb even very tall trees. There are many kinds of ant; some are red, some are white, some are black; some are small, some are large.

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P A R T 5.6.

LANGUAGE CHANGE

5.6.0. OBSERVATIONS ON LANGUAGE CHANGE IN PARTS OF THE NEW GUINEA AREA

D.C. Laycock and S.A. Wurm

5.6.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Change in language is a linguistic universal; but the rate of change probably is not. The evidence (admittedly scant) that we possess on the development of languages in Papua New Guinea over the last 100 years suggests that these languages may now be changing at a faster rate than in the past.

Estimates of language change in the past can of course be based only on examination of the present-day languages. There is some indication, in the high degree of interlinguistic borrowing¹ at all levels of the lexicon (and even of morphology), that languages in this area have always had a tendency towards a fairly rapid assimilation of new linguistic features; nevertheless, the rate of change has not been great enough to obscure linguistic relationships that date back perhaps 10,000 years in the past. The 20th century changes certainly give the impression of being much faster.

The main cause of change appears to be the influence of widespread *lingue franche* such as Malay, New Guinea Pidgin, and Hiri Motu; from these languages, many new lexical items have entered the vernaculars, and these have also adopted much of the simpler morphology of the *lingue franche*. However, the causes of change may go deeper, and may reflect instead the general culture shock of the New Guinea area; this would certainly be the case if languages out of contact with the *lingue franche* were also undergoing similar changes - but evidence on this point is lacking.

Specifically, the observed changes involve the following categories:

1) Decay of native vocabulary. Many words referring to facets of indigenous culture fall into disuse with the disappearance of these facets of the present-day culture. Members of the younger generation are frequently unfamiliar with words still known to older speakers.

2) Introduction of new lexical items, mainly from the *lingue franche*, referring usually (but not always) to new cultural concepts. Such new lexical items may function as bases in the borrowing language, and take local language inflections.

3) Decay in morphological complexity, affecting especially the verb complex, noun classification, and numeral systems.

These changes may be exemplified by examples from a number of representative languages.

5.6.2. KIWAI

The local *lingue franche* of the Southern Kiwai area (Western Province) are now the Southern Coastal and Daru dialects of Southern Kiwai, both of which have simpler morphologies than the neighbouring dialects of Island Kiwai. In both the Southern Kiwai dialects, though to a lesser extent in Southern Coastal Kiwai than in Daru Kiwai, the elaborately inflected verbal forms of Island Kiwai tend to be expressed by verbal nouns in which only the inflection for the number of the object remains, while person and number of subject, and tense, are not indicated - for example:

Island Kiwai	nimo-to-go	n-	iauri-	ama-	duru-	mo
	we	-du-erg	I Sbj- <i>see</i> (non-sgObj)	-duObj-pres+pl	Sbj-non-sg	Sbj
Daru Kiwai	nimo-to k-	iauri-	-ama			
	we	-du v.n.- <i>see</i> (non-sgObj)	-duObj			

Young speakers of Island Kiwai now also tend to use such forms as *nimo-to-go k-iauri-ama-mo* or *nimo-to-go iauri-ama-[duru]-mo*. The same speakers also show a tendency towards a general simplification of the verb morphology of Island Kiwai, disregarding the distinctions between present/near past and immediate future/indefinite future, using only present and indefinite future forms. The four-way distinction is maintained by middle-aged speakers of Island Kiwai, as follows (S = verb stem):

		Present	Near Past	Imm. Future	Indef. Future
speaker	sg.	n-S	n-S	n-S-ri	ni-do-S-ri
	du.	n-S-duru-do	n-S-do	n-do-S-ri	ni-du-do-S-ri
	pl.	n-S-duru-mo	n-S-mo	ni-mo-S-ri	ni-du-mo-S-ri
	tr.	ni-S-bi-duru-mo	n-S-bi-mo	ni-bi-mo-S-ri	ni-bi-du-mo-S-ri
non-speaker	sg.	r-S	w-S	w-S-ri	wi-do-S-ri
	du.	r-S-duru-do	w-S-do	wi-do-S-ri	wi-du-do-S-ri
	pl.	r-S-duru-mo	w-S-mo	wi-mo-S-ri	wi-du-mo-S-ri
	tr.	r-S-bi-duru-mo	w-S-bi-mo	wi-bi-mo-S-ri	wi-bi-du-mo-S-ri

The same distinctions are also maintained by many middle-aged speakers of Southern Coastal Kawai, although Coastal Kawai has in most other respects a simpler morphology than Island Kawai.

5.6.3. MUYUW

Lithgow (1973) reports rapid changes in the Austronesian language of Muyuw, on Woodlark Island (Milne Bay Province), over the last 50 years. The changes listed are mainly lexical; 27 items from the Swadesh 100-word lexicostatistical list have undergone at least partial replacement in the period covered. Most of the new words are borrowings from the adjacent language of Kilivila (Trobriand Islands), while others come from Budibud (Laughlan Islands). Other new words have entered from English, both words for which there is no indigenous word (*kɔbɔl* *copra*, *ap* *half*, *sɛlɛm* *sell*) and words which are used as alternatives to the local word (*palap* *proper* - Muyuw *bwen*; *iwsɛm* *wash* - Muyuw *iwid*). Lexical taboo on uttering words resembling the names of the deceased, or of certain relatives, accounts for some of the other observed changes. Function words have also changed:

The translator complained to me about the particle *o* which means "yes" and "and", which was not in the language fifteen years before. It may have come from the Dobu *o* "yes" and/or the Tubetube *yo* "and". From this it would appear that people adapt to changing function words more readily than they do to changing vocabulary. (Lithgow 1973:102)

The grammatical changes indicated by Lithgow involve only the possessive affixation on three borrowed words. Muyuw distinguishes three possessive affixes for first person singular: *-gw* '[intimate]', *ʌg(u)-* '[intermediate]', and *gun(ʌ)-* '[distant]'; with the new words for 'knee', 'ear' and 'back', the 'intermediate' and 'distant' prefixes have been replaced by the 'intimate' suffix - 'which is a change towards the Kilivila pattern and away from the Budibud pattern':

English	Muyuw: old form	Muyuw: current form
<i>my knee</i>	gun-kitut	kitatu-gw
<i>my ear</i>	ag-padid	toga-gw
<i>my back</i>	gun-tubwɔbubw	tɔpwa-gw

The remark is often made on Woodlark Island that 'young people can't understand the old people's talk' (ag-wuliweil *the language of the old people*).

5.6.4. ABELAM

Laycock (1966) reported a large number of Pidgin words which have been borrowed into the Abelam language, in the East Sepik Province, and which are used freely in all contexts. Such Pidgin borrowings may occur with Abelam affixes (bikples-bɔ *village-in*, maritbɔnw *you two get married*), and may give rise to new syntactic usages:

Normal Abelam (Wosera dialect):

dɔy nɔk bɔpmw kɛty- r- w
they one moon dance-habitual-nonpast

Abelam construct with Pidgin save:

dɔy save nɔk bɔpmw kɛty- w
they habitual one moon dance-nonpast

Pidgin bases also frequently occur in Abelam in conjunction with the verb *yɔ make, do*:

brukim marit yɔ *commit adultery*
kalap nabaut yɔ *jump about*
hadwok yɔ *work hard*
bikhet yɔ *act conceited*
kros yɔ *be angry*
poto yɔ *take a photograph*

Pidgin *sapos if* is also used as a conditional-clause introducer, in conjunction with the normal Abelam construction without introducer, but with a special sentence-medial suffix. Other Pidgin subordinating conjunctions such as *bikos*, *behain*, and *wonem taim* are also frequently used; Abelam, like most other non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area, has virtually no subordinating conjunctions. (For further information on 'normal' Abelam, see Laycock 1965.)

5.6.5. BUANG

Sankoff (1968, 1972) discusses in detail the various linguistic choices made by the multilingual speakers of Buang (Austronesian, Morobe Province), and presents in her data examples of code-switching

between Buang and Pidgin, including the use of Pidgin bases in a Buang context and with Buang morphology and syntax; the following instance comes from her 1972 paper (Pidgin words underlined):

Orait, su rek be winim ke, be winim olgeta direkta, ga be winim ol pepul, olo ba kamap vu bumbum re.

('And it's not too much to handle for me, or for the directors or for the people, that it has to be taken to the white man'.)

Her comment on the text from which this is taken pinpoints some of the sociolinguistic factors influencing language choice:

Although some of the words in question (e.g. moni) might be classed as loan words, representing items or concepts for which there is no analogue in Buang, this is certainly not true for all, and there are many Neo-Melanesian words which could easily have been replaced (referentially) by Buang equivalents. For example, it seems that the Neo-Melanesian conjunction orait is being used stylistically, for greater emphasis, in place of the Buang conjunctions olo ba or olo ga. But for many other segments, there appears to be no very satisfying explanation in terms of the social meaning of that particular element, and I would argue that what carries weight in this 'marking' of Buang sections of the speech with extensive use of Neo-Melanesian is best analysed as a matter of degree, not in terms of showing what each element contributes. In addition, we are still faced with the problem that there does not appear to be any obvious way in which the larger segments in Neo-Melanesian differ from the basically Buang segments.

Similar phenomena could be presented in hundreds of other languages of the New Guinea area, a fact which makes unsurprising the penetration of large segments of the Pidgin lexicon into languages of Papua New Guinea. However, the influence of Pidgin on Buang does not appear to have resulted in a simplification of morphology or syntax - perhaps because Buang is an Austronesian language whose morphology and syntax is largely comparable with that of Pidgin.

5.6.6. YAGWOIA AND MARALINAN

Fischer (1962) examines in detail the words for 50 introduced cultural objects in a non-Austronesian language of the Upper Banir and Tauri Rivers, and an Austronesian language of the Lower Watut, both in the Morobe Province; from comparison with other sources, these appear to be the languages now called Yagwoia (Anga Stock) and Maralinan (Azera Family). The words expressing the cultural innovations are partly new derivatives, partly loan-translations, and partly borrowings from other languages, especially Pidgin, but sometimes also Laewomba or Jabêm. The two Yagwoia dialects discussed show a predominance of native language formations over loanwords, whereas the two dialects of Maralinan show the reverse. Fischer attempts to find explanations for the differing choices, and summarises his results thus:

1. Es gibt eine ganze Reihe von Möglichkeiten, neue Objekte zu bezeichnen. Die Beachtung von Lehnwörtern allein ist viel zu einseitig und wird häufig überbetont.
2. Die Anwendung der einzelnen Möglichkeiten der Benennung ist z.T. abhängig von den Möglichkeiten der Sprache (etwa: Zusammensetzungen, Ableitungen, deskriptive Termini usw. zu bilden).
3. Die Art der Benennung einer neuen Sache ist ausserdem abhängig von der Kenntnis der Sprache der Gruppe, von der das Element übernommen wird. Je geringer deren Kenntnis, desto mehr eigene Termini werden gebildet und umgekehrt.
4. Die Benennung neuer Objekte ist ebenfalls abhängig von dem Bestand eigener. Dies ist dann der Fall, wenn etwa ein neues Objekt mit einem alten vergleichbar ist und die alte Bezeichnung ausgeweitet oder übertragen wird.
5. Im ersten Stadium des Kontaktes werden häufiger als später eigene Bezeichnungen auf neue Elemente übertragen oder deskriptive Termini gebildet.
6. Bei der Übernahme fremder Wörter erfolgt im ersten Stadium eine phonetische und z.T. formale Angleichung an die eigene Sprache, sowie hybride Bildungen.
7. Bei fortschreitendem Kontakt und sich entwickelnder Zweisprachigkeit werden besonders anfänglich gebildete deskriptive Termini zugunsten von Lehnwörtern wieder aufgegeben.
8. Es erfolgt im Verlauf des fortschreitenden Kulturwandels auch eine allmähliche Rück-Anpassung der Lehnwörter, die ursprünglich phonetisch der eigenen Sprache angeglichen wurden, an die Modellsprache.²

Fischer's observations are important ones for language contact and language change in the New Guinea area, and should be further tested with data from other languages.

5.6.7. BUIN

The Buin (Rugara, Telei) language on Bougainville has undergone morphological and lexical changes in the last seven decades, as evidenced by a comparison of data collected by Thurnwald in 1908 and 1933-34 (Thurnwald 1912 and typescript dictionary compiled after the second period of fieldwork) with data obtained by Laycock in 1966-67. Lexical changes involve the disappearance from the language of many words relating to currently non-existent activities (warfare, sacrifice to spirits, cremation), and the introduction of many words from Pidgin dealing with religious concepts, and new tools and foodstuffs. A handful of words come from German (*arapaŋta work*, *uaŋta white man*) and from archaic Pidgin (*tinatoŋ Chinatown*, *pororiŋ florin*); one word is taken from Japanese (*tomotati friend*). Pidgin words are freely used with Buin affixes, and combine with the verb *ee- make, do* to form verbs:

uaka eeta	<i>they work</i> (Pidgin wok)
amamati eeta	<i>they are happy</i> (Pidgin amamas)
kuki eeta	<i>they are cooks</i> (Pidgin kuk)
ruutiŋ eeta	<i>they loosen</i> (Pidgin lusim)
ruuti eeta	<i>they get lost</i> (Pidgin lus)
neeti eeta	<i>they do nursing</i> (Pidgin nesl)
pirati eeta	<i>they decorate</i> (Pidgin bilas)
karapuutle eeta	<i>they are prisoners</i> (Pidgin kalabus)
toore eeta	<i>they are sorry</i> (Pidgin sore)
mairiŋ eeta	<i>they measure</i> (Pidgin metaim)
korotuu eeta	<i>they approach</i> (Pidgin klostu)
papitema eeta	<i>they baptise</i> (Pidgin baptismo)
raitiŋ eeta	<i>they light</i> (Pidgin laitim)
pooriŋ eeta	<i>they pour</i> (Pidgin porim)
titoori eeta	<i>they tell a story</i> (Pidgin stori)
uitiri eeta	<i>they whistle</i> (Pidgin wisil)

Such forms conform to the usage in Buin of noun plus performative verb, such as *kogu eeta they do a shit*, *uumo eeta they get angry*, *kopiro eeta they put it down*. Nevertheless, Buin derivatives are also frequently used for foreign concepts, e.g. *uuuupammoi washing machine* ('the thing with which they frequently wash').

Buin morphology has been simplified only slightly. One additional tense form, expressing an additional remote past (habitual), has virtually disappeared from the spoken language (being replaced by the normal remote past) and occurs only in odd stories and songs (verb *pii- pull*):

	Remote past (habitual; archaic)	Remote past (current)
1sg.	piipiipokiro	piipotu
2sg.	piipiipegiro	piipeu
3sg.	piipiipugiro	piipuu
1du.	piipiipogegiro	piipogeru
2du.	piipiiperegiro	piiperu
3du.	piipiipuregiro	piipuru
1pl.	piipiipogigiro	piipogiru
2pl.	piipiipengiro	piiperu
3pl.	piipiipagiro	piipau

A number of other archaic (or perhaps now merely 'poetic' - see Laycock 1969) forms also occur in songs: *aapuŋomaine* for *aapummoi* *what they told me*, *iaiatanamoro* for *iaiamoro* *I wander about*.

The wealth of noun-classes in Buin, as expressed by numeral-sets (and occasionally by other noun-adjuncts), has also been considerably

reduced by young Buin speakers. Grisward (1910) lists about a dozen numeral-sets; I obtained about 30 sets, but only three are in common use: that referring to male humans, that referring to female humans, and a general set for everything else. (Unlike the situation in most other languages of the New Guinea area, the Pidgin numerals are rarely used in Buin.)

5.6.8. OTHER LANGUAGES

Similar developments to those outlined above have been reported informally by linguists and anthropologists for other languages of the New Guinea area. Particularly common is the use of *lingue franche* numerals in place of vernacular numerals, especially for numbers greater than 'two' in languages whose system is binary or binary/quinary only. (In Papua, Koiari has taken over many words from Motu or Hiri Motu, and in the case of numbers, speakers may use their own numbers, or those of Motu or English, depending on the context of the conversation (T. Dutton: personal communication).) The lexical developments of loss of traditional vocabulary, and introduction of new words for cultural objects, are also common, but the new words do not always come from the *lingue franche*; wordlists collected in the Warkai language of Irian Jaya, on the border of the Asmat-speaking area, show a considerable increase since 1955 in the number of Asmat loans (C. Voorhoeve: personal communication). Perhaps more significant are the ongoing syntactic and morphological changes. Young speakers of Yagaria, for example, are reported to use shorter sentences (and consequently fewer sentence-medial forms) than older ones (G. Renck: personal communication), while young speakers of the Iha (Kapaur) language of Bomberai Peninsula go so far as to use the verb stem plus a suffix *-anggè* in place of all the affixed tense forms of the verb (Coenen 1954); these changes are perhaps, but not necessarily, due to the influence of the *lingue franche* Pidgin and Malay respectively. Two languages of the Sepik region, namely Murik and Buna, are reported by Laycock (1973, and (I) 2.11.3.3.) to have lost, or at least simplified, their system of multiple noun-classes in the last 70 or so years. Similarly, the obligatorily-possessed category of nouns (principally body parts and kinship terms) has largely disappeared in the Austronesian languages of Sissano and Tumleo ((II) 4.4.8.1.).

Such developments do not, however, mean that languages of the New Guinea area are 'breaking down' in any significant way. They retain a solid core of indigenous lexicon and structure which can be expected to resist swamping by innovations, regardless of what adjustments their speakers may make to a changing world full of foreign linguistic influences.

5.6.0. OBSERVATIONS ON LANGUAGE CHANGE

N O T E S

1. Perhaps as a result of widespread multilingualism, as suggested by Salisbury (1962).

2. Translation (by D.C. Laycock):

1. There exists a whole range of possible ways of designating new objects. The consideration of loanwords alone is much too one-sided, and is often overemphasised.

2. The use of a particular way of designation is in part dependent on the possibilities of the language (such as the formation of compounds, derivations, descriptive terms, etc.).

3. The designation of a new object is also dependent on how well the source language is known. The less it is known, the more will creations be internal, and vice versa.

4. The designation of new objects is also dependent on what objects are already present. When the new object is comparable with an old one, the old designation can be extended or adopted.

5. It is in the early stages of contact, rather than later, that vernacular terms are most often adopted, or descriptive terms created, for new objects.

6. When loanwords are taken over, one finds in the first state phonetic (and to some extent also formal) assimilation to the native language, as well as hybrid formations.

7. With increasing contact and developing bilingualism the predominantly descriptive terms of the early stage are replaced by loanwords.

8. With increasing cultural change one finds a gradual reassimilation (back to the source language) of loanwords which were originally modified to the phonetic patterns of the vernacular language.

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DIVISION 6

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

6.1. PATTERNS OF GREETING IN NEW GUINEA

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6.1.1. INTRODUCTION - THE FUNCTION OF GREETING

Non-verbal signals play an important role in human communication. A number of recent studies have demonstrated that the signalling code of facial expressions is mainly inborn to man, providing us with the ability to communicate across cultural barriers (Ekman, Sorenson and Friesen 1969, and Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972). Even where patterns of expressive behaviour are shaped by culture, in principle similarities are encountered which express a functional relationship. The following investigation of greeting rituals of Papuans¹ will provide us with examples to illustrate this fact and it will become clear in addition that there exists a basic structural similarity - a universal grammar of greeting - in spite of the apparent cultural diversity and that furthermore some of the elementary movements belong to the inborn characteristics of man.²

The behaviour patterns of greeting serve the function of appeasing and bonding. In many of the higher vertebrates the conspecific releases an ambivalent behaviour of approach and spacing. The activated aggressive impulses counteract those of friendly bonding and they have to be neutralised somehow in order to allow bonding to occur.

The blackheaded gull is characterised in both sexes by a black face mask which is a signal of threat, releasing either attack or flight in the conspecific. Since both sexes share this face mask, difficulties during pair formation have to be overcome. This is achieved by a greeting pattern called headflagging (Tinbergen 1959). Whenever a black-headed gull lands in the vicinity of its prospective mate or approaches it, it turns its face away, thus hiding the black mask, and it only looks at its partner from the corner of its eye. The mate responds in a

similar way and only when the pair has mated for some time may they fully look at each other's face without risking an attack. But even then rituals of greeting are needed to prevent a flare-up of hostility.

The flightless cormorant of the Galapagos Islands performs elaborate rituals when relieving its mate from the nest during brooding, in which they take turns. When the male returns from fishing, he only approaches the nest when he has a present in his beak. This can be a small twig, a bundle of seaweed or a sea star. The present is passed over to the female who takes it and inserts it in the nest. Only then will she allow the male to stay nearby, to dry his wings and finally to take over the nest. If the male were to approach without a present, he would get attacked. This I was able to prove by a number of experiments. Since the birds are born on islands without predators they lack any fear of man and it is easy to approach them and take away their present. Whenever I did this, the male was puzzled for a moment, but continued his trip to the nest without the gift. The female then attacked him as soon as he came close. He regularly retreated and searched for a twig or something else and only when he had found a present did he approach anew - and was accepted by his mate this time. The appeasing function of the present is clearly demonstrated in this case. Numerous patterns have been developed for this appeasing function in animals. Many birds, for example, greet each other by turning their beak away, thus demonstrating peaceful intent. Pointing the beak (weapon) toward the opponent means readiness to attack and thus a threat.

In man, greeting rituals play an important role in everyday life. People greet each other when meeting on their way. They greet their family members on seeing them in the morning and wish them 'good night' in the evening. They greet upon entering a house and bid farewell upon departure. By greeting, the persons who meet appease each other and at the same time make themselves available for further friendly interaction: the persons open out to each other. They acknowledge each other's presence and express their willingness to establish a friendly social relationship. Greeting is basically a friendly act and to refuse greeting is generally considered as an aggressive act. In medieval Europe the latter meant the start of a feud, whereas greeting meant peace, and after greeting, a knight could not be challenged to a duel (Bolhöfer 1912).

Among the Mbowamb of New Guinea it is considered - as is the case in our culture - good manners to exchange greetings and a few friendly words when meeting a passer-by.

Es wäre ein Zeichen eines schlechten Gewissens, der Furcht oder zumindest grober Taktlosigkeit, wollte man ohne ein Wort aneinander vorbeigehen. Ein Gruß ist immer ein Zeichen eines gewissen Wohlwollens. Nur wenn man sich fürchtet angebettelt zu werden, hält man sich nicht mit dem Entgegenkommen auf. Wenn ein Mann von einem Schlachtfest kommt, und Fleisch bei sich hat, geht er möglichst schnell an den Leuten vorbei und seitlich in den Busch solange er noch nicht gesehen ist, damit er das Fleisch nicht verschenken muß ... kommt aber ein freigibiger Mann daher, so fängt er eine Unterhaltung an, lacht und scherzt und teilt von seinem Fleische aus. (Vicedom and Tischner 1943-48:63)

The Mbowamb greet the stranger first to show him that he does not need to be afraid.

The rituals performed at parting also serve the function of appeasing and indeed the one who retreats backwards, bowing again and again, clearly signals fear-motivated submission. In addition, the rituals of farewell express willingness to continue the friendly relationship and thus to strengthen the bond for the future, a specific human characteristic.

We mentioned that the basic functions of greeting are appeasing and bonding. These two, however, should not be confused. Although all patterns of bonding serve at the same time as appeasement, the reverse could not be said of all the patterns of appeasement. A person who submits by bowing or laying down his arms does not necessarily establish a friendly bond in doing so. This is achieved by patterns mainly derived from the repertoire of mother-infant relationship (patterns of care-taking and infantile appeals) (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972). This question will be considered when we discuss the patterns of greeting in the following sections.

Finally it should be noted that greeting encounters are often used as a stage for display of impressing each other, in particular if people of different villages come together or if persons meet who are not known to each other. These displays aid mutual estimation. The firm handshake in our culture has this function and so do displays of power, wealth, strength or skills with weapons (shooting salute) in other cultures. The displaying parties usually compete to remain equal, but on many occasions they serve to define both identity and rank. For recent reviews on the subject see Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972, Firth 1972 and Goody 1972.

6.1.2. THE PATTERNS OF GREETING

6.1.2.1. ANNOUNCING APPROACH BY CALLING

When two people meet - both intending friendly behaviour - they greet each other when still a considerable distance apart. The greeting distance varies. In the open field people are apt to greet over a greater distance than in a village. The further away the persons are, the more conspicuous are the signals involving movements of the arms, lifting of the hat and the like. As they approach closer, facial expressions play an essential role.

A party approaching a village in an area where tribal wars are frequent, announces its approach by calling out. When crossing the country of the Daribi, Biami and Woitapmin, my porters sang out whenever they reached a mountain ridge and whenever they came close to a village. Only once, in Woitapmin country, did they forget to do this and thus when we arrived unannounced in the village the inhabitants were rather reserved for some time. In the Biami and Daribi country the monosyllabic calls were quite melodious, resembling the hooting of chimpanzees. If two porters sang out it took place in perfect duet. The calls alternated perfectly. Since each individual called with his own characteristic pitch, such a duet proved melodious, and the perfect synchronisation made me believe at first that one person was yodelling. When more persons call together a sort of chorus results.

The custom of announcing one's approach by calling out has been developed independently in other parts of the world. Waika Indians (Yanomami) follow this custom. The old Saxons had a law according to which a man who approached a group without announcing himself by calling or blowing a horn could be killed. In a functional analogy, a visitor in North Australia had to announce his coming by a series of smoke fires (Spencer and Gillen 1904).

6.1.2.2. HEAD MOVEMENT AND FACIAL EXPRESSIONS DURING DISTANCE GREETING

6.1.2.2.1. General Remarks

During distance greeting certain facial expressions and head movements occur together in a regular sequence. This syndrome consists of smiling, tossing the head upwards and at the same time raising the eyebrows for approximately a sixth of a second (eyebrowflash) and finally of a nod which may be repeated. This sequence of behaviour is shown during very friendly greeting. With decreasing readiness for friendly contact first the eyebrowflash disappears and then the smiling. A reserved greeting may consist merely of a nod. Thus the people of the Kukukuku village

Ikumdi, which I visited seven months after their first contact with a government patrol, were not smiling and eyebrowflashing during the first day of my visit, although I observed these patterns later during my stay. They were reserved and merely nodded when greeting, probably because they had experienced hostile acts during their first contact with white men; they had attacked and killed one of the porters with an arrow. This resulted in retaliation: two huts were burned, shields and arms destroyed and some men chained. Later they were pacified by a second patrol led by P.J. Lancaster who also distributed presents. Consequently, the people were not hostile when I arrived but not too friendly either.

Complete greetings, however, were later observed among the Kukukuku as well as the Daribi, Biami, Huli, Woitapmin and Medipa. In the following discussion of the behavioural elements occurring during this greeting, we will demonstrate that the patterns of smiling, headtoss, eyebrowflash and nodding occur universally in the same context and also as the same syndrome in the sequence just described. Sometimes the eyebrowflash occurs together with a slow lowering of the eyelid. This seems to express ambivalence of approach and withdrawal as will be discussed later.

6.1.2.2.2. Smiling

Smiling is a universal signal of friendly intent. In Papuans it can readily be observed in a great number of social interactions. Mothers and babies smile at each other; it is known from several studies that the smiling of the baby is a strong reward for the mother. Mothers respond with affection, expressed in hugging and kissing. Papuans often smile at members of a group when meeting their eyes. Here the smile appeases. Looking at a person is felt as intrusion, and it is known from other studies that a stare, when not neutralised by a smile, can provoke hostility. Smiling is a universal. Studies among those born blind and deaf revealed it to be an innate motor pattern (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1973). Homologies in non-human primates have been traced (van Hooff 1971). The silent bared teeth display, an act of submission in many primates, was the origin of our smiling.

Laughing must be distinguished from smiling. It derived from the play face (relaxed open mouth display) which can be observed during the rough-and-tumble play of many primates including man and may be interpreted as a ritualised intention-to-bite movement. The human sound utterances of laughing in their rhythmicity resemble the widespread mobbing calls which many non-human primates utter in a group as threat against members of other groups. Indeed laughing at someone is often considered

as an aggressive act. One may join in a friend's laughing at a third person and thus unite against others with friends. Buddies may laugh when meeting and slap each others' shoulders but laughing does not regularly occur during greeting.

6.1.2.2.3. Headtoss and Eyebrowflash

Headtoss and eyebrowflash often go together. The head is lifted with a rapid upward movement and slightly tilted back. Functionally this movement calls for attention; it marks the beginning of a face-to-face interaction.

When the head is raised, the eyebrowflash may follow. The latter movement, however, frequently occurs without previous headtoss. During the eyebrowflash the eyebrows are raised for approximately one sixth of a second. In general, Papuans send this signal fairly freely, provided they are on friendly terms with the visitor (fig. 1-2). In everyday life, the eyebrowflash is repeatedly seen when mothers joke with babies or small children. Then they headtoss and nod and send their eyebrowflash repeatedly. Often the eyebrowflash is sent in combination with nodding as a signal of strong affirmation and consent.

The eyebrowflash expresses willingness for social contact and the movement is found serving this function in all cultures examined so far in this respect. There are cultural differences. Japanese, for example, consider this sign as indecent when used during the encounter of adults. Women, however, nonetheless freely address children with eyebrowflashes. The Polynesians in general flash their eyebrows freely. They do this also when saying 'yes'. In central Europe good friends are greeted with an eyebrowflash. Additionally, the signal is used in enthusiastic consent. In heterosexual relations, eyebrowflashing is used in flirting to address the partner. And though people generally are not aware of what they are doing, the response is fairly automatic and unconscious, and they react strongly to eyebrowflashing. The importance of this signal can clearly be seen from the attention women pay to painting their eyebrows as contrast markers. Eyebrowflashing derived from the raising of the eyebrows during surprise. In its original meaning it signals happy surprise at meeting someone (for further details see Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1970, 1973).

6.1.2.2.4. Nodding

Nodding during greeting seems to be common among Papuans. The pattern varies from one nod to repeated nods. In repetition the pattern seems fairly stereotyped in amplitude and time sequence. Among the Papuans

visited, the nod accompanied and often replaced a verbal yes.³ Listeners in a conversation nod frequently. The movement pattern was found to occur in all cultures examined so far. It can be interpreted as a ritualised form of submission (Hass 1970).

6.1.2.2.5. The Lowering of the Eyelids ('Lidgruß')

In the vicinity of Tari, I filmed a Huli, who greeted me with a faint smile and a nod. At the same time he lowered his eyelids for a third of a second. This lowering of the eyelids served as a cut-off action. When he opened his eyes again, he looked away, but shortly afterwards met my eyes again (fig. 3). This pattern is fairly well known in our culture as a secret or inhibited form of greeting. It signals ambivalence of approach and withdrawal and is often observed when girls respond to a man who greets them. Sometimes, when signalling silent agreement, the lowering of the eyelids stands for a nod (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1973). With a Biami, the lowering of the eyelids was combined with an eyebrowflash (fig. 4). Whether our wink is related to the slow lowering of the eyelids just discussed is not clear. I know winking only among Europeans.

A side-effect of the lowering of the eyelids in the situation of ambivalence is that the stare gets defused. As already mentioned, staring at for any longer time has the function of a threat.

6.1.2.3. BODY AND ARM MOVEMENT DURING DISTANCE GREETING

6.1.2.3.1. Lifting of the Hand

The lifting of the hand, with the palm facing the partner, is a wide-spread gesture of greeting, though not encountered universally. Its widely scattered distribution over very different cultures can be explained by the fact that the movement clearly demonstrates that no weapons are held, and thus indicates peaceful intent. It is easy to understand its independent ritualisation into a movement for greeting in different cultures. I have seen this form of greeting among the Kukukuku, with one Huli and with one Woiwapmin. I could not find out, however, whether this sign was introduced or whether Papuans were found to greet this way at first contact.⁴

Again there is a slight ambivalence connected with the use of this sign. It demonstrates, on the one hand, that no arms are held, but it is also a signal for warding off, for keeping distance (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1973).

Landtman (1927:179) mentioned that the Kiwai Papuans demonstrate peaceful intent by 'stretching out both hands, slightly downwards, and showing the empty palms'.

6.1.2.3.2. Waving to Come

I observed a form of welcome given to a passer-by by Kukukuku women working in the fields. They extended a hand towards the passer-by and made movements towards their body bending the hand, the palm usually facing the ground, but sometimes, also, with the palm turned upwards. In either case it looked as if the woman intended to bring something towards her.

6.1.2.4. PATTERNS OF DISPLAY TO IMPRESS

On the occasion of a mourning ritual near Mt Hagen, I observed how visitors were welcomed by the mourning group. Men armed with spears and women with cordyline plants in their hands, both men and women painted with yellow clay, walked chanting around the wailing family members of the deceased. When a group of visitors approached from afar, the men and women would form into groups. Then the men, led by two men dancing in front, would race towards the visitors stamping their feet and brandishing their spears (fig. 5). They circled once around the newcomers and raced back to the mourning group which they also circled in full display. The men were followed by the women carrying pieces of cordyline with the leaves in their hands. They too ran en bloc around the visitors and back to the wailing group as if guiding the visitors.

The display of the males clearly consisted of a ritualised sham attack. Aggressive displays of this sort are fairly common during greeting encounters. They are prestige motivated and serve to impress the partner, not necessarily to subdue him but to demand, and at the same time demonstrate, respect - in our culture, for example, clearly expressed in the ritual of the shooting salute. In German the term 'Drohgruß' is used for such rituals, a term difficult to translate though 'minatory salute' might be suggested. Rituals of this sort are known from many cultures. Howitt (1904) described how Australian Aborigines receive a high-ranking visitor with raised arms. The visitor in turn makes a sham attack, which the hosts rebuff with their shields. Afterwards the guest is embraced and led to the camp where women feed him. Spencer and Gillen (1904) report that sometimes groups of Australian Aborigines meet fully armoured in sham attacks, which sometimes escalate into real fighting.

Among the Waika Indians (Yanomami) I observed minatory saluting fairly often. Visitors were received by their hosts waving their hardwood clubs, brandishing bows and arrows and carrying out acts of threat. The visitors in turn made aggressive displays in front of their hosts on certain occasions. On the occasion of the palmfruit feast, the male

visitors enter the village and dance around fully ornamented and armed, prancing and waving bows and arrows, even aiming, without pulling the string through. This aggressive display was neutralised in a remarkable way: the warriors were accompanied by small children and sometimes women dancing with them and waving the green leaves of a palm. Such appealing via a child is often observed and it would not be surprising to find similar rituals of appeasement among Papuans, although I have not observed it yet, having only found a note in Landtman 1927, where he said that among the Kiwai Papuans, visitors who bring children and women along are never thought to mean fight. Appeasement via women with green plants occurs. The Medlpa men are followed, as mentioned above, by women waving cordyline plants and I would interpret this as a ceremony which has the function of appeasement in an analogous way.

6.1.2.5. THE SHOWING OF CORDYLINE PLANTS (FIG. 6)

The use of cordyline plants (tanager) as a token of peace (see above 6.1.2.4.) confronts us with an unsolved problem. Green leaves of certain plants are used in many cultures to signify peaceful intent. Masai take a tuft of grass in their hands, Waika Indians take the leaves of a special palm, a Shompen (Great Nicobarese) who visited us in his canoe passed us over a leaf at the first encounter. Polynesians use plants as a sign of peace: for instance Cook reports that when he spontaneously broke off a small branch of a bush at an encounter and passed it on to the islanders, they accepted it as a sign of peace. Examples to illustrate this principle are numerous indeed. However, we have as yet not the slightest idea as to the origins of these patterns. Certainly there is nothing comparable known among non-human primates.

The use of cordyline plants is not restricted to the Medlpa. I observed Daribi coming as visitors: the males wore an apron of cordyline plants covering their rear. Some who wore shorts had the leaves stuck in their belts. Except on such occasions they did not usually decorate themselves with cordyline leaves.⁵

6.1.2.6. DEMONSTRATING PEACEFUL INTENT BY SHOWING OBJECTS AND PRESENTING ARMS

Although both these ways are commonly used in many cultures to signal peaceful intent on the part of the visitor (examples are given in Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972), I did not witness their occurrence myself during my visit to New Guinea. There is a short reference to the Kiwai Papuans in Landtman 1927, where he writes that waving a piece of a mat signals friendly intent. Concerning the presentation of arms he writes:

The bow should not be carried in the usual way horizontally in the hand, but passed over the head with the string bandolier-wise across the shoulders. A positive sign of peace is to hold the bow vertically with the one end resting on the ground and move the other round and round in a circle; this purports to draw attention to the weapon and to indicate that one does not intend to use it for shooting. (Landtman 1927:179-80).

6.1.2.7. SHAKING HANDS

When I first observed shaking hands among the Kukukuku and Woitapmin I thought this to be the result of incipient European influence. But people emphasised, upon being asked, that they had always greeted each other in such a fashion. A number of Patrol Officers whom I asked confirmed this statement. In the Lake Kapiago area, people used to shake the hand twice, letting the grip go in the swing of the second downward movement (Frank Carter, verbal communication). P.J. Lancaster who established contact with many villages in the Upper Sepik area remembered that once a Hewa headman shook hands with him and with the final movement almost threw his hand away. In the area of Telefolmin one of the greeting partners offers the first joint of his middle finger which his partner grips with the bent middle and index fingers. Both jerk their hands downwards, whereby they loosen the grip. This is repeated three times. That the Dugum Dani greet each other by shaking hands can be seen from Gardner's film 'Dead Birds' (fig. 7).

I observed shaking hands among the Kukukuku. It was done in the same fashion as Central Europeans do it. The greeting partners grasped each others' hands and shook them. Once I saw two young men grasping each other on the lower arm and shaking it, while they laughed.

Among the Biami and Daribi I again observed the offering and shaking of hands in a fashion similar to ours. But before the hands separated again the tips of the middle fingers hooked around each other and the hands were pulled away with a jerk. The fingers snapped against the palm which resulted in an audible click (fig. 8). One can observe slight embarrassment in the person who fails to produce a click. Therefore I consider it to be a ritualised form of displaying skill and strength. This form of contact allows the partners to test each other in a similar way to ours with a firm handgrip. Biami and Daribi women give and shake each other's hand without clicking the fingers.

An identical form of handshake with clicking was reported among the Kiwai Papuans by Landtman (1927:180):

A form of greeting between host and visitor is to hook the finger-tips of the right hands into each other, and then pull the hands away with a jerk. This may originally have been a way of making sure that the other man was not carrying any

weapon in his hand. This same gesture made by a visitor with his two hands conveys from a distance his desire to make friends. In addition to the native form of handshake just mentioned, the people also embrace and kiss each other's face and nose, but these signs of welcome are only practised between very near relatives.

Offering and shaking hands is found in a scattered distribution in many cultures (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972).

6.1.2.8. EMBRACING

The habit of embracing a person during greeting seems widespread among the Papuans. I observed it among the Woitapmin, Biami, Kukukuku, Daribi and the Kweana in the Middle Wahgi Valley. Either both arms of the one person were touching the hips of the other while this one grasped the other's shoulders, both standing opposite each other, or one arm was laid around the shoulder of the greeting partner who in turn laid his greeting arm around his partner's hip. On this occasion the persons patted each other. Two Biami men sat down side by side and embraced each other around the loins. On the occasion of a mourning ritual I observed that Mbowamb approaching as guests embraced the distressed relatives of the deceased and patted the mourners regardless of sex (fig. 9). Except for this instance I observed an embrace to occur only among men but was told that Kukukuku and Woitapmin mothers readily embrace their closest relatives and children, and sisters their brothers.

We mentioned that Gardner filmed embracing among the Dugum Dani. The pattern was already reported by Hagen (1899) who observed that on such an occasion the people would slap each other's back. ('Die eingeborene, ursprüngliche Art der Begrüßung ... besteht, wie ich in Wjenge erfuhr, aus Umarmung und gegenseitigem Anrufen mit der Präposition O! oder man schlägt auch einander unter Freuderufen mit flacher Hand auf den Rücken.' (Hagen 1899:32).) Further reports of embracing are found in Schmidt 1926.

According to Read (1954:6), the people near Goroka, men and women alike, greet by grasping each other around the hips and pressing the genital regions together. They exclaim: 'Serokove!' which means '*I eat your faeces*'. Rubbing of the arms, back and legs and pressing together by grasping the buttocks was described by Newman (1965) for the Gururumba.

6.1.2.9. KISSING

Kissing is a common expression of affection. I found among all people visited so far (for example Waika Indians, Ayoreo Indians, Polynesians, Australian Aborigines, Europeans, Japanese, Bantu, Bushmen) that mothers kiss their children as a sign of affection. The Papuans are no exception.

I filmed fathers and mothers kissing their children among the Kukukuku, Biami, Daribi and Woitapmin (fig. 10). In the Middle Wahgi Valley, a woman approached a mother with a baby and patted the baby's hand and kissed it as a greeting. Similar observations were made among the Biami. Mouth to mouth kissing was observed by Schultze-Westrum (1968) among the Bosavi Papuans, and Sorenson and Gajdusek (1966) published a photograph of a Fore child kissing another's mouth while it sat on his lap.

In many cultures kissing is also practised between adults during greeting. I observed a Kukukuku father kissing his grown-up son upon his cheek when he first met him after a long separation. Upon my question whether men would also kiss women I was told that this was not the habit and in explaining this he said that otherwise men would not be able to fight people. Only during greeting would it be allowed for a brother to kiss his sister and for a mother to kiss her son. Read (1954) notes that the people from Goroka kiss each other as a sign of greeting.

Kissing was found to be part of the greeting ritual of chimpanzees which embrace each other and establish mouth to mouth contact. Sometimes they pass food on that occasion, which indicates that the pattern is derived from the kissfeeding observed as an act of maternal feeding in the mother-child relationship (van Lawick-Goodall 1968). Among the !Ko-Bushmen transitions from kissfeeding to kissing have been documented in films (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972).

6.1.2.10. NOSERUBBING

Noserubbing is an expression of affection mainly observed in the mother-child relationship. In this context it is common throughout New Guinea. It occurs moreover in the ritual of Tanim Het (Am^b Kanant) among the Mbowamb. As a greeting ritual Schmidt (1926:57) described it among the Nor-Papua: 'Wenn Freunde sich treffen, umarmen sie sich, fassen sich mit einem Arm um den Leib; ist aber die Begrüßung sehr herzlich, dann umarmen sie sich und reiben sich mit der Nase gegenseitig das Gesicht. Geht einer fort, so wird ihm nachgerufen und er erwidert: "ao!". Schiefenhövel (personal communication) observed noserubbing as a greeting in the Kairuku Sub-District among the Roro. Dupeyrat (1963) mentioned noserubbing as a greeting amongst Papuans without giving further information about the people concerned. He mentions, however, that air is inhaled through the nose, which fits the hypothesis that noserubbing is a ritualised form of sniffing, expressing sympathy ('I like your smell'). Indeed, in Burma people speak of noserubbing as nanshuu (nan = 'smell', shuu = 'inhaling').

6.1.2.11. STROKING PENIS AND SCROTUM

Among the Biami I observed an old woman greeting her adult son by touching his scrotum, which was covered by his grass skirt, making an upward stroke. When I was among the Daribi I was told that this was their regular pattern of greeting until recently. Tischner (personal communication) saw it done regularly as a greeting among the Mbowamb. Schiefenhövel (personal communication) told me how wailing women of the Pawaia (Poroi village on the Purari River) touched the body of a young man who had died, during the wailing. He particularly noticed tender stroking of the genital region. The dead man wore shorts.

In my opinion the origin of genital stroking goes back to a pattern observed in mother-child interaction. Papuan mothers caress male babies by stroking their genitals and so do mothers in other cultures according to my observations (I documented this for the Waika Indians, Australians and Bushmen). The patterns are identical to those occurring during greeting. It often happens that parental behaviour patterns are used among adults to express affection.

6.1.2.12. TOUCHING THE ANUS

A peculiar form of greeting is reported from the Chimbu. The greeting person touches the anus of his partner. This seems to be an expression of extreme submissiveness (Aufenanger and Höltker 1940). Among the Mbowamb a petitioner is likely to behave in the same way if he has an urgent request.

Vicedom and Tischner (1943-48:52) report of the Mbowamb:

Ist man wirklich in Not und muß unbedingt irgendetwas bestimmtes haben, so kommt es auch vor, daß man die Beine des anderen umarmt und ihm seine Bitte vorträgt oder hat man versucht an seinen After zu greifen und führt dann die Hand zum Munde, eine Geste, die am Chimbu allgemein als Gruß verbreitet ist, während sie am Hagenberg nur als Bittform auftritt. Darin kommt die Unterwürfigkeit dem anderen gegenüber zum Ausdruck...

The fact is remarkable that after touching the anus of the addressed one the hand is lifted to the greeter's mouth as if symbolising eating, and indeed this seems to be the significance since the pattern occurs in a verbalised form too. Heider (1970) reports that the Dugum Dani use the phrase *halabok-nack* 'let me eat your faeces', and *halobasi-nack* 'let me eat your flatulence (sometimes also your penis or your vulva)' when greeting a non-related person. Simpson heard the phrase *daniae* 'I eat your excreta' as a greeting near Benabena.

6.1.2.13. STROKING OF THE BREAST

Once I observed a Daribi girl of approximately ten years stroking her mother's breasts several times with a downward movement of the right hand. Since I have seen a similar behaviour pattern among the Waika Indians I want to draw attention to this pattern. It may occur often as a regular greeting ritual.

6.1.2.14. SWEAT RITUAL

Nevermann (1941) reports a remarkable ritual which occurs on the occasion of parting among the Kanum-irebe of south New Guinea. The person remaining behind takes sweat from the armpit of the one departing and rubs it on his breast after smelling his palms. 'Als besonderes Freundschaftszeichen gilt es einem Scheidenden dessen Achselschweiß abzustreichen, die Hände zu beriechen und ihn sich selbst auf die Brust zu reiben'. Spitting in the hand and mutually rubbing the greeting partner's leg was reported of the people living near the Ramu. I observed a sweat ritual when a Gidjingali (Arnhem Land, Australia) bade farewell to a visitor. In this case he took sweat from his own armpits and rubbed it under the armpits of his friend and then again under his arms.

6.1.2.15. RITUAL OF PASSING THE PIPE

If two groups of Biامي-men meet on the trail, etiquette demands that after shaking hands both parties sit down. Each party rolls small cigars from tobacco leaves and inserts them into a bamboo cigar holder which, except for the small opening where the cigar is inserted, is closed at one end. The cigar is lit and the owner of the cigar draws the smoke into the bamboo tube, but does not inhale. Instead, he extracts the cigar, closes the hole with the finger and hands the pipe, which is now full of smoke, to that man in the other group who is the highest on the social scale;⁶ he inhales the smoke and passes the empty tube back. The owner will then insert the cigar again and repeat the procedure, passing it to another member of the other group. Both groups treat each other this way. In a similar fashion any visitor to a village is first of all served by the male villagers with smoke. Sometimes two or more people offer their cigar holder simultaneously (fig. 11). In a similar fashion the cigar holder moves among women but I have never seen this happen between members of the opposite sexes.

6.1.2.16. GREETING BY CRYING (TRÄNENGRUß)

If the Mbowamb visit close relatives, visitors and hosts embrace each other cheek to cheek and start to cry. Then they call each other's name and say: 'I have not seen you for such a long time.' (Vicedom and Tischner 1943-48). However, this occurs only if the separation has been a long one. When, for example, a man has been away for several months, his relatives will embrace him and cry with him. The same happens when a person parts for a lengthy period of time, and finally if harm has befallen a person, such as sickness or the death of a close relative. The 'Tränengruß' is also known from Melanesia (Friederici 1912) and some other parts of the world.

6.1.2.17. PRESENTING FOOD

Hagen (1899) reported that the villagers of the upper Augusta River (today Sepik) greeted by shoving a sort of cake made of sago and coconut into the mouth of the arriving person. The bystanders accompanied this procedure with a staccato of a-a-a-a-a calls.⁷ Eating together is frequently considered as a pact of peace. Nevermann (1941) was fed by a Makleuga who spontaneously offered him a ginger root. Later he learnt that these people were practising headhunters and he asked his friend whether he had not thought of taking his head. The Makleuga answered: 'Deinen Kopf hätte ich ja ganz gerne gehabt, wenn er auch nicht mehr sehr schön ist, aber wir haben doch zusammen gegessen, und nun bist Du kein Fremder.' (Nevermann (1941:44).

When a group of Mbowamb on the trail meet friends who carry sugarcane they can expect to be given a share (Vicedom and Tischner 1943-48). By serving food a strong bond becomes established. Mauss (1950) and Strathern (1971) stressed this fact from the anthropological point of view. The present writer has discussed the background of these rites which play an important role all over the world when people come together to celebrate a feast (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972).

6.1.3. SUMMARY

A rich variety of pattern serves the function of greeting, so that a superficial observer may fail to see the basic patterns underlying all these rituals. The functions of display to impress, to appease and to bond determine the patterns and structure of the greeting encounter. The elements of behaviour employed to impress, to signal friendly intent and to establish or strengthen the bond each constitute a set of patterns shaped according to its particular function along the same lines. The

patterns of boasting and measuring strength share common features and so do the patterns of appeasement which contain elements of submission. Some are depictive such as for example the method of demonstratively laying down arms. Patterns of caressing, feeding, sharing, infantile appeals and demonstrations of concern constitute the principle patterns of bonding. It is of great interest to see that similarities are not only expressed in principle, but also concern in some patterns the details of the formal event as was demonstrated with the eyebrowflash. Since these patterns occur universally and since some are found to occur even in persons born deaf and blind, they must be considered as phylogenetic adaptations. Therefore, there exists a repertoire of bonding and appeasing behaviour inborn to man which is of great significance for his non-verbal communication. These signals (together with a universal motivational structure) constitute part of the biological bases which unite all men, in spite of their cultural diversity, and allows men still to understand each other (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1973). Unfortunately this has only recently attracted the attention of scientists and we lack adequate information as this study clearly demonstrates. Unique chances for documentation have been missed and are of course lost forever. We still need more facts in order to understand in which ways cultural and biological evolution differ, in which ways they are alike. The similarities achieved by cultural and biological ritualisation are sometimes striking indeed. How rank and closeness determines the greeting encounter needs to be explored among the Papuans. A model for such investigation is provided by the brilliant study of Goody (1972).

We mentioned that behaviour can be verbalised and it often seems as if a phrase as a conditioned stimulus is associated with an unconditioned one. Man can behave like a child and thus appeal for attention and he can also verbalise this appeal. Man can give presents or he can wish 'good luck' or in Biambi hahani guruma '*happy you sleep*', or promise 'I will give you sago', as the Daribi sing to the visitors, and thus verbally give a present. And similarly one can also submit or humble oneself verbally (see 6.1.2.12. 'I eat your faeces'), or less dramatically by addressing the partner as father (Kukukuku: *aba aba*) while shaking hands. Joking is common during greeting and its function needs to be explored. The Biambi use obscene phrases in this context. One may greet: Kubi which means '*vuŋva*' and others will answer that they will have sexual intercourse with the woman: 'Hey, let's grab this woman, hey!'

Something is always said during a greeting, even if it is just the acknowledgement that one has perceived the partner in its simplest form, such as a 'hi' or 'hello' in our culture. The Mbowamb greet with uyo

('you come') when they meet on the path and with *piyo* ('you go') when they part. The etiquette of the Mbowamb demands that strangers are greeted first. Another rule determines that the higher ranking person greets first (Vicedom and Tischner 1943-48). Again we urgently need more information about the rules governing verbal greeting and verbal clichés employed. Here an interesting possibility for co-operation opens up for linguists and ethologists.

6.1.4. GREETING AMONG THE EIPO

(Added to the chapter after the completion of the manuscript, but essentially part of it.)

In 1975 I joined an interdisciplinary research project in the up-to-then unexplored Eipomek Valley (Irian Jaya).⁸ A first report on the Eipo was published by Wulf Schiefenhövel (1976) who proposed the name 'mek people'. For a summary of our ethological research see Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1976. At the time of our contact these people were one of the few intact neolithic cultures of New Guinea, which is best illustrated by the fact that in the whole Eipomek Valley, except for some worn-down metal axes and some bits of metal and straps of parachutes which were used for body decoration and which came from an Indonesian expedition which had passed through the Valley in 1969, no other objects foreign to the culture were found. Government and Mission had not established themselves in the area by then.

This fact provided a unique opportunity to study non-contacted people. My main working basis was the small village of Malingdam (Eipomek Valley). On a contact mission we visited the Fa-Valley.

In principle, the patterns of greeting are structured along the same lines as the other Papuan groups' described so far, and I may emphasise that these rules are in fact universal. Upon meeting, a distance greeting occurs which opens the channel for communication. A phase of interaction with contact-greeting follows and sometimes there is a verbal interchange which is terminated by an 'Abschied' (parting) marking termination of the contact in peace. The patterns too, are partly the same as already described; there are, however, some peculiarities.

Distance greeting is initiated by eye contact, headtoss, eyebrowflash and is (not always) followed by a nod. Verbal utterances of an approaching or passing person are for instance: *dan (tam) binmalam?* 'where do you go?' or Malingdam *binmalam gum?* 'do you not go to Malingdam?' ('not' in the sense of French 'n'est-ce pas?').

Addressing strangers like ourselves often carries another note; firstly because meeting a white man on the way still is a surprise, secondly because everyone knows that most white people do not understand

enough of the Eipo language to be able to converse freely. Greeting a fieldworker will therefore often be *se naiye, naiye, naiye ...!* or *nai, nonge!*; *se* is a particle calling for attention, similar to the English '*hey!*', *nai* is the Ware-dialect word for '*father*'; the ending *e* is often attached to words when they are stressed, the *y* is added for euphonic reasons. *nai nonge* means '*father, mother*',⁹ the latter with a connotation like the Italian '*mamma mia*'.

The Eipo often addressed us *na ni* '*my father*', female scientists *na nin* '*my mother*' thus establishing a quasi family-relationship and also expressing feelings of respect. Addressing relatives requires a subtle knowledge of the respective family- and clan-ties, as taboos have to be observed in many cases. (The information on greeting with words was given to me by Wulf Schiefenhövel who had also introduced me to the village community of Malingdam.) Data dealing with this and other spectra of communication will be published later.

Naiye is not only used when approaching a stranger in a friendly fashion. I saw, for example, fathers and grandfathers approaching babies (children and grandchildren) and greeting them by uttering *naiye naiye naiye*.

A peculiar pattern of distance greeting which I did not observe anywhere else was the waving of the raised index finger. The finger is raised at approximately 45 to 60 degrees and repeatedly moved in a slow motion towards the greeting partner. Fig. 12a illustrates how a grandfather approaches his little grandson in this way before hugging him. He too said *naiye naiye*. The same waving of the index finger was applied toward us. Males and women alike greeted us in this fashion and so far I have no clue as to the origin of the pattern.

Distance greeting is followed by patterns of contact greeting. We were often embraced and patted upon our groins by other males. Other common forms of contacting were grasping an arm or shoulder and shaking it, or friendly patting. Men were much less inhibited in greeting us this way. Women occasionally gave me a friendly pat or briefly grasped my arm.

Sometimes genital stroking occurred. I was once greeted by a man who gently stroked me twice in an upward movement on the genital area, and Wulf Schiefenhövel experienced the same on another occasion.

A boy of approximately six years gave expression to his great enjoyment, when I have him a piece of sugarcane, by pushing his right hand from behind between my legs and gently stroking my scrotum through my trousers three times. At the same time he gave me a bright smile. One day I had seen that women used the same stroking movement when greeting at a distance. It was the same slow movement and the orientation was

unmistakably toward the lower part of my body in contrast to distance chin-stroking which was a faster movement directed toward our chin. This latter pattern I first mistook as a form of affectionate friendly greeting. It first occurred in the Fa-Valley where we had just established contact. The friendly crowd of men was all around us and by an accidental turn I hit a bystander quite strongly with my elbow. I embraced him and patted him on the shoulder to indicate my apology and he in turn with tender movements stroked my (beardless) chin. He accepted my apology. Once I was aware of this pattern I saw it repeatedly as an affectionate greeting. Mostly it remained an intention performed in the air toward us, but sometimes the chin was touched and tenderly scratched and stroked. The most dramatic case I observed when Wulf Schiefenhövel visited Malingdam. He had, by medical treatment, saved a man with eight arrow wounds - four arrows puncturing the lungs - from certain death. After a week the man, named Mangat, was able to return to his village. When Schiefenhövel came to see him another week later, the man demonstrated his strong affection by scratching and stroking Schiefenhövel's chin at the entrance of his hut. Fathers stroke their babies on the chin. It is an expression of strong affection.

On the occasion of our first contact with the Fa-Valley people in Mairala, we were given presents of food, first in the form of sugarcane stalks which a man and later a woman handed us. We gave salt and other small items in return.

This passing of gifts very often occurs in everyday encounters in a less ritualised form. For example, I filmed toddlers who gave bits of wood and other tokens to greet their mother returning from the field. It seems to be a universal strategy of friendly interaction, probably of very ancient age.

Interactions are terminated by a farewell: the person who terminates the exchange indicates this with the verbal statement *na binam* 'I will go' and this statement is accepted with the response *ur binalam* 'Okay, you will go (if you feel so, go)'.

The phase of interchange (communication) is often extended. Courtesy demands that male visitors enter the men's house of the village. Close friends may - on a visit - also be invited into a family-house. Here the guest will be fed. If a host wants to be very friendly he (or she) will crack pandanus nuts with his teeth and feed you by hand, and will squeeze roasted yam into little balls with his hands and offer these morsels in a charming way which compensates for the unhygienic side of the procedure. I got used to it after a while. In contrast to the Biami there exists no ritual of 'passing the cigar'. Tobacco is shared, but as a rule, everyone smokes without further sharing.

The Eipo know a form of greeting by letter. Upon departure one member of our group was given a small parcel of green fern-leaves bound together. It was destined for a member who had departed some months before, and it expressed the message: 'come to our feast'. It is a ritualised form of invitation which the Eipo normally use to send to friends in order to invite them to a feast. Ferns are used in the earth ovens when pigs are steamed. The parcel indicates 'there will be a feast some time in the near future, keep yourself ready'. Two little bamboo knives which are also sent in this way serve the same purpose; pigs are slaughtered with these surprisingly sharp knives. A third 'letter' is sent away several weeks ahead of a planned feast, and consists of a small parcel containing a loop similar to those used for catching marsupials and small mammals in snares (Wulf Schiefenhövel, personal communication). The gathering and preserving of these animals which are given to the guests upon their arrival plays an important role in the feast-ritual. Fern-leaves, bamboo knives and snare-loops are symbols hinting at the events to come and are understood by everyone as formal invitations to participate in them.

6.1. PATTERNS OF GREETING IN NEW GUINEA

N O T E S

1. Many observations reported here are based on film documents collected in 1967 mainly in villages of the Kukukuku and Woitapmin, and in villages of the Daribi and Biami (Bedamuni) in 1972. Additional observations were carried out on the occasion of a mourning ritual of the Mbowamb. The film documents will be published in our archive (Humanethologisches Filmarchiv der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft; see Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1971). I want to thank the New Guinea Research Unit for the support of my work, in particular Mr R. Bulmer and Mr C. Healey. Furthermore I want to thank Mr and Mrs Hoey of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission in Mougulu for their kind hospitality and helpful information concerning the Biami people; I also thank Miss Glenys Köhnke and Mr Pim Straatmans for their help and advice.

2. For a discussion of the term 'inborn' and the theoretical concepts of ethology see Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1970.

3. Among the Kukukuku and Biami I filmed, in addition, another movement of affirmation which consisted in a slight sideways tilt of the head. The origin of this movement pattern is not yet clear.

4. It is a deplorable fact that the unique situation of first contacts was to my knowledge never used for a thorough film documentation of the first encounter. Even after the Second World War numerous chances were simply not used. Patrol Officers rarely bothered to take detailed notes and thus the chance is lost forever.

5. Throughout Papua New Guinea, Melanesia and Polynesia the cordyline plant is attributed with ritual significance. In the Eipo and in the Tsembaga it is for example planted to mark the territory (Schiefenhövel 1976; Rappaport 1967).

6. I owe this information concerning the ranks to Tom Hoey of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission in Mougulu, who was our generous host. I want to thank him particularly for his kindness.
7. According to Dr Hollrung (*Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelm-Augusta-Land 1888*, Heft 1, S.32) 'die Begrüßung in den Dörfern am oberen Augustafloss. Dem Ankommenden wird nämlich eine Roulade von Sagokuchen in den Mund geschoben, wobei der Chor der Umstehenden in ein stakkatoartig hervorgestoßenes a-a-a-a einstimmt (Hagen 1899:235).'
8. The project was sponsored by the 'Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft' and organised by the Berlin 'Museum für Völkerkunde' upon the initiative of Dr Gerd Koch and Dr Klaus Helfrich. The present 'Greeting Among the Eipo' will be registered as Publication No.3, of the project Mensch, Kultur und Areal im östlichen Hochland von West-Irian. Schwerpunktprogramm der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft.
9. The primary meaning of *nonge* is 'body', 'torso', 'main thing of something'; the usage of this term for 'mother' (the common word for 'mother' is *nin*) sheds light on the concept of maternal roles.

6.1. PATTERNS OF GREETING IN NEW GUINEA

DESCRIPTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS

- 1a-d Eyebrowflash during greeting. Huli, vicinity of Tari. From a 16 mm film by the author. The sequence was taken at 48 frames per second. The sequence a-d lasted 45 frames; (b) shows frame 30, (c) frame 36.
- 2a-d Eyebrowflash during greeting with a Woitapmin, filmed near Bimin. From a 16 mm film by the author taken at 48 frames per second. The sequence a-d lasted 85 frames; (b) shows frame 75, (c) frame 79.
- 3a-1 Greeting Huli (filmed near Tari). After eye contact the man smiled, faintly lowered his eyelids with a slight nod. After opening his eyes again he changed the direction of his gaze (g) to return to looking at the greeting partner after another blink. Further explanations in the text. From a 16 mm film taken at 48 frames per second. Numbers of the copied frames: 1, 26, 43, 48, 61, 66, 78, 83.
- 4a-d Biami greeting with eyebrowflash, lowering of the lids and a nod. From a 16 mm film by the author taken at 50 frames per second. Numbers of copied frames: 1, 4, 13, 20.
- 5 Medlpa men on the occasion of a mourning ritual racing toward a group of visitors which had just arrived to join the mourners. Photograph by Dieter Heunemann.
- 6 Mourning women (Medlpa) carrying cordyline plants. Photograph by B. Eibl-Eibesfeldt.
- 7 Dugum Dani greeting by embrace and shaking hands. Drawing made from a film taken by R. Gardner. From I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1972).

- 8a-c Biامي handshake with snapping of the middle fingers. For explanation see text (6.1.2.7.). From a 16 mm film taken by the author.
- 9 Mourner (son of the killed man) greeted by arriving guests. The woman embraces him, putting her arm over his shoulder. From a 16 mm film taken by the author. (Note: this picture was taken with a mirror lens, therefore the woman gives the impression of being left-handed, which is not the case.)
- 10 Daribi father kissing his baby in affection. From a 16 mm film taken by the author.
- 11a-h Biامي ritual of sharing the pipe. The host draws in the smoke and passes the full pipe to the guest in the foreground, who inhales the smoke and passes the pipe back. From a 16 mm film taken by the author.
- 12a-c Eipo grandfather greeting his grandson by waving his finger, touching the head with his forehead and patting. From a 16 mm film by the author.



1b



1d



1a



1c



2a



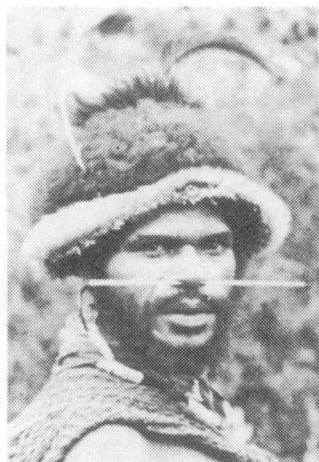
2b



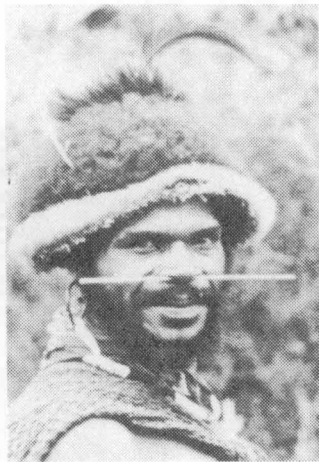
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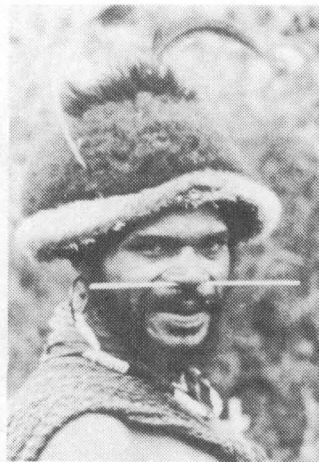
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3a



3b



3c



3d



3e



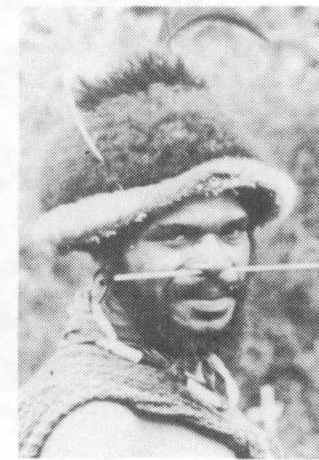
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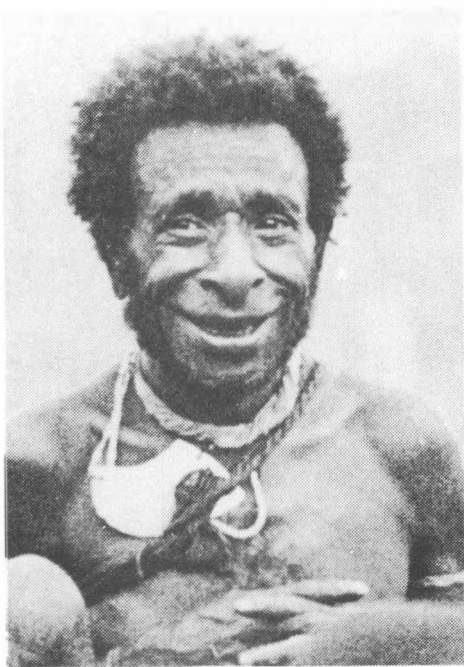
3g



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3i



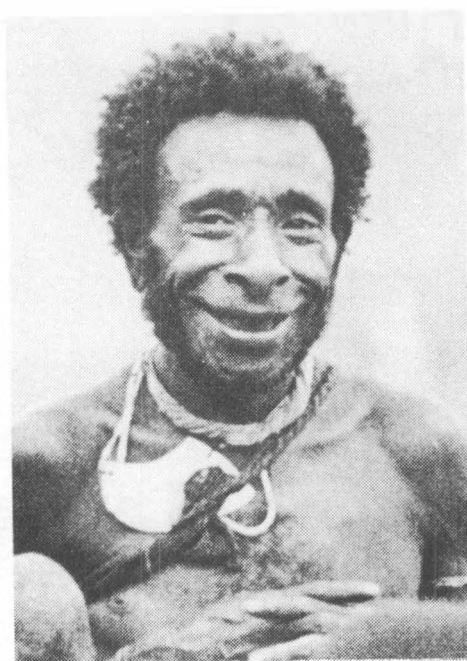
4a



4b



4c

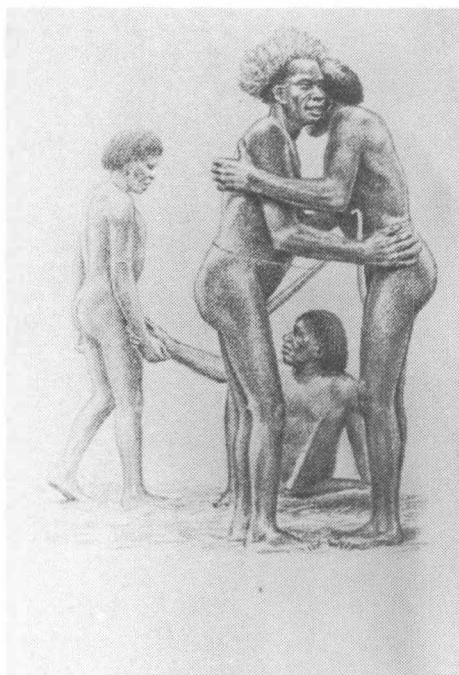


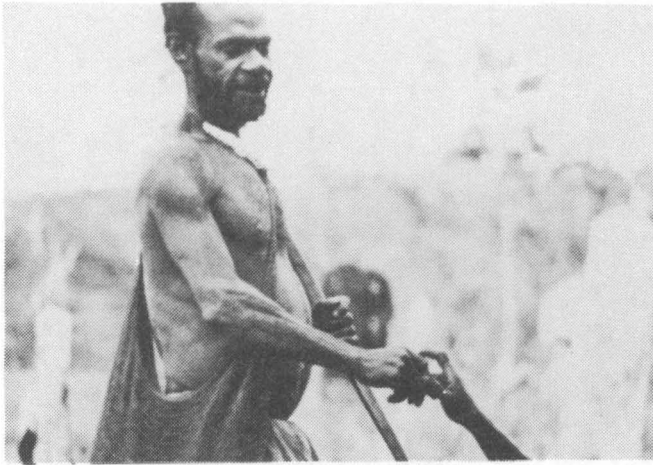
4d



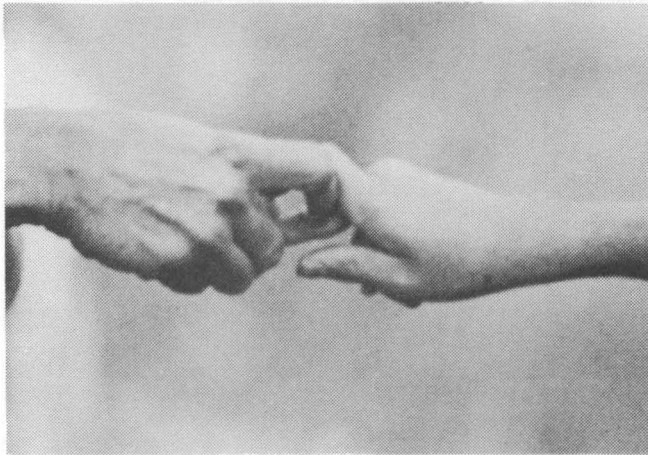


6





8a



8b



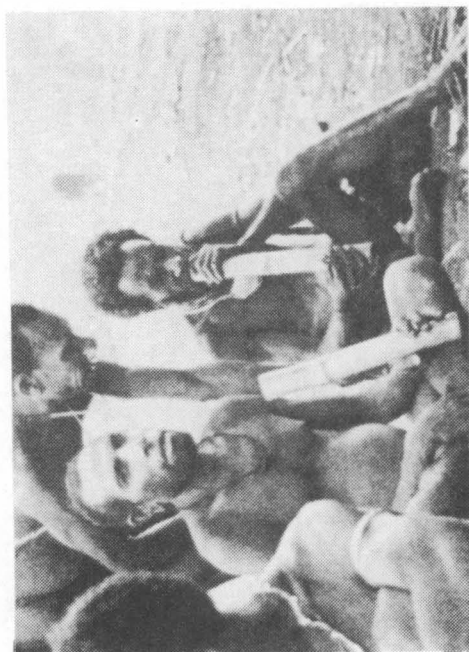
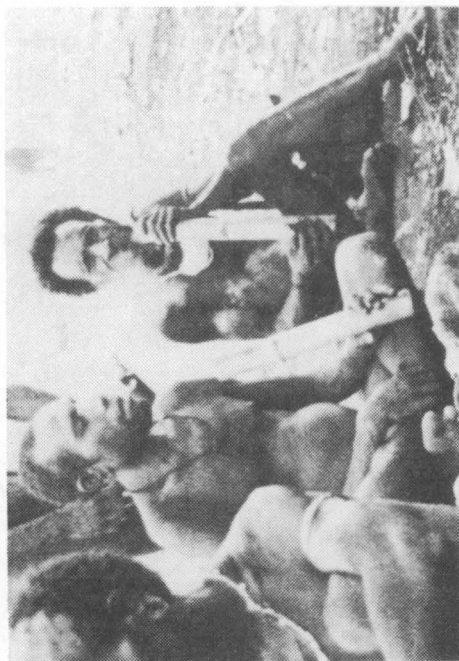
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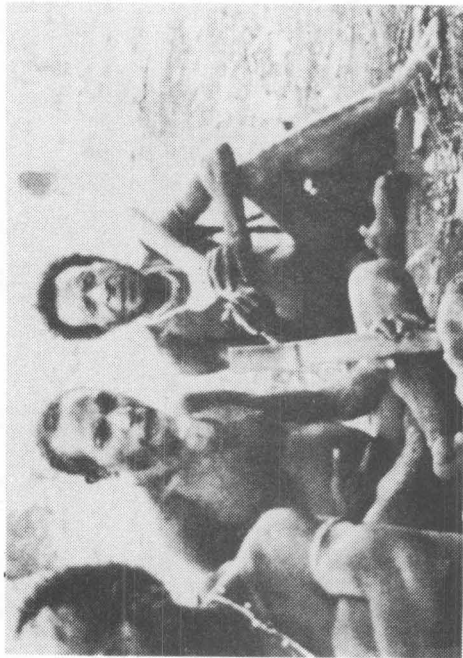


11a





11f



11h



11e



11g



12a



12b



12c

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6.2. NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN NORTH-EAST NEW GUINEA

Franz-Josef Eilers

6.2.1. INTRODUCTION

It is not proposed in this chapter to enter into the details of what constitutes human communication. Let it however be borne in mind that my concern is basically with communication as a social means of exchanging information, opinion and experience between people - without which human society cannot exist. Wilbur Schramm rightly declares in the introduction to his latest 'Reader': 'every discipline concerned with human society and human behaviour must necessarily be concerned with communication', (Schramm 1971:6).

There is no doubt that of all kinds of human communication speech is one of the most vital. This is true - though in varying degrees - at every stage of human existence and in every type of human society. Thus languages constitute an important means of communication in New Guinea. Besides these languages, however, there exist other non-verbal methods of communicating which introduce or complement the speech process and are capable of replacing it and even do replace it. The following is an attempt to give a short survey of the types and potential of non-verbal communication, without however aiming at completeness. The background for this survey was furnished by studies and a research trip made in 1964. These led to a publication entitled *Zur Publizistik schriftloser Kulturen in Nordost-Neuguinea* (*Publicism by Cultures with Unwritten Languages in North-East New Guinea*). The survey is concerned essentially with the Chimbu-Wahgi area in the Highlands and the Sepik-Maprik area of the coastal region.

It is not proposed to consider all those methods of communication whose result or effect is mainly or totally verbally determined. This would mean dealing with the whole range of natural acoustic methods of

making oneself understood which the human voice employs, for instance not only speech and its methods and effects, etc. but also rumours and vocal music.¹

Moreover it is not proposed to deal in detail with calling, which has a not unimportant news-bearing function from one mountain to another among the Highlands tribes.²

Non-verbal means of communication in New Guinea may be divided into visual and aural communication signals. It should be pointed out at once, however, that the communicative function of these signals is most certainly not always merely a question of a communicative signal or gesture, for communicational aims are often determined by cultic-religious, ideological or other preoccupations.³

6.2.2. VISUAL MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

The matter of visual means of communicating prompts the question of how far a visual method may possess communicative content as a result of its arrangement, or how far it is determined - whether precisely for this reason or through some inner dynamic - by an abstracting symbolic character which bears a certain inner analogy to the item being communicated.

Fire and smoke signals are not particularly frequent in north-west New Guinea. They are used occasionally, usually according to a previously agreed arrangement, though only in isolated cases as an actual means of communication. It is objects and customs that appear to be more important.

6.2.2.1. WHITE WOOD FOUND AS SIGNALLING LIGHT

Thus among the Chimbu the brilliant white wood of a certain tree is used as a mirror and signalling light in the mountains. The announcement of a great pig-feast is made, among other means, by this mirror signal: the split wood from this tree, the one the natives call *Ende Paiwi*, is set up on the mountain tops. However this practice serves also to dry out the wood in order to make it fit for use in the building of guest houses for the singsing. On account of its brightness and positioning this wood possesses a communicative character which the natives recognise, rather in the way in which a poster is used to announce a celebration.

6.2.2.2. PLANTS

Plants are used in different ways as means of communication:

a) The simple knot in the Tanager is frequently made use of along the coast as well as in the Highlands as a tally marker, a memory aid, a date record and an invitation, as well as constituting 'written proof' of a certain piece of news. Likewise fruits are used as tally markers, as can be observed in the Sepik region and Manam.

b) The use of plants to show direction and mark boundaries of paths and detours is very widespread. Various plants can also be laid in certain ways on the track to point out the way to a stranger following behind, or to show the traveller, - as is the case at Warabung in the Maprik area when a stick is laid across the path - that someone has made an especially good kill there of, for example, a kapul (possum or tree kangaroo). Lovers arrange meetings by means of a knotted tuft of grass or some leaves knotted together.

c) Tabu signals (see Mihalic 1971:190-1) often have the significance of a public notice. An attached tabu signal (a tanager-leaf, for instance) is a means of communicating both prohibition and warning to trespassers encroaching on any property. Conversely the legal title of the owner concerned is also made clear thereby. Should anything have been stolen, the tabu sign is in the form of the stolen object or plant in order to deter further thieves. This at the same time is evidence that a magical prohibition is correspondingly laid upon both the thief and the object.

d) Totem signs may also be mentioned here. They express the inner connection between individuals and tribes and their particular animal or plant. However the origin of the significance of these manifestations has very strong religious and ideological overtones.

e) There are other occasions on which plants are used for non-verbal communication. For example Aufenanger reports a pig-feast at Denglagu in the Chimbu area in which the particular wrapping of bundles of sweet potato indicates which part of the pig the relatives are to receive.⁴ A similar use of plants as means of declaring war, peace or friendship and so on is reported from other areas of New Guinea as well.

6.2.2.3. DYE, CLAY, CHALK AND MUD

The use of dye, clay, chalk or mud as signs of mourning is evident in the Highlands as well as along the coast. Coating with dye or clay signifies mourning for the death of relatives or fellow-tribesmen. Body mutilation as a sign of mourning, e.g. the amputation of a mother's finger on the death of a child, or the breaking of a scab, are after all examples of communication.

6.2.2.4. TATTOOING AND SCARIFICATION

While tattooing and scarification seem, in the Highlands, to have a merely decorative function, Behrmann reports that in the Sepik whole tribes may be identified by these scar-tattoos. The relation between tattooed ornamentation of the body and corresponding decoration on slitgongs, seats, bullroarers, etc. needs to be examined more closely. There is a most evident connection between the bullroarers used in initiation ceremonies and the tattooing carried out during them.

6.2.2.5. ART

Even though basically the entire material culture of an ethnic group has a certain declarative and thereby communicative capacity, certain phenomena, e.g. the arts, are invested in unwritten cultures with a particular communicative significance; however this cannot be dealt with here in any greater detail. Suffice it to mention, in illustration of this, the strong declarative force of the haus tambaran ('*spirit houses*') in the Maprik area, though it must be admitted that the range of artistic expression is essentially smaller in the New Guinea Highlands than along the coast.

6.2.3. ACOUSTIC MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Whereas one may observe in general an especially strong reliance of the visual means of communication upon religious and cultural tradition (e.g. the use of tabus, etc.), the acoustic declarative methods are used more for direct communication of information, though they are seldom anything more significant than a simple communicative instrument.

6.2.3.1. DRUMS

Linguistically the most significant is the use of the drums as a method of communication. In this regard, we must point out at once the geographically limited incidence of slitgongs, which are not to be found at all in the Highlands and whose use, even on the coast, seems to have originally not spread further to the east than Lae. As with verbal communication, the non-verbal communicative methods seem to be especially clearly and intimately linked here with particular cultural histories.

Slitgongs have three functions which should be clearly distinguished: they are used as cult, as musical and as signalling instruments. Here the concern is principally with the third function. Constant mention is made of a 'slitgong language' by means of which it is believed that

one can 'speak' through the drum over comparatively long distances. If by 'drum language' is meant a way of communicating at will through syllables, that is, signalling elements which are capable of being combined to make 'sentences', then this does not exist in New Guinea. All the research carried out in different places on the coast and in the Sepik region has shown that drum signals constitute in fact definite fixed statements; they cannot, however, be combined at will as in a language. Furthermore, the number of drummable statements differs from one village to another, and seems to be determined by the social requirements of the tribe or village concerned. In 1964 it was not possible to arrive at more than 30 statements or declarations that could be drummed in one village.

There is still uncertainty about the actual technique of such drumming, both from the musico-ethnological and from the linguistic standpoints.

Neuhauss is in no doubt that as far as slitgong signals are concerned 'the separate signals differ from one another according to the area' (Neuhauss 1911:317), and Behrmann writing on his expedition to the Sepik states that (translated): 'it is doubtful however if these signals are comprehensible across language boundaries from another village. Sometimes the villages knew beforehand of our coming, but mostly they were taken completely by surprise' (Behrmann 1924:61). The relation between the slitgong signal code in an area and the range of a language has not yet been investigated. If the rhythm of speech had an influence on the codification of information for the slitgong, one might infer that the boundaries of a language area correspond with the limits of a drum-signal area. This is however not the case. On further examination of the Yuat River area and the neighbouring Sepik region it was shown that language and garamut (i.e. slitgong) signal boundaries did not always match. Thus, for example, in the Sepik from Krinjambe beyond Angoram one finds one garamut signal code, while the area of the Lower Yuat belonging to the same language area and Kanduanum on the Sepik display a different garamut code. On the other hand, the areas to the east and west of the Yuat in the Biwat area have a different language, yet their differing garamut signals are mutually comprehensible in spite of this. Regarding Changriva, it is said that both the neighbouring Maramba as well as the region where Kamamber lies were formerly unable to understand Changriva garamut signals. Today however, some people in Maramba and Kamamber do understand the Changriva signals. For the language area of the Iatmul three distinct garamut signal sets could be detected though no more precise details of intercommunication between the areas could be

obtained. It often happens that in villages lying right on the edge of a garamut signal area some of the old men do understand, even if only in part, the signals of their neighbours. The village of Brugenauwi on the Upper Sepik shifted to this area from Tambanum 40 or 50 years ago, and Tambanum garamut signals and the Tambanum language have persisted here to this day. On the Black River the villages of Kanengara, Yamandenem and Gavamas speak a different language from Songriman, Yessenbit, Tunginbit, Karrinan and Kreimbit; yet all the villages use the same garamut signals. Doubtless in some cases the language or certain words in it exercise some influence on the composition of garamut signals.

There are no grounds for positing any actual connection between languages and drum signals. The emergence of such signals is far more likely to have been prompted by other elements. Earlier periods of friendship or hostility between particular villages of these headhunting tribes have undoubtedly had their effect. Perhaps indeed this whole question needs to be placed in a wider cultural context. After his expedition Behrmann certainly stated that (translated):

the boundaries of particular languages, of which we identified not less than 13 between the Sepik and the Dutch border, do not correspond to areas of differing house construction and these in their turn do not match differences in dress. The same goes for all features of the culture. Even friends and foes are not distinguished from one another either by their speech group or by any ethnographic or physical difference. (Behrmann 1950-51:309)⁵

6.2.3.2. OTHER PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS

Besides the slitgong, other kinds of percussion instruments are used in some areas in non-verbal communication. It would appear that the signalling boards used in the Maprik area, not yet described, are direct substitutes for slitgongs. A simple board about 60 to 80 cms long and about 25 cms wide rests on a man's lap and he beats it with a pebble. These signalling boards appear to have no religious function and seem to be used only for signalling over short distances. According to native informants from the Maprik area the same signals are beaten on the signalling boards as on the big slitgongs. Moreover there are other objects, mainly wooden ones, that produce sound when beaten and are used in a similar way for signalling. Roesicke reports that on the Sepik those on their way home from killing an enemy beat a particular rhythm on the edge of the canoe: this is a signal of communication even if primarily an expression of triumph (Roesicke 1914:513).

Beating on a tree-stump as a means of communication is reported in the Sepik area and is comparable to the use of slitgongs.

6.2.3.3. PERCUSSION INSTRUMENT WITH MYTHIC FUNCTION

One percussion instrument of which in 1964 actually only one example was found in the Sepik, seems to have a mythic function similar to that of the spirit flutes. Nowhere in literature is there any description of this unique board-shaped object, which was also called *Wan̄ken* by the people in Tambanum (Wombun) and which was beaten on certain occasions. The specimen found in 1964 was in a men's house at Wombun, near Tambanum, where it was stored concealed under a roof. It was a two metre long flat instrument made of garamut wood and resembling a compressed or flattened canoe (the people called it a 'snake' or a 'fish'). At one end, this board finished in a point while the other end was shaped like a fish tail. Two boards are used at the same time (the Wombun specimen constitutes a pair of boards like this): they are suspended and a man stands between them and beats them with two mallets. As soon as this sound is heard, it signifies an absolute tabu, on pain of death, for all women and children; this was emphasised by the fact that the Wombun men could hardly be persuaded to bring even one of the two *wan̄ken* out of the loft into the daylight. This 'sound-board' as Roesicke appears to have called it⁶ was used on special occasions (singsings) and particularly in initiation ceremonies probably in a similar way to the bullroarers.

It is alleged that at an initiation ceremony, as recently as August 1964, such a sound-board (*wan̄ken*) was still in use at Kamangui village (about one and a half hours inland from the Sepik, on the opposite bank to Wombun). According to the men at Wombun, the emergence of this sound-board again is somehow connected with the bullroarer. They recounted the following: two fish in the water were having a conversation. Four women who were fishing heard the noise, caught the fish, and put them in their canoe. There the fish held a singsing. The women took over the singsing and made the *wan̄ken* out of wood (an image of the fish!). But as the men were beating on their bullroarers, the women became frightened and ran away leaving the *wan̄ken* behind; and so it came to the men.

The mythical and religious significance of this communicative object becomes particularly evident whenever the *wan̄ken* is beaten inside a specially constructed enclosure and the strongest tabus are put upon it. It would appear that such sound-boards were in use at one time in various places on the Sepik, particularly among the Iatmul.⁷

6.2.3.4. WIND INSTRUMENTS

As well as percussion instruments, wind instruments serve as means of non-verbal communication in the acoustic field. The bamboo flutes

found all over New Guinea should be mentioned here. Mainly played transversely, they have primarily a religious and cultic significance; they represent the voices of ancestors and spirits.

The double tone given by blowing the flutes in pairs often produces quite distinctive melodies which can sometimes have special names and are often dedicated to the totem of a certain bird. Thus these flutes are invested with a highly individual communicative character within the system of non-verbal communication in New Guinea. From earlier research in the Sepik area Neuhauss reports wooden horns in the central Sepik which he compares with the conch shells of the coastal region (Neuhauss 1911:315). These horns, which occurred only in the central Sepik, were apparently used only for communication purposes as signal horns and war horns.

It is, however, conch shells that are most typically found as signalling instruments at sea and in battle. These are used in the coastal areas, though, not in the Highlands. At times, these instruments have apparently also played some part in private communication, and in warding off stormy weather or evil spirits.

6.2.3.5. BULLROARERS

The bullroarer belongs to the category of means of communication only to a limited extent. In addition to the conspicuousness of this wood which was used most often in initiations, the sound that is produced by spinning it represents - in a similar manner to the sound of bamboo flutes - the voices of spirits or of ancestors. They may therefore be compared in communicational function to the flutes.

And so, this short outline of non-verbal communicational forms in north-east New Guinea must close. Emphasis has been placed on the communicative (publicistic) significance of the various methods of communication. The area described needs further research, both in general and in specific aspects, as far as this is still possible in New Guinea with its development and changes.

6.2. NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN NORTH-EAST NEW GUINEA

N O T E S

1. See Eilers 1967:46-100.
2. See Eilers 1967:58-64.
3. The following description follows in essence the present author's above-mentioned work. The relevant evidence will be found in the detailed analysis that the book provides.
4. See Aufenanger 1963:188.
5. For further details see Eilers 1967:140-65.
6. Personal communication from Dr Kelm of Berlin-Dahlem, according to whose information such boards can be found in Berlin in the not yet accessible collection from von Roesicke's Sepik expedition.
7. See also the exhaustive description in Eilers 1967:168-70.

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DIVISION 7

LANGUAGE AND THE MODERN WORLD

PART 7.1.

MULTILINGUALISM

7.1.0. MULTILINGUALISM IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA¹

Gillian Sankoff

Editor's Note: The contents of this chapter is very largely based on information extant in 1972-73. Particularly in view of its extensive use of 1966 census data using 'district' divisions, it has been decided to leave references to 'districts' unchanged and not to alter them to 'provinces' to reflect current usage in 1977.

Though it is an incontrovertible fact that the nature of bi- and multilingualism² is changing very rapidly in Papua New Guinea, it is certainly not the case that this is a phenomenon unique to the colonial and independence periods of Papua New Guinea history. Indeed, in order to appreciate the phenomenon of multilingualism in the present day, it is necessary to attempt the best possible reconstruction of the degree and nature of multilingualism in the precolonial period.

7.1.1. MULTILINGUALISM IN THE PRECOLONIAL PERIOD

7.1.1.1. LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTILINGUALISM

The approximate number of languages, the relative distribution of Austronesian and non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages, and the implications of this distribution in reflecting prehistoric relationships and migrations, have been dealt with extensively in chapters of vols I and II (Wurm, ed. 1975, 1976), as well as in works such as Capell 1969, 1971; Chowning 1970; Dutton 1969; Healey 1964; Hooley and McElhanon 1970; Laycock 1965; Wurm 1960, 1971a; Wurm and Laycock 1961; Z'graggen 1971; and the many detailed studies in McKaughan 1973. Various kinds of language contact in the New Guinea area, with particular reference to contacts between speakers of Austronesian and Papuan languages, have been given by Laycock (1973). Our main concern here, however, is the implication of such diversity for multilingualism.

7.1.1.1.1. Very Small Languages

Of the probably 700 or more languages of Papua New Guinea, it is likely that over a third have (and have had, for some time) an extremely small number of speakers. 'Extremely small' here means less than 500 speakers. This approximation is based (for Papuan languages) on data presented by Wurm (1971a) in the most complete survey of Papuan languages to date (until the publication of vol.I (Wurm, ed. 1975)). Eliminating several of his groupings which fall largely in Irian Jaya, we are left with approximately 449 languages, of which 169 have less than 500 speakers, as shown in Table 1. Though we have no such complete statistics, analogous to Wurm's, for the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, data culled from Hooley and McElhanon 1970 on 37 Austronesian languages of the Morobe District, from Beaumont 1972 on 20 New Ireland Austronesian languages as well as the Tolai language of New Britain,³ from Z'graggen 1971 and Claassen and McElhanon 1970 on 14 Madang District Austronesian languages, and from Dutton 1970a, 1971 on 12 Austronesian languages of south-eastern Papua, tend to show a similar pattern. Of these 84 Austronesian languages, 21 have less than 500 speakers, as is also shown in Table 1. Thus of the 533 languages of Papua New Guinea for which statistics on the number of speakers have been compiled in Table 1, we find that 190, or 35.6%, have fewer than 500 speakers.

Most of the speakers of these very small languages are (and probably were in the past) bilingual or multilingual, according to evidence from recent language surveys. Laycock (1965), for example, discussing the two smallest members of the Ndu language family of the East and West Sepik Districts, has this to say (p.131):

Ngala is spoken by the 134 inhabitants of a single village, Swagup, [which] ... lies off the Sepik River, several hours' travel up a narrow tributary stream. The nearest speakers of an Ndu-family language are the Iatmul-speaking inhabitants of Brugnawi, with whom however the people of Swagup have till recently had a long-standing feud It is with the Wogamusin-speaking inhabitants of Washkuk that the Swagup natives have most of their trading contacts ... a large number of adult males in Swagup speak Wogamusin

(It should be noted that Wogamusin, a non-Ndu Papuan language, itself has only 336 speakers, which is, however, more than double the number of Ngala speakers.) Laycock continues:

Yelogu is spoken by the inhabitants of a single village ... All 63 inhabitants appear to be bilingual, speaking the unrelated Kwoma language as well as Yelogu. (Laycock 1965:139)

No such bilingualism is reported for the four other languages of the Ndu Family, all of which number well over 1,000 speakers.

TABLE 1

Distribution of the Number of Speakers of 533 Papuan and Austronesian Languages in Papua New Guinea

Speakers per language	PAPUAN LANGUAGES*		AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES**		TOTAL	
	No. of languages	Approx. total population	No. of languages	Approx. total population	No. of languages	Approx. total population
30,000 +	9 ⁺ (2.2%)	460,000 (31.4%)	1 ⁺⁺ (1.2%)	30,000 (15.1%)	10 (1.9%)	490,000 (29.4%)
10,000 - 29,999	22 (4.9%)	385,000 (26.3%)	3 (3.6%)	31,500 (15.8%)	25 (4.7%)	416,000 (25.0%)
5,000 - 9,999	38 (8.5%)	265,000 (18.1%)	6 (7.1%)	39,300 (19.7%)	44 (8.3%)	304,300 (18.5%)
1,000 - 4,999	135 (30.1%)	274,000 (18.7%)	38 (45.2%)	83,700 (42.0%)	173 (32.5%)	357,700 (21.5%)
500 - 999	76 (16.9%)	48,500 (3.3%)	15 (17.9%)	9,800 (4.9%)	91 (17.1%)	58,300 (3.5%)
less than 500	169 (37.6%)	33,500 (2.3%)	21 (25.0%)	5,000 (2.5%)	190 (35.6%)	38,500 (2.3%)
TOTAL	449	1,466,000	84	199,300	533	1,665,300

* Data on Papuan languages abstracted from Wurm 1971.

** Data on Austronesian languages abstracted from Hooley and McElhanon 1970; Beaumont 1972; Z'graggen 1971; Claassen and McElhanon 1970; Dutton 1970a, 1971.

N.B. This table is not complete, particularly with respect to Austronesian languages. Information contained in Wurm, ed. 1976, unavailable to me before the present chapter went to press, will be invaluable in revising and completing this table.

⁺The 9 languages are Enga - 110,000; Medipa - 60,000; Chimbu - 60,000; Huli - 54,000; Kewa - 39,500; Kamano - 38,500; Wahgi - 37,000; Gawigi - 31,000; Mendi - 30,000.

⁺⁺The Austronesian language in question is Tolai.

In a study of the languages of the Finisterre Range, Claassen and McElhanon (1970) make such observations concerning a number of the very small languages of that area. For example, discussing the Erap Family of the Morobe District, they state (p.56):

The Mamaa language is spoken in the village of Mamaa (pop.200) on the east bank of the lower Irumu River. With the exception of the Finungwan language, this language shows no lexico-statistical relationship greater than 35% with the other languages in the family. The 46% relationship with Finungwan may reflect borrowings since the people are being assimilated by the Finungwan people and most of them are bilingual.

In a close parallel with the Ngala-speakers of Wogamusin cited by Laycock, we note that the Finungwan language, like Wogamusin, is itself very small, numbering only 400 speakers, but again double the number of speakers of Mamaa.

A further case cited by Claassen and McElhanon (1970) is that of speakers of the Yabong language of the Yaganon Family in the Madang District (p.61):

The Yabong language (pop.370) is spoken in five villages west of the Yangda River Many of the people are reported to be fluent in the Rawa language.

(Note that Rawa is an only very distantly related, fairly large language of 6,000 speakers belonging to the Finisterre Stock, whereas Yabong belongs to the Rai Coast Stock.)

Parallel evidence is presented in studies of other very small languages, many of which tend to occur in border areas between larger language groups, often as a result of the drastic reduction of a population through warfare or disease. Such a situation is discussed for the Binumarien (three small villages in the Kainantu Sub-District of the Eastern Highlands District, very near the Morobe District border, and containing a total of 117 people) by Oatridge and Oatridge (1973: 517):

The Binumarien are a very small group. Within the memory of the older men, they were more numerous, but because of tribal fighting resulting in prolonged residence in the Markham Valley and resultant malaria, their numbers have been greatly reduced. Their neighbors to the west and south are the Gadsup, and to the north the Azera in the Markham Valley. The closely related language of Kambaira is in the southeast. The Binumarien are most closely related to the Tairora though some of the men speak Azera and Gadsup while others speak Gadsup and Tairora as well as their own language.

Though I have rather conservatively restricted the 'very small' language category to those numbering less than 500 speakers, it is very likely that many speakers of slightly larger languages, numbering, say, up to 1,000, were also bilingual. Bee (1965:39-40) describes such a situation for the Usarufa:

Usarufa [is] a language spoken by approximately 850 persons in the Eastern Highlands District ... The Usarufa-speaking area is located in a pocket surrounded by Kamano, Kanite, Fore, and a small segment of Auyana speakers. All of these languages except the Auyana have been classified by Wurm as members of language families distinct from Usarufa. Nevertheless most adult Usarufa speakers speak at least one of the three more distantly related languages and many speak all three. Contrariwise very few Fore, Kamano or Kanite speakers are able to speak Usarufa. Also of note is the fact that ... few Usarufa speakers admit to speaking or understanding Auyana which is so closely related that the two may be dialects of one language.

This is confirmed by Berndt (1954:291) who notes also that 'nearly all' of the Usarufa 'seem to have some knowledge of Jate'. The Jate (or Yate, population 3,988 according to Wurm (1971a)) lie immediately to the west of the Usarufa, 'in some cases only 15-20 minutes' walk away' (Berndt 1954:291).

The quotation from Laycock 1965 cited above suggests one reason for speakers of such small languages to be bilingual, i.e. trading contacts, necessarily (especially when the language is confined to a single village or hamlet) with speakers of other languages. Another type of contact, even more important for fostering bilingualism in such cases was inter-marriage, again a virtual necessity for members of very small language groups. This meant that a large number of women brought up in such a small language group would, upon marrying outside of it, find themselves to be in a linguistically foreign environment for their married lives; and that men brought up in such groups would very likely bring in wives who did not initially speak the group's language, which in turn would expose their children to more than one language.

Note that in all of the citations above, either no sex difference in bilingualism is noted or else special note is taken that men are bilingual. It is unlikely that this reflects a real sex difference in bilingualism; rather, given that in such small language groups a large proportion of the adult women will be married in from other language groups and therefore not be native speakers of the language groups in which they now live, they are of little or no interest to a linguist whose main job is finding out about the language of the group in question, and therefore will not perhaps notice that these women are also bilingual.⁴

7.1.1.1.2. Trade Languages in Coastal Areas

Though as is indicated in Table 1, speakers of somewhat over a third of the languages of Papua New Guinea were probably obliged by demography alone to become bilingual, it is also clear from this table that such

speakers never constituted more than a tiny minority of the total population. Even if we include the next smallest group of languages, those having between 500 and 1,000 speakers, not more than 6% of the population would be included in this category (though the two groups constitute just over half the languages!).

We now turn to an examination of the case of the great majority of Papua New Guineans, that 94% of the population not living in language isolates, and whose language groups consist of over 1,000 speakers. Though data relevant to multilingualism are very incomplete for these larger language groups, we can, I feel, piece together a general picture with respect to multilingualism among speakers of any such languages. Though it is obvious that the larger the number of speakers of any particular language, the less likely would contacts such as trade and intermarriage be necessary with speakers of other languages, there is still considerable evidence indicating varying degrees and types of competence in other languages and dialects among many speakers of such languages.

First, note in Table 1 given in 7.1.1.1.1. that the distribution of speakers differs between Papuan and Austronesian languages. The bulk of the speakers of the 84 Austronesian languages in Table 1, i.e. 42%, are concentrated in languages having between 1,000 and 5,000 speakers. As is well known, most of these languages (as well as many Papuan languages of similar medium size) are located in coastal areas, where trade circuits of considerable size operated in the past.

In many coastal areas, the language of one of the trading groups, sometimes in a somewhat simplified version, was used as a lingua franca throughout the trade circuit in question. A very famous case is that of Hiri Motu (also known as Police Motu), the language

which came into being as a trade language used by the Motu people of the Port Moresby area during their annual trading expeditions to parts of the coastal area of what is today the Gulf District ... The language is a pidginized Motu which shows marked influence of the Papuan language type which is attributable to the fact that the coastal people in the Gulf District are speakers of Papuan languages.
(Wurm 1969:35)

As early as the beginning of the 20th century, 'the fact that the Motu and the various Gulf tribes visited by them make use of a common trading dialect which is in some measure distinct from the very widely divergent languages of either' (Barton 1910:96)⁵ was cited as evidence that such trade had 'existed for a very considerable period' (p.96). Thus bilingualism in their own language and Hiri Motu existed among members of those groups who traded with the Motu-speakers well before the beginning of the colonial period. This language was used by the Motuans and

their trade partners both on the Motuans' visits to the Papuan Gulf, and on return visits by the peoples of the Gulf, as described by Eri (1970:35). Speakers of Koita have also been bilingual in Motu for a very long time:

The Koita are a tribe speaking a Papuan language who have for generations intermarried with the Motu and whose villages are usually built near, or even in direct contiguity with those of the Motu. Although the Koita still speak a Papuan language the majority of the males speak Motu, a Melanesian language... (Seligman 1910:16)

Later Seligman goes on to say that 'practically all the Koita speak Motu' (p.45).

In another well-known trade circuit, that of the Kula, it appears that Dobuan was the lingua franca. Writing of the period between 1914 and 1918, Malinowski states:

It is characteristic of the international position of the Dobuans that their language is spoken as a lingua franca all over the d'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, in the Amphletts, and as far north as the Trobriands. In the southern part of these latter islands, almost everyone speaks Dobuan, although in Dobu the language of the Trobriands or Kiriwinian is hardly spoken by anyone. (Malinowski 1966:39-40)

Malinowski mentions this fact mainly because he finds it a curious one, his feeling being that Kiriwinian, as the language of the more numerous and equally prestigious Trobrianders, would have been a more likely choice for a lingua franca. In describing the trade visits of the Trobrianders in Dobu, Malinowski again remarks on the use of Dobuan. He says:

In the villages, they are entertained by their male friends, the language spoken by both parties being that of Dobu, which differs completely from Kiriwinian, but which the Sinaketans learn in early youth. (Malinowski 1966:364)

Despite the widespread use of Dobuan, it appears that the Trobrianders did use their own language on visits to certain other islands. The fact that

the natives of the eastern islands, from Kitava to Woodlark, ... speak the same language with dialectical differences only ... (Malinowski 1966:478)

is said by Malinowski to have facilitated trade between the Trobrianders and the people of these islands. He also describes (p.270) a trade visit in the Amphletts in which Kiriwinian was the language used.

Farther west along the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, bilingualism in the language of traders appears to have existed in two other areas: the northern coast of the Huon Peninsula, and the Huon Gulf area. According to Harding (1967:203):

Sio informants say that communication was based on a pidgin form of the Siassi language (tok Siassi haphap), a trade lingo

with a Siassi vocabulary which was useful not only in meetings with the Siassis themselves, but with other island and coastal peoples.

Slightly further south, in the Huon Gulf area,

It seems that in the past the pot makers from the south, the basket weavers from Labu, and the Tami Islanders all made a practice of learning Gawa (or Kawa), the vernacular spoken on the North Coast and around Busama. (Hogbin 1947:247)

This sample of four regional trading languages certainly does not exhaust the total coastal area of Papua New Guinea; nevertheless, these four alone were spoken as a second language by thousands of people speaking many languages, both Papuan and Austronesian, along hundreds of miles of coastline. In addition, similar situations probably existed in many other coastal areas on which I have not been able to locate any data. Unlike the bilingual speakers of the very small languages discussed in 7.1.1.1.1., people bilingual in their own language and one of the coastal trade languages appear not to have been so likely to be also intermarried with speakers of these languages.⁶ Trading voyages involved the traders being entertained, each by his own trade friend in a foreign port, for fairly short periods on any one trip, i.e. not more than a couple of weeks at a time. The traders were men, and were on their trips apparently engaged in talk principally with other men in the language groups they visited. This probably means that unlike the situation in very small languages, there was a sex bias in favour of men with respect to bilingualism in the villages visited by traders. It also seems likely that few men or women who were native speakers of the lingua franca were bilingual, as Malinowski specifically states for the Dobuans. (If Barton is correct in his statement that the Motu spoken as a contact language was indeed quite different from Motu, then the Motuan traders could be said to have been 'bilingual' and form an exception to the pattern of speakers of languages like Dobuan.)

In an article George Grace kindly brought to my attention when this chapter was completed, Schlesier (1961) discusses the impact of 'trade friend' relationships on bilingualism in various parts of New Guinea, citing missionary and other sources dating from the 1890s. He stresses the often lengthy period of time spent by youths in their fathers' trade friends' villages, during which visits language learning was a major goal.

7.1.1.1.3. Inland Middle-Range Languages

Section 7.1.1.1.2. has dealt with the middle-range languages of the coast, mainly Austronesian though including some Papuan languages (it is of note that the four trade languages discussed in 7.1.1.1.2. in

which both Austronesian and Papuan speakers were bilingual, are all themselves Austronesian). But the bulk of speakers of the middle-range Papuan languages are to be found inland.

Here again, the situation appears to be a result of the interaction between demography (itself a result of the nature of the terrain and of historical forces in shaping migration patterns) and socially regulated patterns of trade and intermarriage. But even more than in preceding sections, we are severely hampered by lack of information; very few ethnographies or linguistic surveys have paid much attention to bilingualism. Very roughly, it appears that there has existed a fair amount of bilingualism in border areas and among the smaller, or more isolated segments of any linguistic group, but that multilingualism is unlikely in the central areas of large linguistic groups.

The most detailed account of multilingualism in a middle-range Papuan language is Salisbury's (1962) description of the Siane, located in the border areas of the Chimbu and Eastern Highlands Districts south-east of Chuave. Siane, which according to Wurm (1971a:549) numbers approximately 15,336 speakers, is the westernmost member of the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. Salisbury documents a very high degree of bilingualism on the part of Siane-speakers in 'various of the Dene dialects' (Salisbury 1962:2). (Note that 'Dene' is regarded by Wurm (1971a) as two languages: Chuave (population 5,639) and Nomane (population 2,502), belonging to the Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock.) Salisbury, who lived in a village where the language spoken was the Komunku dialect of Siane, states that

Conversations among the residents could often be trilingual, a Ramfau [note: Ramfau is another dialect of Siane] wife speaking Ramfau to her son who replied in Komunku and who was supported by his wife speaking in Dene. (Salisbury 1962:2)

Salisbury (1962) reports that in informal situations among groups of bilinguals, each would speak 'whatever language was easiest for them' (p.3) with no translation occurring, whereas in formal situations, 'each formal speech would be followed immediately by a translation of it into the other language' (p.3). Some Komunku speakers would use Dene on formal occasions, speaking Komunku on informal ones, an indication of the high prestige of multilingualism among the Siane (pp.4-5). Salisbury also mentions that whereas Komunku dialect speakers in the western area tended to be fluent in Dene, many of those in the east also knew Gahuku.

Salisbury's interesting and provocative account raises a number of questions about bilingualism from a qualitative point of view, questions involving such difficult problems as active versus passive bilingualism

(in conversations where each speaks his 'easiest' language and listeners appear to understand), the issues of whether a linguistic boundary constitutes a language or dialect difference, and of the relative prestige (or lack of it) of bilingualism. As these issues will be discussed in 7.1.1.2. below, let it suffice to mention here that the relatively large size of the Siane language does not appear to have impeded a fair amount of bilingualism among its speakers, at least those in border areas. The fact that the Siane live in a very densely populated area and are surrounded on all sides by other language groups is probably one of the reasons for this; another, very important, reason is that the Siane traditionally did not appear to regard speaking Siane as a basis for any type of political identity. Salisbury is quite explicit that (as of 1952-53) they had

no consciousness of an overriding political unity ... The same general culture ... continues both to east and west of the Siane, with no sharp discontinuities, with non-Siane attending Siane ceremonies and vice-versa. Interaction between Siane and non-Siane is also the rule, and a statistical analysis of the marriage pattern indicates that marriages are random as between Siane and non-Siane. (Salisbury 1962:1)

Other ethnographers working in various inland areas of Papua New Guinea have also noticed multilingualism in border areas between middle-range languages. Harding, discussing the interior of the Huon Peninsula in the Morobe District, speaks of:

an area of intergrading, ... known by the indigenous people as the 'head' of the Komba, Selepet and Timbe peoples. Linguistically, the area is mainly Komba, but the Timbe and Selepet are close at hand and there is a marked degree of multilingualism. (Harding 1965:199)

It should be noted that the population figures given for these three Papuan languages of the Huon Micro-Phylum (now (Wurm, ed. 1975): Huon Stock) are 10,000 speakers each for Komba and Timbe, and 5,500 for Selepet (Hooley and McElhanon 1970:1082).

Rappaport, discussing the Maring (population 4,500 according to Wurm 1971a:550), states that four of the 50 married women and widows living in the Maring local group of 200 which he studied in 1962-63 'came from nearby Karam-speaking groups' (Rappaport 1967:102). Karam (population 10,000-14,000) belongs to a family quite distant from Maring with which it shares only '19% basic vocabulary cognates' (Wurm 1971a:553). Rappaport (1967:102, n.2) also states that

marriage between Jimi Valley Maring and Narak speakers is frequent. It may be that propinquity, rather than linguistic affiliation, is the decisive factor in intergroup marriage.

Though the status of Narak has been somewhat disputed in the literature, Cook (1966:442) affirms that both according to its degree of cognation with Maring (only 57%) and according to the views of Maring- and Narak-speakers, Maring and Narak are separate languages. Wurm (1971a:550) concurs with this view, listing Narak as a separate language with approximately 4,500 speakers. Though Rappaport does not draw any conclusion on bilingualism from his intermarriage data, we can conclude that wives from both Karam and Narak would probably have become bilingual in Maring upon marrying into that language group, and that maintaining affinal relations among the various groups probably also made for a certain amount of bilingualism among the men as well.

Taking one further example of a middle-range Papuan-speaking group in the Highlands, Wagner (1969) has this to say about the Daribi, of the extreme south of the Chimbu District:

Approximately 3000 Daribi live on the volcanic plateau north of Mt. Karimui and in the adjacent limestone country to the west; they have intermarried extensively with a pocket of 1000 Tudawe (=Pawaia) speakers living northeast of the mountain. (Wagner 1969:56)

According to Wurm (1971a), the Mikaru-speaking Daribi number approximately 4,000, and the Pawaia, who belong to a different family, somewhat under 2,000 (Wurm 1971a:551).

There is a certain amount of evidence that where large and small groups were in contact, it was generally the members of the small group or isolate who became bilingual, though some of the members of the larger linguistic groups also found it advantageous (or necessary) to learn the others' language. Among the larger groups neighbouring the Usarufa discussed in 7.1.1.1.1., Berndt (1954:291) remarks that:

bilingualism ... is much more common in the border districts than in those which have rather less frequent contact with people speaking languages other than their own ... Members of the three larger language units rarely trouble to learn Uturupa (= Usurufa), except in matters involving continued personal contact - such as, especially, alien women married to Uturupa men.

Nevertheless it seems that a considerable number of foreign women did marry into Usarufa, as is shown in the following quotation:

Kemiju (Yate), Moife (Usurufa), Ofafina and Asafina (Fore) are bitter enemies of Kogu (Usurufa), but they are also its main source of wives as well as its guests for certain festivals, ceremonies, and so on. They comprise the principal units in the zone of most intensive interaction centering on Kogu ... they are engaged jointly in so many transactions, ... they come in contact with one another fairly regularly and are dependent on one another, and ... their territories adjoin. (Berndt 1962:234)

It also appears that in this border area, the larger groups also knew each other's languages to some extent. Berndt mentions that in three border villages of the Fore, 'the Fore language predominates, with some Jate' (Berndt 1962:8).

The five multilingual situations discussed in this section have all involved linguistic groups of the middle range, numbering between about 2,500 (Nomane, in the Siane example), and 15,000 (Siane itself). In addition, all five have involved border areas, in four of which intermarriage has been specifically mentioned. Both Salisbury and Rappaport stress the lack of political unity or common identity within the language group, and the fact that linguistic differences do not seem to constitute a barrier to intermarriage. One is left with the distinct impression that this is a situation common to many, if not most, linguistic border areas in the Highlands. As we shall see below in 7.1.1.1.4., this situation can indeed be generalised to at least three of the nine 'large languages' of the Highlands.

7.1.1.1.4. Large Languages of the Highlands

Though monolinguals in the central areas of the large language groups (those numbering over 30,000 in Table 1 given in 7.1.1.1.1.) are likely to be much more numerous than those living in the central areas of the smaller language groups we have so far been discussing, the phenomenon of multilingualism in border areas appears to be just as true for these groups as for the smaller ones. Brookfield and Brown have this to say about the Chimbu, which with 60,000 speakers is probably the second or third largest language group in Papua New Guinea:

The high mountains which enclose the Chimbis to the east, north, and north-west have not proved a barrier to trade, migration, and marriage. To the east are Asaro speaking people, ... in another language family. For the last three generations at least, the Chimbis have intermarried with Asaro people near Mirima and Korfena, and about 350 have established villages on land which they acquired from their affines. Yonggamugl Chimbis have migrated eastward to establish villages among Siane-speaking people, ... with whom they intermarry. To the north-east, the Chimbis have similar relations with the Bundi (Gende) people. In these cases visiting and ceremonial activities continue with the people of the Chimbu Valley. (Brookfield and Brown 1963:78)

Not only Asaro (population 11,597) but also Gende (population 8,000) and Siane (population 15,336) are in a family different from that of Chimbu. And the situation (intermarriage, visiting for ceremonials) sounds very similar to that described by Salisbury. On this basis, we are justified in postulating a certain amount of multilingualism, at least (conservatively) among those who are actually intermarried with

members of other language groups, and probably extending to a majority of those in border villages.

Brookfield and Brown (1963) go on to discuss relationships with the Chimbu's neighbours to the south-east, south, and west, with whom linguistic and cultural ties are 'much closer' (p.78) than those with the Asaro, Gende, and Siane. On the Wahgi, to the west of Chimbu, they say:

At the border of Chimbu and Wahgi, territories have interpenetrated, intermarriage is common, and languages, which belong to different sub-families, are mutually understood by the frontier groups. (Brookfield and Brown 1963:78)

According to Wurm (1964), such cases of bilingualism at the borders of large languages were not at all uncommon. He says:

The spreading of large languages is progressing at the present day, and the widespread bilingualism is one of the means by which one language gradually supersedes another ... This may lead to the gradual extinction of small languages ... (Wurm 1964:97)

Our second case of language contact in the border area of a large language group is that of the Huli, as described by Glasse (1968). In describing Huli relationships with their neighbours, Glasse does not appear to feel there is much contact. He states that the Huli (population 54,000 according to Wurm 1971a:551) 'exchange visits and occasionally intermarry' (Glasse 1968:20) with the Waga, the Dugube, the Ipili (population 4,500 according to Wurm 1971a:550) and the Duna (population 6,000 according to Wurm 1971a:551). Nevertheless he comments in discussing the geographical extension of Huli that 'just where the dividing line - or zone of transition - between Huli and Duna culture is to be found, was still uncertain in 1959' (Glasse 1968:18). The reason for construing the border area as a 'zone or transition' appears in a chance remark regarding the location of the patrol post at Koroba, 'in a bilingual area where Huli and Duna are both spoken' (p.18). It is of note that Duna is the most distantly related language of any of the Huli's neighbours, being in a different family and showing only 25% cognates with Huli according to Wurm (1971a:557). The Huli-Duna border area is one of the very few areas where two languages are shown as overlapping on Wurm's (1961) map of the Highlands languages.

Lastly, Strathern (1972) gives some evidence regarding the Medlpa (our second largest Papuan language, at 60,000) of the Mount Hagen area in the Western Highlands. She says (pp.3-4):

North of the Gumant (River) people speak Melpa almost exclusively, while to the south many understand both Melpa and the closely related Temboka (a dialect of Gawigl) ... Warfare, group expansions and migrations in the recent past had led to the intermingling of Temboka and Melpa groups in the immediate vicinity of the present town.

Summarising very briefly, it is clear that though only a minority of the speakers of the large Highlands languages had occasion to become bi- or multilingual, this was a common phenomenon whose incidence was principally dictated by demography. Language differences were not in and of themselves considered as barriers to communication.

7.1.1.2. QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF MULTILINGUALISM IN THE LANGUAGES OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

7.1.1.2.1. Languages, Dialects, Intelligibility and Passive Bilingualism

Finishing our discussion of language distribution with the 'large' languages of the Highlands has perhaps given a false impression of less linguistic diversity than actually exists. For even in these large languages, there was no linguistic homogeneity across all 30,000 or 50,000 speakers, and as has been attested to in 7.1.1.1., speakers did not recognise or often even know of the existence of such large linguistic groups. Instead, the situation was, and is, one of a multiplicity of speech varieties, many of which are very difficult to classify as between languages and dialects. From the point of view of linguistic identity of a particular speaker or group of speakers, and even sometimes from the point of view of intelligibility, two speech varieties which seem to diverge only at the 'dialect' level will count as separate languages.

An example of this was illustrated in an earlier paper of mine discussing Buang dialects (Sankoff 1969), which are related in the chain-dialect form common throughout New Guinea, and are located along the Snake River Valley in the Morobe District south of Lae. A comprehension test on three Buang speech varieties: A (headwaters); B (central) and C (lower) was administered to a sample of people in two A villages, three B villages, and two C villages. Lexicostatistic relationships showed A and B to be much more closely related than either to C, A to B falling between 77% and 83% cognates, depending on the pairs of villages compared; A to C falling between 60% and 65%, and B to C falling between 66% and 69%.⁷ Thus A and B could be considered to be related at the dialect level, whereas C would be considered a separate language. Nevertheless, in one B-speaking village near the C border, people found it more difficult to understand tape-recorded stories in the closely related A than in the more distantly related (but geographically close) variety C. This would then qualify as a case of bilingualism, albeit passive bilingualism, as the contact situation was such that any meeting between A, B, or C speakers involved each speaking his or her own speech

variety and the others understanding. The only people to become actively rather than passively bilingual in one of the speech varieties other than their native variety were in-married other-dialect women, however these constituted a very small proportion of the population. In seven villages where there were approximately 670 married women, only 27 were from other dialects, i.e. approximately 4% of the married women. Most of the A, B and C speakers with whom I spoke did not recognise that C was more different from A and B, though they all recognised the three major divisions.

Though Buang is unusual in being one of the few inland Austronesian language groups, the sociolinguistic situation involving chain dialects and languages, more intelligibility and heightened cognate percentages at dialect or language borders, and much passive bilingualism, is found all over Papua New Guinea in the distribution particularly of the Papuan languages. The most detailed and comprehensive study of chain relationships is Dutton 1969. Dutton uses the complex relationships among the languages and dialects of the Koiarian language family as an aid in reconstructing the history and patterns of migration of the Koiarian-speaking peoples. Dutton's careful work shows that five of the six Koiarian languages⁸ have numerous dialects, and in all six of the languages, virtually every village is to some extent distinguishable in its speech from others sharing the same 'dialect'. For example, Mountain Koiari, with a population of approximately 3,700, is divided into six dialects, of which Dutton's remarks on the Southern Dialect (population 347, spread among six villages) are illustrative of the general state of relationships in language-dialect chain relationships (Dutton 1969:49):

This is a small dialect ..., markedly different from its northern and western counterparts sharing only an average of 68-76% basic vocabulary with its nearest neighbour, the Central Dialect. Normally this degree of lexical relationship would be considered too low for a dialect-level relationship. However, since the grammatical structure of the Southern Dialect is very much akin to the rest of Mountain Koiari it is here regarded as merely a divergent dialect of this language rather than a separate, though very closely related, language. Part of the reason for its low lexical relationship with the Central Dialect probably lies in the fact that it is in close contact with Koiari and Barai to the south and east.

Lexically and phonologically the Southern Dialect is also divergent within itself. Thus, at Nacro, villagers living on opposite sides of the village 'street' speak quite differently from one another.

That this situation is also typical of the large languages of the Highlands has been recognised since Wurm and Laycock's classic article

on language and dialect (1961), in which they discussed speech varieties of the East New Guinea Highlands Phylum sharing cognate percentages of between 60% and 80%. They noted a tendency towards greater mutual intelligibility among speech varieties in the 70%-80% range, but also warned that such 'intelligibility' can be due in part to such 'speaker-related' factors as passive bilingualism and the subject of the discourse.

As an illustration of the 'dialect' diversity which exists even in the very largest Papuan languages, we shall consider the case of Kewa, on which we are fortunate in having a very detailed dialect study (Franklin 1968). Franklin gives 39,453 as a conservative population estimate for Kewa (p.9), making it the fifth largest of the Papuan languages listed in Table 1. Franklin (1968:9) distinguishes three major dialects of Kewa: West (population 17,921), East (population 17,758), and South (population 3,774). These can, however, be further subdivided, as the West dialect contains a sub-dialect referred to as North-western (population 6,864), and the South dialect contains a sub-dialect called South-eastern (population 404). In addition,

There are 3,652 speakers located on the putative boundary of the East and South, all of which are classed as East Dialect speakers. This line actually represents an imagined transition zone between the two dialects. (Franklin 1968:9)

Counting the two sub-dialects and the transition zone, we now have Kewa divided into six speech varieties. But Franklin (1968:1) also notes that:

there is a great deal of regionalism within the language so that few clans ever speak exactly the same as their neighbours ... This is often reflected in their mimicry of how a group nearby speaks, ... For example, if such a nearby group has vowel nasalisation and the focal group does not, the latter will deliberately nasalise all vowels, showing their recognition (in some sense) of one point of difference.

Maps showing isoglosses and distribution of particular lexical items confirm this picture of ordered, but marked, diversity.

Many other authors confirm the fact that virtually all over Papua New Guinea, people pay very great attention to small linguistic differences in differentiating themselves from their neighbours. In addition to Franklin's observations for the Kewa of the Southern Highlands, we have very similar statements from Cook (1966), discussing the relationships of Narak (Western Highlands) with its neighbours. He says:

Many natives of these small speech communities are extremely sensitive to even the most minor of dialect differences and, within a limited spatial range, a perceptive informant can tell you almost precisely in which village an individual was raised as a child. Dialect variations constitute one source of humour, and the speech of natives from slightly or greatly varying speech communities is often the subject of exaggerated mimicry by local inhabitants. (Cook 1966:442)

Z'graggen (1971:passim) frequently mentions the accuracy of speakers' identification of differences, in his survey of Madang District languages. For example, regarding the inhabitants of Gumalu village, he says: 'informants insisted on having their own distinct language, although a high degree of mutual intelligibility was admitted' (Z'graggen 1971:26). Further on, he continues:

All my informants insisted, even after repeated inquiries, that there was a considerable difference between Yoidik and its neighbours, but they admitted that there was a high degree of mutual intelligibility. (Z'graggen 1971:27)

As a last example, my own work on Buang dialects again confirms the great importance speakers place in recognising the small linguistic details which differentiate one village from the next. In Mambump village (a central village of Buang 'A', referred to by Hooley (1970) as 'Wagau' dialect) where I lived, people distinguished not only among A, B and C, but also among three sub-varieties of A, citing lexical and phonological correspondences, though knowledge of exactly what features differentiated C from B most were unable to say. The following quotation shows the close parallel with the Kewa and Narak cases cited above:

That people are interested in other languages and dialects is evident in linguistic play, particularly in mimicry, where it is possible to observe the stereotypes people hold about the phonology of other languages. Mambump people, mimicking ... Buang B pretended to speak like toothless old people, making [s]'s into [ʃ]'s ... (Sankoff 1968:104)

In addition to the detailed evidence from Kewa, Narak, and Buang, the very existence of small differences (e.g. in cognate percentages) reported from one village to the next, in situations where people were stated to be in close contact, in a number of studies (especially Dutton 1969, who has paid more attention to documenting such differences), bears witness to the fact that Papuans and New Guineans were often very much aware of the linguistic details, great or small, differentiating them from their neighbours.

Some readers may feel that this discussion of dialect difference has little to do with bilingualism, except in the case that the 'dialect' in question is really sufficiently distinct to be considered a separate language (and we have seen that there are many such marginal cases). However, from the point of view of a speaker who does not know of the existence of, or recognise any affiliation with, local groups speaking other 'dialects' of his own language, but who has through contact with near neighbours learned to recognise and understand (and perhaps also produce, sometimes only in a stereotyped form) their dialect or language, be the differences from his own great or small, perhaps the distinction

is of secondary importance. This is not to say that people were unable to distinguish degrees of difference, as well as qualitative differences (as between language and dialect). The Buang device for measuring differences of degree was the length of time a person from one's home village would need to stay in village X in order to be able to 'hear' (i.e. understand) the speech variety spoken there. This model was applied to speech varieties within their own language family. For unrelated languages, this model was not applied, they being regarded as qualitatively different.

Knowledge of foreign speech varieties, whether active or passive, varied enormously in precolonial New Guinea, but we do have evidence that where it did exist, it was socially valued. The next section attempts to set this differential knowledge and use within a social matrix.

7.1.1.2.2. Multilingualism (Knowledge of Foreign Speech Varieties) and its Social Uses

The reasons for the existence of multilingualism in precolonial Papua New Guinea have been cited as involving a combination of demographic considerations (especially population density and size of language groupings) and the socially necessary contacts of trade and inter-marriage. It has been clear that even in isolates, in communities visited by foreign-language traders, and in border areas, knowledge (whether active or passive) of foreign speech varieties has not been uniformly distributed among all members of the population. Differential knowledge by sex has been discussed with respect to each of the three types of multilingual situation presented in 7.1.1.1. Here we shall briefly consider three other aspects of multilingualism: its prestige value, its role in oral literature and verbal art, and its possible relationship to language differentiation.

Salisbury's view that bilingualism 'is treated as a desirable accomplishment (Salisbury 1962:4) among the Siane has been mentioned in 7.1.1.1.3. above. Discussing the fact that men of high status often made speeches in Dene, he says (Salisbury 1962:8):

it seems likely that there is a relationship between high status and observed bilingualism, but such a relationship may well be due to high status (or nearness to me) giving more opportunity to display linguistic ability.

It is well known that traditional leaders in Papua New Guinea were highly skilled in rhetoric, and it may well be that in areas where the learning of foreign languages was possible, aspiring politicians added such foreign speech varieties to their battery of rhetorical skills. Biographical material on some present-day leaders tends to give supporting

evidence. Handabe Tiabe (Member of the House of Assembly, Tari Open Electorate, 1964-67) would appear to fit into the category of a 'traditional leader' (Hughes and van der Veur 1965:408). When elected, he could not speak any of the three official languages of Papua New Guinea, but his multilingualism in Tari area languages was probably a mark of high status locally, and it may well have helped to increase his vote among linguistic groups other than his own. Another former Member of the House of Assembly noted for his linguistic skills was Stoi Umut (Rai Coast Open Electorate). Harding (1965:199) notes that Umut's trilinguality in Komba, Selepet and Timbe was an important aspect of the ethnic base of his popularity. The multilingualism of these contemporary politicians in local languages offers some indication that the traditional leaders of the past may also have outstripped their fellows in such skills. The Gahuku leader Makis (Read 1965) would appear to be one example.

The use of foreign languages in oral literature and verbal art is also mentioned by Salisbury for the Siane, who generally sing songs in languages other than Siane. In Buang poetry, other-dialect synonyms are often used to make up semantic pairs necessary to the parallel structure of the poems. In Kewa, where the initiation cult proscribes the use of certain words, other-dialect equivalents are often used in their place (Franklin 1968:27-8; see also chapter 5.1.1. in this volume). Though in other regions verbal art and sacred language appear to differ from the everyday language more in terms of various systematic ways of altering everyday forms (cf. Laycock 1969 on Buin songs, as well as Malinowski's classic work on the language of Trobriand gardening magic, 1935), certainly for Kewa and Buang, knowledge of foreign forms is part of the repertoire for verbal art and elaboration. In Buang, puns based on foreign synonyms constitute a commonly heard form of joke. This is one reason for the existence of the 'multiple cognates' discussed by Wurm and Laycock (1961:134) as being present

in a situation in which the speakers of one form of speech use only one of a pair of items with the same meaning, but recognize the other member of a pair when it is used by the speakers of another form of speech.

Based on Buang data, I would further specify 'use only one of a pair of items with the same meaning in their everyday speech, but use the other member of the pair in various marked usages, including poetry, irony, puns, etc.' This 'other member' may or may not be known to be the commonly used term for that meaning by neighbouring or distant groups.

As with the other two themes in this section, I begin with a suggestion from Salisbury, who seeks to relate the prestige of bilingualism

to a more rapid rate of language differentiation. Quoting him at length, he states (Salisbury 1962:11-12):

If to know a foreign language is prestigious, and situations exist where interpretation is a ceremonial device for the individual to show his knowledge, while at the same time stressing the importance of the occasion, then interpretation will be used more than is necessary to ensure communication. It is clearly pointless to interpret speeches to people of the same speech community, but if differences of speech are magnified so that it is possible to deny that the neighbouring group speaks the same language, point is added to the making of interpretations. Innovations may be added to language with no fear of the language ceasing to be understandable, as one's own village are all aware of the innovation and can translate for strangers. In short, the counterpart of an emphasis on bilingualism and interpretation is an added intensity of local patriotism and ethnocentrism regarding the local dialect. Linguistic differentiation and change would then be given added impetus by political rivalries between groups, while existing speech barriers are encouraged by individuals wishing to prove their ability to learn difficult, exotic languages.

It seems possible and indeed quite apt to extend Salisbury's argument to the situation of local pride in difference, coupled with a rather thorough knowledge of the nature of the differences, even where such emphasis is not placed on translation. In fact this is a situation which appears to be extremely widespread in Papua New Guinea. Whether or not it really does cause more rapid differentiation of neighbouring speech varieties, or even more rapid overall change of all the speech varieties together is, however, not an easy question. It may be a situation in which lexical and phonological diffusion is favoured, coupled with many basic similarities in syntax and semantics which would allow for more communication with 'lower than usual' cognate percentages, as again has been observed all over Papua New Guinea. Areal features aiding communication may indeed be diffused across language family boundaries, creating a Sprachbund-like situation.

Here we are venturing, but only very tentatively, into a consideration of the possible linguistic effects of a situation (language contact and bilingualism) which is itself only very imperfectly known. In order to go any further, a much better knowledge of the situation would be required. Nevertheless, it is clear that the way people use languages is of great importance in understanding the structure and relationships of those languages.

7.1.1.3. SUMMARY

The attempt in section 7.1.1. of this chapter to reconstruct the extent and nature of multilingualism in precolonial Papua New Guinea would appear to lead to a conclusion very different from the view

expressed by Laycock on the subject, where he states that given the linguistic diversity of Papua New Guinea (Laycock 1966:44):

one would expect a fair amount of bilingualism, but in fact in pre-European times native knowledge of other languages was apparently not as extensive as was, for example, the knowledge of other languages on the part of Australian aboriginals. There are a number of reasons for this: - (1) there was often extreme dissimilarity between neighbouring languages; (2) the major language groups in New Guinea are relatively large, larger than in Australia, so that it was possible to travel a fair distance without encountering very different tongues; (3) many factors operate against contact between different linguistic groups. In the Sepik area the main social unit was the village, and even trading with other villages of the same linguistic community was fraught with suspicion. Trading was carried on across linguistic groups - often in the form of 'silent trading', where, for example, hills natives would lay down their yams and sweet potato against the fish from the river, until an agreement was reached - but the more normal social interaction was warfare, where a knowledge of the other language was not necessary.

In my attempt to seek out cases of multilingualism and generalise from them, I did not mean to deny the existence, as well, of the type of situation Laycock describes. In sparsely populated areas, in areas where there were awesome natural barriers like swamps or high mountains, in areas where there were great cultural differences or a state of warfare which impeded amical communication, people would not speak or understand their neighbours' languages.

Indeed, cases of 'silent trade' are attested for areas other than the Sepik. Harding, describing trade encounters between the 'bush' and coastal peoples on the Rai Coast, says (Harding 1967:63-4):

At the old-time markets the two groups of men and women, one to three dozen people on each side, sat down in two rows facing each other. The bush people normally initiated the transaction by pushing forward a net bag of food and taking back the goods - fish, coconuts, and pots - which the Sio had in front of him ... The exchanges were conducted largely in silence, without haggling or bargaining.

Hogbin makes a similar comment about trade between coastal and interior peoples on the southern side of the Huon Gulf (Hogbin 1947:247):

The peoples of the coast and the interior ... had no common tongue and had to conduct their barter either through a few interpreters or by means of signs.

Such cases seem to have occurred where a combination of geographical and cultural barriers made communication difficult, the prototypical case being where the people of the last mountain village in an inland trade circuit came down to the coast to trade with the coastal dwellers. (Though in other areas, despite very great linguistic differences, e.g. in the case of Koita-Motu, the mountain people came down to the coast and integrated with the coastal people.)

For reasons explained in various parts of section 7.2.1. above, I do not feel that the first two of the reasons adduced by Laycock were in fact operative to any great degree. The third factor, as he himself admits, was variable, and depended very much on local circumstances. And Laycock himself does admit some bilingualism, as he goes on to say (Laycock 1966:44):

Nevertheless, many natives did pick up at least smatterings of languages, sometimes of several different languages, and there existed in native communities ... a small proportion of people with an interest in foreign cultures and languages. In complex linguistic areas like the Sepik it was customary for young boys to be exchanged between villages at the age of about ten, so that they could grow up bilingual and mediate in disputes. But the knowledge of foreign languages was individual and restricted

In looking at the cases of multilingualism which have been described, and in attempting to draw inferences from them to those situations on which I have no information, I have come to a set of conclusions which must, however, differ from Laycock's. First, I believe that there has probably been in Papua New Guinea a great deal more multilingualism than is usually admitted. For various reasons, the subject has been very much neglected. Most of the ethnographic sources I consulted mentioned marriage and/or trade with neighbouring groups at least in a footnote, and these neighbouring groups often turned out upon further checking to speak a different language, sometimes very different, but few ethnographers devoted any attention to the linguistic consequences. Conversely, many of the linguistic surveys explained the heightened proportion of cognates in certain unlikely speech varieties by postulating borrowing between the two, but did not state what type of bilingual situation might have produced the borrowing. There is a general lack of attention to boundary problems, a tacit acceptance of the 'one langue = one culture' assumption, and a concentration on phenomena internal to the language or culture in question, with a consequent neglect, even underrating, of boundary problems of all sorts. This focus is maintained despite the considerable evidence that linguistic identity was generally highly local, as one further quotation, this time for Kewa, indicates:

Socially, the Kewa language does not represent any political or national group. In fact, many speakers from separate dialects will deny that they speak the same language. (Franklin 1968:1)

Glasse is the only author to state otherwise, remarking that (Glasse 1968:20):

Unlike many highland peoples, the Huli are conscious of their cultural homogeneity and they are aware of the differences between their own social institutions and those of their

neighbours. This cultural self-consciousness may be partly attributed to the mobility of the population. With no high mountain ranges to cross, travel is comparatively easy, and people often maintain two or three homesteads in different places.

At least on one of their borders, however, the Huli are not at all clearly demarcated from their (linguistically) most different neighbours, the Duna, and there is a sizeable area of bilingualism, as described in 7.1.1.1.4. above.

Second, over much of Papua New Guinea, though people had a great deal of pride in, and derived some of their identity from their own local speech variety, often exaggerating its differences from the speech of their neighbours, this went hand in hand with an openness of attitude and an interest in the learning of other speech varieties.

Third, language boundaries were not necessarily considered barriers to trade, intermarriage, and other types of communication.

Fourth, inasmuch as the learning of other speech varieties, in border areas, coastal areas visited by traders, and language isolates, was conditioned by social roles and relationships, multilingualism was differentially distributed among members of any given population.

Fifth, where multilingualism did exist, it was a resource which formed part of the set of rhetorical devices put to use by politicians and other orators.

The above account is necessarily lacking in some details, given the paucity of information available on multilingualism in precolonial Papua New Guinea. Many readers with personal experience of one or another of the types of situations described may find some of the details to be in error, and perhaps this will urge them to make available more information. The wealth of material published since approximately 1965, particularly the many language surveys of a large number of districts, has made possible this attempt at reconstruction, and it is hoped that, by the end of another decade, the picture may be more complete.

Clearly, the hundred years or so of colonial rule in Papua New Guinea has wrought enormous changes of many kinds, not least in the area of multilingualism. In section 7.1.2., we turn to a consideration of multilingualism directly related to the presence of Europeans in Papua New Guinea.

7.1.2. MULTILINGUALISM IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

With the post-independence period of Papua New Guinea history just beginning, the time is opportune for an assessment of the multilingual situation at the end of approximately 100 years of colonial rule.

Section 7.1.2.1. below will be devoted to a brief examination of the spread of regional *lingue franche*, mainly by the various Christian missions, and in section 7.1.2.2., we shall consider the use of the three official languages of Papua New Guinea: Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin and English.

7.1.2.1. REGIONAL LANGUAGES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

In some cases, missionary groups in Papua New Guinea spread the use of a language which was already widely spoken as a second language. Thus the Methodists in the Milne Bay area used Dobu, an Austronesian language widely known by participants in the Kula trade, as we saw in 7.1.1.1.2. Similarly, the London Missionary Society used Motu in the Central District of Papua.

An Austronesian language which has become a regional *lingua franca* is Tolai, as Wurm (1971b:1018) explains as follows:

The numerically large (close to 30,000 speakers) Austronesian Tolai of northern New Britain has been adopted as the mission language by the Methodist Mission throughout the New Britain-New Ireland region, and it is also used by the Catholic Mission, but only for the Tolai area itself. The language is now a quite widespread *lingua franca* in these areas.

The figure of 63,000 cited as the number of Tolai-speakers by Beaumont (1972:13) may well include the total of first- and second-language speakers.

Two other Austronesian languages widely used by the Lutheran mission are Graged in the Madang District and Yabêm in the Huon Gulf area of the Morobe District. Yabêm, which according to Hooley and McElhanon (1970:1086) has 2,900 first-language speakers, probably numbers at least 15,000 second-language speakers,⁹ and is used to some extent at least as a regional *lingua franca* in non-mission contexts. (This generalisation is based on my own observations of situations in which Buang-speakers communicated with other Morobe District Lutherans in Yabêm, despite the fact that both parties to the interaction could have used Tok Pisin. Such languages may be of preferred usage in some cases in order to stress regional or religious solidarity.)

Wedau is another Austronesian language which, according to Wurm (1966:141), has been used as a *lingua franca* by the Anglican Mission in the Milne Bay District.

A number of Papuan languages have also been spread as *lingue franche* by various missions. These include Orocolo in the Gulf District (Wurm 1971b:1018) as well as Toaripi, also in the Gulf District, by the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholics, and Kiwai, in the Fly Delta area of the Western District, by the London Missionary Society (Wurm 1966:141).

Lastly, Wurm has this to say about Kâte, spoken as a first language by approximately 4,000 people in the sub-coastal mountains near the tip of the Huon Peninsula:

A striking example of the development of a missionary lingua franca is provided by Kâte, a Papuan language in the Huon Peninsula area of the New Guinea mainland. This language, which was originally spoken by only a few hundred natives, was adopted by the Lutheran Mission as one of their mission languages towards the end of the last century, and is now believed to be spoken and understood by around 60,000 natives throughout a large portion of north-east New Guinea, including parts of the Highlands Districts. (Wurm 1971b:1018)

It may be that the heyday of regional lingue franche has passed. At one time, many people wishing to send their children to school had no choice but to have them educated (at least at the primary level, which is as far as most children were sent) in one of these lingue franche. But 'since 1960 it has been government policy not to register or recognise mission schools which use such languages' (Rowley 1965:146), which means lack of subsidy for these schools. With no institutional support, regional lingue franche may lose ground to Tok Pisin, English, or Hiri Motu, though to the extent to which they continue to be used as religious languages, they may continue to be spoken as second languages by many people for some time to come. Though the regional lingue franche propagated by the various missions number many thousands of speakers, none of them surpasses the largest of the Papuan languages discussed in section 7.1.1., and in terms of their numbers of speakers, they are no match for the national lingue franche to be discussed below in 7.1.2.2.

7.1.2.2. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

7.1.2.2.1. Hiri Motu

Of the lingue franche discussed earlier in this chapter, only one has acceded to the status of one of Papua New Guinea's official languages. This is the language today called Hiri Motu, and known in much of the linguistic literature, as well as in official census documents (at least of the colonial period), as 'Police Motu'. After a spectacular start as one of the most widely used precolonial trade languages,

this lingua franca was later adopted by the administration of British New Guinea for use by the native police force, the Royal Papuan Constabulary - hence its name 'Police Motu' - and as the unofficial administrative language for native affairs. (Wurm 1969:35)

Hiri Motu is an official language in that it is one of the three languages in which members may speak in the House of Assembly, and in which simultaneous translation is provided. Official government documents, notices, etc., are printed in three languages, and the radio

stations daily broadcast the news in all three. But very rarely is a speech in Hiri Motu actually heard in the House of Assembly. Of the three official languages, it is Hiri Motu that has the fewest speakers overall, and that is the most restricted regionally.

Table 2 shows the overall proportion of speakers of Hiri Motu and of the other two official languages, Tok Pisin and English. Figures are from the 1966 population census of Papua New Guinea, and the estimates are probably all somewhat exaggerated, since language knowledge was based at least to some extent on self-reporting, although census takers attempted to check this where possible.

TABLE 2

Population of Ten Years and Over Speaking Each of the Official Languages of Papua New Guinea in 1966. (Population Census: Data Abstracted From Table 14, Preliminary Bulletin 20.)

Language	Male	Female	Total	Proportion of total population 10 years and older
English	130,429	62,908	193,337	13.3%
Tok Pisin	369,855	161,835	531,690	36.5%
Hiri Motu	86,665	31,910	118,575	8.3%

In comparing the figures given for the three official languages with those cited for the large languages of the Highlands, it should be remembered that population estimates for the latter included all speakers, whereas these are based on speakers over age ten only.

The regional character of Hiri Motu becomes more evident on examining Table 3, which shows the number and proportion of speakers of the three languages by District.¹⁰ It is readily observable that second-language speakers of Hiri Motu are almost entirely confined to the five Districts of coastal Papua, and that, in all five, Hiri Motu speakers greatly outnumber Tok Pisin speakers. In addition, a closer look at the census figures showing how many people speak various combinations of the three official languages shows that in all of these Districts, many thousands more speak 'only Hiri Motu' than 'only English' (approximately 53,300 versus 24,900). Thus for the five Papuan coastal Districts, Hiri Motu serves as by far the most practical lingua franca.

TABLE 3

The Number and Proportion of Papuans and New Guineans Age Ten and Over
Speaking Tok Pisin, English and Hiri Motu in Each District

Districts		Tok Pisin		English		Hiri Motu	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Papuan Coastal	Central	25,630	28.2	37,381	<u>41.1</u>	55,018	<u>60.5</u>
	Northern	7,267	19.1	13,464	<u>35.4</u>	14,686	<u>38.6</u>
	Gulf	2,873	8.0	7,189	<u>20.1</u>	12,097	<u>33.8</u>
	Milne Bay	3,547	5.2	16,169	<u>23.9</u>	16,714	<u>24.7</u>
	Western	1,844	4.5	5,305	<u>12.8</u>	9,825	<u>23.8</u>
New Guinea Islands	New Ireland	32,550	<u>94.2</u>	8,687	<u>25.1</u>	253	0.7
	Manus	11,784	<u>89.2</u>	4,639	<u>35.3</u>	211	1.6
	West New Britain	21,026	<u>75.7</u>	5,577	<u>20.1</u>	207	0.7
	East New Britain	48,464	<u>69.5</u>	20,299	<u>29.1</u>	1,356	1.9
	Bougainville	31,843	<u>68.0</u>	11,036	<u>23.6</u>	253	0.5
New Guinea Coastal	East Sepik	79,680	<u>76.6</u>	11,962	11.5	756	0.7
	West Sepik	45,208	<u>67.4</u>	4,314	6.4	318	0.4
	Madang	62,426	<u>61.5</u>	11,293	11.1	957	0.9
	Morobe	65,634	<u>47.1</u>	14,942	10.7	2,582	1.9
Highlands	Eastern Highlands	35,237	26.3	7,296	5.4	1,252	0.9
	Chimbu	20,706	17.4	3,519	2.9	339	0.3
	Western Highlands	26,385	13.0	6,922	3.4	687	0.3
	Southern Highlands	9,592	7.7	3,346	2.7	1,065	0.9

NOTE: For each language, underlined percentages are those which exceed the national average for that language. (Data abstracted from Table 11 of the 1966 Preliminary Census Bulletins for each district.) Note that the (now abolished) political division between Papua and New Guinea is entirely unrelated to the distinction between Papuan and Austronesian languages.

7.1.2.2.2. Tok Pisin

Useful materials on the linguistic aspects of Tok Pisin (otherwise known as New Guinea Pidgin, Pidgin (in the census reports), Melanesian Pidgin, and Neo-Melanesian) exist in abundance, e.g. in addition to the chapters in this volume, Dutton 1973; Hall 1943; Laycock 1970a; Mühlhäusler 1976; Sankoff and Laberge 1973; Sankoff 1977; Wurm 1971c. There is also considerable literature available on the history and use of Tok Pisin, three of the most informative treatments being Laycock 1970b, Salisbury 1967, and Wurm 1966-67, though Mühlhäusler's contributions to the present volume (see 7.4.1.1., 7.4.1.4.2.-3.) and his contributions to Wurm, ed. with others 1978 are the most comprehensive summaries to date.

We can see from Tables 2 and 3 in 7.1.2.2.1. that Tok Pisin is currently the most important language in Papua New Guinea as far as bilingualism is concerned. Not only does it have numerically more than twice as many speakers as either of the other two official languages; it also has a very impressive regional spread. As indicated in Table 3 in 7.1.2.2.1., Tok Pisin is the most widely spoken official language in all but the five Papuan Coastal Districts, i.e. Central, Northern, Gulf, Milne Bay, and Western.¹¹ In all of the New Guinea Coastal and Islands Districts, Tok Pisin is spoken by a proportion of people considerably higher than the national average of 36.5%. And even in the New Guinea Islands Districts, where the proportion of English-speakers is far ahead of the national average of 13.3%, the number of Tok Pisin-speakers is in every case more than double the number of English-speakers, and there are very few 'English only' speakers. Tok Pisin currently dominates as the language of widest currency in the largest proportion of districts.

7.1.2.2.3. English

As we might expect, English is dominant as an official language in none of the districts of Papua New Guinea. In the Papuan Coastal Districts it runs second, often a close second, to Hiri Motu; in all the other districts it runs a rather poor second to Tok Pisin. Also quite expectedly, the districts where English-speakers exceed the national average are those which have been the longest colonised and where the early missionaries set up schools, i.e. the New Guinea Islands and all of the Papuan Coastal Districts except in Western District. English-speakers tend to be young, as English schools in any numbers are largely a phenomenon of the 1960s and 1970s. Many of them are

still in school, and their numbers have been swelled in the 1971 census when the six to ten year olds in 1966 entered the population and were asked about their knowledge of the official languages.

7.1.2.3. QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF MULTILINGUALISM IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

From many points of view, Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin and English occupy very different roles from those served by the large languages of the Highlands and even the regional *lingue franche*. Most importantly, they are essentially second languages, learned by the people of Papua New Guinea in addition to their native languages, and having very few if any native speakers. In theory at least, none of these is identified as the 'Tok Ples' (native language) of a particular, geographically located group. Hiri Motu, however, is very closely identified with Motu, with Port Moresby, and with Papua generally. In the minds of the majority of non-Hiri Motu speakers, 'Hiri Motu' and 'Motu' are indistinguishable, being the Tok Ples of the Motu people of the Port Moresby area. This close regional identification detracts somewhat from one of the usual advantages of a *lingua franca* which is no-one's native language - its neutrality.

For most New Guineans, Tok Pisin is such a neutral language. Being, in the view of most New Guineans, no-one's Tok Ples, it is thereby in the public domain and can be learned with impunity. That is, learning it will not succeed in improving the fortunes of some other (its native) group. On the other hand to many Papuans, this is exactly the connotation of Tok Pisin, which, as the *lingua franca* of New Guinea, is viewed as a threat to the use and status of Hiri Motu. Despite the antagonism of Papuan nationalists, however, Tok Pisin appears to be making definite inroads. Though many of the 25,630 Tok Pisin speakers in the Central District are New Guinean migrants resident in the Port Moresby area, an increasing number of Papuans are also learning Tok Pisin. On a visit to Port Moresby in 1973, I was surprised to note the increase in the use of Tok Pisin by Papuans conversing with New Guineans, a situation which had changed considerably since my last visit in 1971.

With the continuing spread of Tok Pisin, in conjunction with very rapid urban growth, various urban communities in New Guinea now have small but growing communities of people for whom Tok Pisin has become a Tok Ples, i.e. who speak it as a native language. These are mainly young people, children whose parents regularly communicate with each other in Tok Pisin, often because they have no other language in common. Though many of these children are learning English at school, any type

of 'continuum' situation between Tok Pisin and English is still virtually non-existent. The variety of Tok Pisin most heavily larded with English loans is that spoken by national politicians, who have incorporated a great deal of English parliamentary vocabulary into their discussions of parliamentary affairs. Outside of this very restricted group, one hears virtually no speech which is in any way 'in between' Tok Pisin and English. The two languages as spoken at present are too far apart in structure for any mutual intelligibility beyond the understanding of the occasional vocabulary item, as I discovered in testing fluent Tok Pisin speakers whose native language is Buang for their comprehension of simple stories in English (Sankoff 1968, chapters 9 and 10). Most New Guineans who speak both English and Tok Pisin use very little English outside of contexts where it is obligatory such as school or work.

Of the three official languages, it is clearly English which is regarded as the most neutral, i.e. the least related to any particular group. There are probably no more than a few thousand Papuans and New Guineans at most who speak it as a native language. But in many ways it is regarded as almost too neutral, too foreign. There is no doubt that knowledge of English is a very great advantage, economically and politically, a fact which is not lost on the many thousands of parents whose central goal for their children is to learn English well (cf. Sankoff 1976). Nevertheless except among some very restricted groups, such as tertiary-level students, very little English is used outside of formal contexts.

A second commonality among the three official languages is that all of them are spoken by very many more men than women. 67% of English-speakers are male, as compared with 70% of Tok Pisin-speakers and 73% of Hiri Motu-speakers.¹²

Thirdly, the proportion of urban speakers of all of these languages is much higher than in rural areas. Already in Table 3 given in 7.1.2.2.1., we saw that the only non-Papuan districts in which the number of Hiri Motu-speakers rises above 1,000 are Eastern Highlands, Morobe, and East New Britain, due to the presence of Goroka, Lae and Rabaul respectively. The location of Port Moresby in the Central District is responsible for the relatively high proportion of Tok Pisin-speakers there. Table 4 shows the proportion of speakers of each of the three official languages in the seven major towns of Papua New Guinea. In each case, the proportion of speakers of each of the three languages is higher than that for the district in which the town is located as a whole. This is due to the presence in towns of many Papuans

and New Guineans from other areas and districts, to the presence of most of the educated and highly skilled members of the labour force, and to the greater number of schools located in urban areas. The very substantial increase in the urban population indicated in Table 4 for the period between 1966 and 1971 will no doubt have wide ramifications for multilingualism in Papua New Guinea in the 1970s.

TABLE 4

Percentages of Speakers of Each of the Three Official Languages of Papua New Guinea in the Seven Major Towns

Major towns	% for Tok Pisin	% for English	% for Hiri Motu	Population 1966	Population 1971
Port Moresby (Central)	54.9	64.4	77.8	31,983	50,988
Lae (Morobe)	94.2	36.1	14.8	13,341	28,494
Rabaul (E. New Britain)	97.1	37.4	11.9	6,925	20,700
Madang (Madang)	96.2	30.8	8.0	7,398	13,472
Wewak (E. Sepik)	96.2	27.8	5.2	7,967	11,383
Goroka (E. Highlands)	89.6	31.6	14.3	3,890	9,238
Mount Hagen (W. Highlands)	82.7	27.0	13.5	2,764	8,398
TOTAL				74,268	141,973

NOTE: (Expatriates are excluded as in all the tables.) Language figures are taken from the 1966 Population Census; population figures from 1971 Population Census (Preliminary Bulletin 1) are provided for comparison, 1971 language figures being not available at the time of writing.

7.1.2.4. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN MULTILINGUALISM

We are now in a position to characterise each of the four regions into which the districts were grouped in Table 3 with respect to the prevalence and nature of multilingualism. In 7.1.2.2. above, the New Guinea Islands and the Papuan Coastal Districts were characterised as 'most multilingual', as in all of them except the Western District of Papua, the proportion of English-speakers was higher than the national average and, in addition, each of them was also higher than the national average for one of the other two languages, Hiri Motu for the Papuan Coastal Districts, and Tok Pisin for the New Guinea Islands Districts. But an examination of Table 5 shows that a far greater proportion of the population of the New Guinea Islands Districts is bilingual or multilingual in one or more of the official languages. In fact, the proportion of people who speak none of these three languages ranges from only 5.2% in New Ireland to 31.0% in Bougainville. In the Papuan Coastal

Districts, by contrast, the proportion speaking none of the three official languages ranges from 23.6% in the Central District to 70.5% in the Western District. As the national average proportion of people who speak none of the three official languages is 55.3%, we see that Milne Bay as well as the Western District exceeds this proportion. Though many people in these districts may be multilingual in local or regional languages, their multilingualism does not extend to the official languages of Papua New Guinea, as well over half of them speak none of the three.

From this perspective, the New Guinea Coastal Districts appear to be characterised by much more multilingualism than the Papuan Coastal Districts. Though only one language dominates (Tok Pisin), the fact that large numbers of people speak it means that relatively few are unable to speak at least one of the three official languages. This figure ranges from 22.9% in the East Sepik District to 51.4% in the Morobe District, a proportion which is below the national average in every case.

TABLE 5

The Number and Proportion of Papuans and New Guineans Age Ten and Over Who Speak Neither Tok Pisin Nor Hiri Motu Nor English, by District. (Data Abstracted from Table 13 of the 1966 Preliminary Census Bulletins for Each District.)

New Guinea Islands			Papuan Coastal		
New Ireland	1,809	5.2%	Central	21,137	23.6%
Manus	1,128	8.6%	Northern	14,515	38.2%
West New Britain	6,578	23.7%	Gulf	19,381	54.2%
East New Britain	16,143	23.2%	Milne Bay	41,575	61.3%
Bougainville	14,515	31.0%	Western	29,141	70.5%
New Guinea Coastal			Highlands		
East Sepik	23,837	22.9%	Eastern Highlands	97,631	72.8%
West Sepik	21,621	32.3%	Chimbu	98,216	82.4%
Madang	38,586	38.1%	Western Highlands	174,337	86.2%
Morobe	71,698	51.4%	Southern Highlands	113,895	91.3%

Lastly, it is clear that in the densely populated districts of the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea, a very small proportion of people speak any of the three official languages. In all cases, the proportion of people who speak none of these languages is much higher than the national average, and is everywhere over 70%. These are the people who, along with a majority of the inhabitants of the Gulf, Milne Bay and Western Districts, are the most cut off from communication on the

national level. It must be remembered that it is in the Highlands that the majority of the very large language groups are located, and thus the speakers of these large languages are at least ideally part of communication networks which include tens of thousands of people. But the fact that the great majority of them do not know any of the three official languages probably implies little travel or contact with people outside of their own small local groups, not to mention their corresponding lack of access to national-level news through the main medium of mass communication, the radio.

7.1.3. SUMMARY

Nowhere in section 7.1.1. did we attempt to estimate the number or proportion of people with some degree of competence in languages other than their own, except on a very local basis. It is even harder to combine the qualitative picture obtained from looking at types of multilingual situations with respect to local languages, with the quantitative data on knowledge of the official languages.

We know that a majority of the Papua New Guinean population does not speak any of the official languages, i.e. 55.3%. Only 1.9% claim to speak all three, and these would virtually all be people who also speak their own language, from which we can draw the conclusion that this tiny minority is quadrilingual at least. Similarly for the 6.9% claiming to speak both English and Tok Pisin, and the 1.8% claiming English and Hiri Motu - most of these people would be at least trilingual. As for those who speak, of the three official languages, only English (2.7%), only Tok Pisin (30.0%), or only Hiri Motu (3.7%), most of them would be at least bilingual in one of the three and their own language.

In examining the two big subdivisions of the population, i.e. the 45% who speak at least one of the official languages and the 55% who do not, an educated guess is as far as we can go in estimating the multilingualism of these two groups in terms of local languages or regional lingue franche. It is very likely that there is a great deal more multilingualism in local and regional languages among the 45% than among the 55%, as these people tend to belong to smaller language groups (with consequently greater border area and thus more opportunity to learn neighbouring languages) and to live in areas nearer the coast where there was greater chance of learning a trade language in the precolonial era, and greater chance of learning one of the mission-propagated lingue franche over the last several generations.

N O T E S

1. I wish to express my thanks to the Buang people of Mambump Village, who initiated me into the subtleties of multilingualism in New Guinea. I also wish to thank Pierrette Thibault and Marjorie Topham for their help in preparing the manuscript.

2. I will use the terms 'multilingual' and 'multilingualism' in the generic sense throughout, i.e. to refer to speakers having competence in more than one language. 'Bilingual', 'trilingual' etc., will be used to refer more specifically to particular groups or individuals having competence in two, three, etc., languages.

3. The 25 other Austronesian languages of New Britain discussed in Chowning 1970 have not been included because she does not cite population figures.

4. It also may reflect the fact that since the majority of linguists are men and therefore also speak mainly with men in the language groups they visit (often for reasons of social acceptability, as noted by Laycock (1965:13)), they have incomplete information on the language competence of women.

5. Barton (1910:119-20) gives a wordlist of over 100 words in what he calls the 'lakatoi language' used as a trading language between the Elema and the visiting Motu traders. Checking this list against the dictionary in Wurm and Harris' Police Motu manual (1963), I found that of the 105 lexical items I could locate in both lists, only 21 were obviously the same words. Whether this means that Barton's list is aberrant or that Hiri Motu has changed very drastically in the intervening 50 years, is impossible for me to judge.

6. The only exception to this in the four examples discussed appears to be the Koita, bilingual in Motu. As very close neighbours of the Motu-speakers, however, they had relations other than trade with the Motuans, specifically a great deal of intermarriage.

7. Hooley (1970, 1971) gives slightly higher cognate percentages among these three, but the relationships remain the same. 'A' is referred to as Mambump or Wagau Buang, 'B' as Mapos Buang, and 'C' as Manga.

8. In the sixth, Koita, the complexity of the linguistic situation is due to a great deal of bilingualism in Motu, as discussed in 7.1.1.1.2., rather than to dialect diversity.

9. This is a conservative estimate generalised from my own observations on the use of Yabêm at a Lutheran mission conference (known as the Sam) held by the Biangkoun Congregation in headwaters Buang in 1966. It is interesting to note that the close similarities between Yabêm and Bukaua (Capell 1949) said by Hogbin to have served as a *lingua franca* in the Huon Gulf area, may have aided in the dissemination of Yabêm.

10. This paper, written in 1974, conserves the then current political subdivisions of Papua New Guinea, i.e. the Districts whose titles appear in Table 3 and elsewhere, principally because these are the categories of the 1966 and 1971 census data upon which this section is largely based. The current Provinces retain the old District boundaries.

11. Landtman (1927) discusses the 'pidgin-English' spoken by the Kiwai of the Fly River Delta during the period 1910-12, claiming that 'many men in the coast villages' knew it.

The explanation is that the men were commonly recruited to work on the pearl-fishing boats in Torres Straits and on the plantations in Central and Eastern Divisions, and their own languages and dialects being so different that they could not understand each other, pidgin-English became a sort of lingua-franca among themselves which they learnt from each other and spoke fairly well on returning to their villages after a period of three to six months of work. (Landtman 1927:v)

Though this variety is probably more akin to that spoken in the Torres Straits (cf. Dutton 1970b), I do not know how many Kiwai still speak it, and whether they consider it to qualify as Tok Pisin and would report themselves as speakers of it in the census. I am indebted to Ann Chowning for bringing Landtman's discussion to my attention.

12. This skewing in favour of males strongly reflects the colonial history of Papua New Guinea, as it has always been men who were the more involved in the European spheres of work and, later, schools. It was, of course, the plantation system which fostered the spread of Tok Pisin. Writing in 1943, Reed made a 'conservative estimate' of the number of Tok Pisin-speakers as approximately 100,000, or about one-fifth of the total population of the Mandated Territory as of the 1936 census. This estimate is based, he says:

first, on the assumption that all indentured natives learn to speak pidgin; second, on the native labor statistics since the inauguration of civil government by the Australians in 1921. The total number of contracts made between 1921 and 1936 has been 425,000, with five years as the average period of contract. Thus some 85,000 work boys have learned pidgin under the Australian regime alone. The number of natives who learned the speech during German times, together with the wives and children of work boys who have acquired the language and pupils of the mission schools, would certainly account for another 15,000. (Reed 1943:284, n.39)

7.1.0. MULTILINGUALISM IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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P A R T 7.2.

WRITING VERNACULARS AND VERNACULAR LITERACY

7.2.1. WRITING NEW GUINEA LANGUAGES: ALPHABETS AND ORTHOGRAPHIES

Alan Healey and Andrew J. Taylor¹

7.2.1.1. INTRODUCTION

The island of New Guinea, together with the neighbouring islands politically associated with it, is in 1974 the home of approximately 3,500,000 indigenous people speaking about 970 different languages. At the time of first European contact none of these groups of people had a way of writing their language. Christian missionaries were the first to bring writing and education to New Guinea, starting as early as 1855 in the west and 1871 in the east. Up to the present time approximately 230 languages have been given an alphabetic writing system based on the Roman alphabet and designed to be used for indigenous literacy. Since almost all of the large language groups (those spoken by more than 10,000 people, say) are among the 230, this means that approximately 80% of the population now have a written form for their mother tongue. However, not all of these people can read and write their mother tongue. Primary education or literacy classes are not yet available to all of them, and where there have been schools the emphasis has usually been on literacy in a national language rather than in the local vernacular. Only about 10-14% of the population are literate and probably only half of these can read and write their mother tongue.

7.2.1.2. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO EXISTING ORTHOGRAPHIES

The nature of the orthographies that have been established in these 230 languages depends on four factors.

(a) The mother tongue of the person designing the orthography - Dutch or English in the west, German or English in the north-east, and English, French, Polynesian, or Fijian in the south-east. For instance, those

with Dutch or German backgrounds tended to use <j> where those with an English background used <y> and those with a Polynesian background used <i>.²

(b) The linguistic training, experience, and attitudes of the person designing the orthography. Until recent years most courses in linguistics paid inadequate attention to the social and political factors to be considered when designing an orthography, and much has therefore depended on each individual's sensitivity to these factors.

(c) The writing systems of the languages used in trade, government, education, and the churches - Malay, Bahasa Indonesia, and Dutch in the west; Pidgin, German, English, Kâte, and Yabêm in the north-east; and Hiri Motu (Police Motu), English, Dobu, and Wedau in the south-east.

(d) Government policy on how its staff should spell vernacular words, especially place names and people's names. This usually followed the usage of the language of government. However, in the east there has always been a trend away from the inconsistencies of English spelling and toward a spelling system akin to those of Pidgin and Hiri Motu.

Although there may be as many as 190 distinct families of languages in the New Guinea area, the problems that are faced in designing an orthography are surprisingly common throughout the whole area. The following description of the main problems and current practice is based on a language and literacy survey of Papua New Guinea conducted late in 1973.³ Many of the findings are probably also true of Irian Jaya.

7.2.1.3. PROBLEMS AND CURRENT PRACTICE IN SYMBOLISING VOWELS

Half of the languages have six, seven, or eight distinct vowels whereas the Roman alphabet has only five simple symbols. In all but a few cases it has been felt that these vowel phonemes are so important for identifying the meanings of words that they must be symbolised distinctively. The usual practice has been to use the plain symbols <a>, <e>, <i>, <o>, and <u> as in Pidgin and Hiri Motu for phonemes in the phonetic areas [i, ɪ], [e, ɛ], [a, ʌ], [o, ɔ], and [u, ʊ] respectively, and to find some other symbolisation for the extra vowels that are less like those of Pidgin and Hiri Motu.

Four approaches have been adopted in finding distinctive symbols for these extra vowel phonemes.

(a) In 50% of these languages a diacritic mark has been used with one or more vowel symbols. The most popular diacritics are diaeresis,

circumflex, and acute (e.g. <ä>, <â>, <á>). Others that have occasionally been used are colon, underline, macron, and breve (e.g. <a:>, <a>, <ā>, <ǎ>).

(b) In 50% of these languages one or more vowels have been symbolised by a digraph. The most popular are the identical pairs <aa>, <ee>, <ii>, and <oo>. Nearly as popular are the non-identical pairs <ae>, <ei>, <ou>, and <ao>. One language uses the combinations <ah> and <eh>.

(c) In 13% of these languages the special symbol <+> has been used for a high to mid central vowel [ɨ, ə]. This symbol was first introduced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics for Iatmul (East Sepik Province) about 1965.

(d) In Naltja (Nalca) (highlands of Irian Jaya) the symbols <y> and <v>, which are traditionally used for consonants, were used for the separate vowels /ɨ/ and /u/ respectively until the new Indonesian spelling became official in 1972. (See also chapter 7.3.3.)

The symbolising of the high to mid central vowel (or vowels) has been especially varied and controversial. It has been written as one or other of <a>, <e>, <i>, <o>, and <u> in various languages. But nationals and expatriates alike feel that this vowel is very different from all five of the standard vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/ of Pidgin and Hiri Motu, and they have preferred to use a symbol with a diacritic such as <ä>, <â>, <é>, or <ö>, or even the special symbol <+>. In Kapau (Gulf and Morobe Provinces) the high central vowel /ɨ/ has been deliberately left unwritten.

Pidgin and Hiri Motu do not have this high to mid central vowel; English has it but does not have a consistent way of symbolising it; Bahasa Indonesia has it and writes it as <e>, the symbol which is also used for /ɛ/. This vowel is so common in the languages of the area as a separate phoneme that there is an urgent need for wide agreement on a symbol which is suitable for all languages of the area and which could be accepted as part of the national orthographic tradition.

7.2.1.4. PROBLEMS AND CURRENT PRACTICE IN SYMBOLISING CONSONANTS

The velar nasal [ŋ] occurs as a distinct phoneme in half of the languages.

(a) In 67% of these cases /ŋ/ is symbolised with <ng> as it is in English, Pidgin, and Bahasa Indonesia. In a few of these languages the use of this digraph leads to difficulty in finding a distinctive way of writing the phoneme sequence /ng/. Furthermore, two different

approaches have been taken to symbolising the phoneme sequence /ŋg/ when <ng> is used for /ŋ/. Some follow Bahasa Indonesia and write <ngg>; others follow Pidgin and English and write <ng>, thus failing to distinguish /ŋg/ from /ŋ/ written as <ng>. Similarly, for the phoneme sequence /ŋk/ some write <ngk> and others <nk>.

(b) In 17% of these cases /ŋ/ is written with the special symbol <ŋ>. This symbol was first introduced by the Lutheran Mission for Kâte and Yabêm (Morobe Province) soon after 1900.

(c) In 8% of these cases /ŋ/ is or was written as <g>.

(d) Occasionally <ñ>, <ñ̃>, and italic <n> have been used for <ŋ>.

Glottal stop functions as a phonemic consonant in one third of the languages. Several other languages have a word-initial, intervocalic, or word-final glottal stop which is not contrastive and is not symbolised in their orthographies.

(a) In 56% of the cases consonantal glottal stop is written with an apostrophe. This usage has a very long tradition in the south-east.

(b) In 20% of the cases it is written as <q>. This usage was first introduced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics for Guhu-Samane about 1958.

(c) In 9% of the cases glottal stop is written as <c>. This usage was first introduced by the Lutheran Mission for Yabêm and Kâte (Morobe Province) soon after 1900.

(d) Occasionally glottal stop has been written as <k>, <g>, or <h> when one of these sounds is an allophone of the glottal stop phoneme.

(e) In two instances glottal stop has been written as <x> and as the special symbol <ʔ>.

(f) Occasionally consonantal glottal stop has been deliberately left unwritten.

Those who have chosen <q> or <c> in their orthographies have often done so in the belief that either of these symbols will be easier for people to read and write because they are so much larger than an apostrophe in a line of printing. However, from the experience of seven people who have conducted literacy classes in languages with glottal stop, it seems that this belief is not justified. In several languages people have learned to read and write an apostrophe just as accurately and consistently as other consonants and just as well as people have learned <c> or <q> in other languages. In languages where people have difficulty in learning to read and write glottal stop the reason seems to be of another kind.

(a) In such a language, either in general or in certain positions within a word, the glottal stop may be psycholinguistically vaguer than the other consonants in some way. For example, glottal stop may not have the characteristic distribution of the other consonants or it may not exhibit clear contrasts with them.⁴

(b) If literates first learned to read in a language (such as English or Pidgin) which does not have a consonantal glottal stop, they often find it difficult to read and write the glottal stop in their mother tongue until they are given transitional instruction on its symbolisation.

Consonantal sounds not found in the most prestigious national language (Pidgin, English, or Bahasa Indonesia) are sometimes difficult to symbolise.

- 1) The voiceless velar fricative /χ/ has usually been written as <h>, <k>, or <g>, especially if one of these sounds is an allophone of /χ/. It has also occasionally been written as <gh> and <q>.
- 2) The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ has usually been written with <g>, <h>, or <k>, especially if one of these sounds is an allophone of /ɣ/. It has also occasionally been written as <ḡ> (in Motu, Central Province), <gh>, <gg>, <q>, and <x>.
- 3) A flapped lateral /ɻ/ has been symbolised in various ways to distinguish it from the lateral continuant /l/. It has been written as <l> versus <ll> for the continuant; and it has been written as <ll>, <lt>, and <r> versus <l> for the continuant.
- 4) Velar stop-plus-lateral combinations of various phonetic qualities found in the Highlands Provinces have been written as <l>, <gl>, <ll>, and the special symbol <+>.
- 5) Phonemically palatalised consonants have often been written as a consonant followed by <y>, and sometimes as a consonant followed by <i>.
- 6) Phonemically labialised consonants have often been written as a consonant followed by <w>, and sometimes as a consonant followed by <u> or even <o>.
- 7) The alveopalatal nasal /ɲ/ has often been written as <ny>. However, if this sound occurs word-finally people who are literate in English tend to misread such words with an extra syllable by analogy with English *many*, *any*, *funny*, *sunny*, *rainy*, *Danny*, etc. In such languages <ñ> or <n> has been used instead.

- 8) The double stops of Kâte, /kp/ and /gb/, have been written with <q> and the special symbol <q> respectively.
- 9) Kâte uses <z> and the older style <ɟ> to write the affricates [ts] and [dz].
- 10) Contrastively long consonants are infrequent and have almost always been interpreted and written as a sequence of two identical consonants, e.g. <kk>.

7.2.1.5. PROBLEMS AND CURRENT PRACTICE IN SYMBOLISING PROSODIES

About one seventh of the languages surveyed have nasalised vowels which contrast with oral vowels. Such nasalised vowels have been symbolised in many ways.

- (a) <n> is written following the vowel symbol if the syllable structure permits it without ambiguity. Occasionally <n> preceding the vowel or <ng> following the vowel has also been used.
- (b) If the syllable structure does not permit the use of <n>, then diacritics have usually been used. Diaeresis and underline (e.g. <ä>, <a>) are the most popular, and subscript iota, macron, and preceding colon (e.g. <a<sub>i

(c) Occasionally nasalised vowels have deliberately not been distinguished from oral vowels.</sub>

Contrastively long vowels are found in one third of the languages, and in 83% of these instances they have been symbolised by doubling the vowel symbol, irrespective of whether the long vowels had been analysed as single phonemes or as clusters of two phonemes. Occasionally long vowels have been marked with a diacritic (<á> and <a>). In 11% of instances long vowels have not been distinctively marked at all.

Phonemic word-stress is found in one fifth of the languages. It has been written in only 16% of these cases, being symbolised as an acute accent over the stressed vowel, e.g. <panát>.

Phonemic syllable-tone or word-tone is found in one third of the languages. It has been written in 57% of these cases.

- (a) Where only one tone mark has been used (mostly in languages with just two tones) the majority have used an acute accent (e.g. <kána>); a grave accent and underline (e.g. <kàna> or <kana>) have also been used occasionally.
- (b) Where more than one tone mark has been used, the acute accent is always used as one of the marks. For the other mark(s) the order of

popularity of the various diacritics is grave, circumflex, macron, wedge, and underline (e.g. <kàna>, <kâna>, <kāna>, <kǎna>, <kana>).

7.2.1.6. PRINCIPLES OF ORTHOGRAPHY DESIGN

During the past 20 years the procedures for designing alphabetic orthographies have been discussed extensively by linguists, missionaries, and educators, and a fair measure of agreement has been reached concerning the basic principles.⁵ The majority of those who have designed orthographies for languages in the New Guinea area have followed most or all of the principles listed below, even if unconsciously at times.

(a) A careful phonemic analysis should be made of the sounds of the language. This analysis should include two or more alternative analyses wherever they are plausible.

(b) Ideally, each phoneme should be represented by a single symbol in all its occurrences, and that symbol should be different from the symbol for each other phoneme.

(c) As far as possible, the symbols should be selected from those of the national language, and they should be used in the vernacular orthography for sounds that are the closest to those of the national language.

(d) When there are not enough simple symbols in the national language for all of the phonemes of a vernacular language, then the use of digraphs should be investigated. If these prove to be unsatisfactory or insufficient, diacritic marks may be used with the symbols already chosen.

(e) When there is a shortage of suitable symbols in the national language, one is often tempted to use the same symbol for two different vernacular phonemes instead of using a digraph or symbol with diacritic for one of them. This should only be done if the phonemic contrast has a low functional load and if literates indicate strongly that they prefer an orthography that looks more like the national language even though it may fail to distinguish certain phonemic contrasts.

(f) When two distinct sounds of the national language are allophones in the vernacular, one is often tempted to use both of the national language symbols in the hope of making it easier for people to transfer their reading skill from one language to the other.⁶ This use of two symbolisations for one phoneme should only be adopted if there is strong pressure from the literates to do so.

(g) Digraphs are not very satisfactory for a language which has clusters of phonemes of the same type. This is especially true for vowels. In a language with vowel clusters any attempt to use a digraph for a sixth vowel is likely to be unsuccessful because people will constantly try to pronounce the digraph as a sequence of two vowels.

(h) Contrastive long vowels or consonants should normally be symbolised by doubling the symbol for that sound.

(i) If there is a choice between two equally good symbolisations, that one should be preferred which is more uniform with the usage of the neighbouring language which has the greatest contact, influence, and prestige in the local area.⁷

(j) Before large quantities of literature are printed in a new orthography, it should be evaluated in both reading and writing tests using people who became literate through education in the national language. If possible, the orthography should be further evaluated by teaching several illiterate people to read and write it.

7.2.1.7. SOME CASE STUDIES

Some of the languages spoken on the Papuan coast and islands have had a spelling system, with literacy and literature, for 50-100 years. These languages afford an opportunity to see various factors, both linguistic and social, operating on orthography development over a comparatively long period of time, and so a few particular cases are given here.

7.2.1.7.1. MOTU (CENTRAL PROVINCE)⁸

Motu was the first language for which an orthography was worked out. This was done by a missionary, Lawes, and the first publication, a school book called *Bukana kunana. Levaleva tuahia adipaia*, appeared in 1877. The spelling system used today was established by Lister-Turner and Clark (1930). If we take the Motu phonemes to be /p, t, k, kʷ, b, d, g, gʷ, s, h, ɣ, m, n, l, r; i, e, a, o, u/ then Lister-Turner and Clark's system has a one-for-one correspondence of graphemes and phonemes, using italic <g> for /ɣ/, and the digraphs <kw> for /kʷ/, and <gw> for /gʷ/.

Lister-Turner and Clark were the first to definitely distinguish /ɣ/ as a separate sound and write it with a special symbol. The sound is not easy for English-speakers to hear or to pronounce and it had baffled Lawes who refers to a sound 'between the ordinary g and k' (1885:2) and nearer 'an aspirated k' (1888:74). He usually wrote <g> for it, but

sometimes <k>. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.a:7) note the difficulty of this sound and point out, as does Ray (1907:417), that in other languages of Papua it has also gone unrecognised.⁹ The recognition of /ɣ/ as a separate sound and the use of italic <g> for it has not been the end of the matter. In later publications <ḡ> has been used, and even <ḡ> in at least one publication. Nevertheless, most Motuans - perhaps the great majority - do not use a diacritic in writing and so <g> represents both /g/ and /ɣ/. They rely on the context to help them decide which sound occurs in any particular place, and in fact the underdifferentiation causes few problems. In the course of a study of Motu dialects, Taylor asked some Motuans to read lists of words and found that quite a few people often did not recognise the symbol <ḡ>. They read it as if it were <g>, in the absence of a guiding context. One might ask, then, if just <g> would be enough. It could be done for Motuans, but Motu has been used as a lingua franca and for the second-language speakers the distinction between /g/ and /ɣ/ should be made. It would have been better if a completely different symbol such as <x> had been chosen, as Dietz (n.d.) suggests.

Lister-Turner and Clark also appear to have corrected many inaccuracies in the way words had previously been spelled, especially those involving the stop series, and /l/ and /r/. While there were changes involving writing the voiceless stop symbols instead of the voiced ones, most changes were in the direction of voiceless to voiced stops. The question arises as to whether there had been a number of changes in pronunciation, or whether the first spellings were incorrect, and if so, why. Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.b:6) mostly put it down to the Motuans speaking 'indistinctly'. Dietz (n.d.) says the voiceless stops are unaspirated or slightly aspirated.¹⁰ This would make them more likely to be confused by English-speakers with /b, d, g/, and one would then expect <b, d, g> to be the common spellings. However, the opposite was the case. Lister-Turner and Clark mention change, but they give only an example involving /l/ and /r/. The fact that the earlier spellings of the stops mostly had the symbols for voiceless ones makes one suspect that this may be the influence of the Polynesian missionaries, whose language background would lead them to interpret voiced stops as voiceless ones. Chatterton (personal communication) reports Lister-Turner as saying that in the early days it was the Polynesian missionaries who had the bulk of the direct contact with the Motuans. The Europeans worked a good deal through the Polynesians, and not directly with the Motuans. An increasing amount of first-hand language study by the European missionaries may then explain the gradual increase in

the number of occurrences of <b, d, g> in publications until eventually Lister-Turner and Clark's correct spellings appeared. At least, the spellings they wrote reflect today's pronunciation accurately. Perhaps their spellings have also had the effect of standardising pronunciation, through use in schools and in literature.

While there seems to be no doubt, in spite of the spelling changes, that there were six stop phonemes /p, t, k, b, d, g/ in Lawes' time, it might be wondered whether there were both /l/ and /r/ phonemes, and a need for both <l> and <r> in the orthography, in view of the spelling variations and the changes reported in pronunciation.¹¹ Turner (1877-78:497) says that [r] and [l] are interchangeable, while Chatterton (personal communication) has observed changes in some words in his 50 years in the area, earlier [l] to [r] and later [r] to [l]. Today some speakers, particularly in one area, use [r] instead of [l] and in the speech of some others the two sounds appear to be in free variation. However, there are quite a few minimal pairs, and even early lists have both <l> and <r> in similar environments. Also one dialect has /r/ but not /l/, all occurrences of the latter becoming /n/. So it seems that there are two phonemes, but that there are some speakers with only one. The fluctuations in spelling are probably due to this last fact, with the possibility that some may be due to the Polynesian missionaries in whose speech there was presumably only one phoneme, either /l/ or /r/.

There are some other points worth noting where no change has been made to Lawes' original system. One is the use of <t> and <s>. At the time of Lawes' work a good case could have been made that there was just one phoneme involved, realised as [t] before /a, o, u/ and [s] or [ts] before /i, e/, and that just one symbol would be sufficient in the orthography. However, Lawes chose to use both <t> and <s>, no doubt because this was the obvious way for an English-speaker. In some very early publications one finds <t> where one would expect <s>, for example <mate> instead of <mase> *to die*. This is because where Lawes heard [ts] he wrote <t> (Lawes 1885:2). Now with many English borrowings which cut across the old pattern - even Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.b) list <sopu> *soap* - the language can be said to have both /t/ and /s/ phonemes, although some speakers still maintain the old pattern, and so one hears for example both [siposi] and [tiposi] *teapot*.

<y> is not used, and <w> is only used in the digraphs <kw> and <gw>. In the writing of diphthongs only the vowels are used and it is predictable as to which vowel in a group symbolises a glide. However, Dietz (n.d.) has suggested writing <y> and <w> to maintain the predominant CV pattern, for example, <kaya> *knife* instead of <kaia>. This

does not seem to be important for a practical orthography, and does not handle diphthongs like /ae/ and /ao/ as against /ai/ and /au/. There may be a few words where <y> or <w> could be written, such as those with initial <ia> listed by Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.b:85), which they say are pronounced <ya>, or a word like <io> *spear* which Dietz says is [iyɔ]. However, these words are few and the use of <i> in them does not seem to cause readers much difficulty.

The only occurrence of <w> is in the digraphs <kw> and <gw>. Lawes used <ko> for /kʷ/ and /gʷ/, as in <koau> instead of <gwau> *say*. The distribution of /kʷ, gʷ/ is very limited, occurring only before /a/, with just a few exceptions (Taylor 1970:228), so that the use of a vowel, <o> or <u> after <k> or <g> and before <a>, would cause no confusion. It is, however, not surprising that <w> was introduced by English-speakers eventually. For a time <q> was officially used for /kʷ/ and some Motuans still use it, but as no single symbol was an obvious choice for /gʷ/ the use of <q> in publications and literacy was discontinued.

Lawes also wrote as separate words various morphemes, or groups of morphemes, which make up the verb complex.¹² For example, he would write *idia e raka namonamomu they are walking properly* and not *idia erakanamomomu*. This avoids long words and it has been done in all mission publications. A case may be made out on linguistic grounds for writing the verb complex as one word, as Taylor (1970) does, but the practical consideration of ease of reading and the practice of Motuan writers themselves are against it. While Motuan writers do often join some morphemes that Lawes would not, in particular if there is only a short morpheme indicating tense and subject person and number before the verb base, they do not do so if it would form a long word. Some use is made by Chatterton in particular of hyphens to break up compounds, especially those formed by reduplication, as, for example, *haraḡa-haraḡa very quickly*. This again is to help readers, but it has not been done consistently. Motuan writers generally either write one or two words, with no hyphen.

7.2.1.7.2. MAILU (CENTRAL PROVINCE)¹³

In Mailu, Saville (1912) worked out an orthography early this century. Thomson, who calls the language Magi, has reviewed the orthography as part of a programme to produce a new translation of the New Testament. One of the problems which Mailu readers had found with the translation done by Saville was that all the morphemes in the verb complex are written joined together, and this often forms long words

which are hard to read. In Thomson's new scheme (Thomson 1975a,b) most of these morphemes are written separately, for example, the negative and causative morphemes, adverbs of manner and degree, the verb base, and, as one unit, the aspect, mood, tense, and person morphemes. This last is called the tense-person indicator. So in the new scheme one would write

noa iou ineinea ogoda losia
he run quickly very tense-person.indicator
'he was running very quickly'

instead of noa iouineineaogodalosia. There are some exceptions where some morphemes are written together; in particular the tense-person indicator, if it is very short, is joined to the morpheme which precedes it. This new scheme has proved easier for readers, but the rules for the exceptions are somewhat complex and would not be easy to teach for writing. When Magi people write they break the verbs up in various ways, rather as the Motu do, and presumably they will continue to do so.

Though the glottal stop is a phoneme, Saville did not write it at all. Thomson is now using <'>, which has been the symbol generally used in Papua.

In three cases it appears that one Mailu phoneme has two allophones, namely, [t] and [s], [l] and [r], and [v] and [w]. There are some restrictions on their occurrence such as [v] not occurring before /o/ or /u/ and [w] not occurring before /i/ or /e/, but for the most part it seems to be a situation of free variation. Some people use [w] all the time. Saville used six symbols, <t, s, l, r, v, w>, in his spelling system, choosing the one he heard in each word, all these sounds being in English. Thomson states that familiarity with English, the prestige language, has brought a perception of the differences between the members of each pair of sounds and there is now strong pressure in certain words for either one or the other sound to be used. The sight of the spelling in print for about 60 years no doubt helps to reinforce these preferences.

7.2.1.7.3. TOARIPI (GULF PROVINCE)¹⁴

Toaripi was first written by members of the London Missionary Society about 90 years ago. In the 1890s Holmes used an orthography in which two vowel phonemes /a/ and /ɔ/ were represented by the one symbol <a>. Later Pryce Jones found this underdifferentiation to be unsatisfactory and he decided to use <ō> for /ɔ/. This has been continued to the present day. Pryce Jones also introduced some diacritics. The main one is the use of acute accent to indicate the position of stress in

order to distinguish between some personal pronouns and other words; for example, <ará> *I* and <ára> *far; tracks made by reptiles*. Other diacritics were used to distinguish <lěa> *that, those* from <lea'> *how*, again a matter of stress position. The conjunction meaning *but* is written <a-> with a dash after the *a* to distinguish it from other words spelled <a>. It is, in fact, followed by a pause in speech. Brown has dropped the breve from <lěa>, as there is no need for both morphemes in the pair to be marked, though in publications up to the present he has retained the diacritics for the pronouns, etc. However, Dewdney dropped the diacritics on the pronouns in the closely related Oroko language and found that this caused very few problems, as the pronouns were nearly always clearly marked by the context. So Brown has decided to follow suit in Toaripi in future publications. Toaripi-speakers do not themselves use the diacritics when writing. The use of the dash in <a-> is to be retained.

In two cases two allophones of a phoneme have been written. One is a voiced bilabial sound which may or may not be nasalised and which is represented by <m> and <v>, while the other is represented by <l> and <r>. All four symbols have been used in the orthography since the early days. As in the case of Magi already mentioned, the influence of English, both generally and in the school situation, has reinforced the established orthography.

The Roman Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart and the Jehovah's Witnesses have also published in Toaripi. The orthography used by the latter group is very closely modelled on that of the London Missionary Society, with just some differences in the spelling of individual words. The orthography of the Sacred Heart Mission has a few more such differences, particularly in the use of <l> and <r>, which is quite likely due to the fact that they use a different dialect as their standard. /o/ has not been represented consistently; sometimes it is <a>, sometimes <o>. Accent marks have been used on the pronouns, as the London Missionary Society did, but <a> is used instead of <a-> *but*. In addition, a diaeresis is written in the vowel cluster /aea/, i.e. <aëa>, to indicate that <e> represents a glide, but this is unnecessary for native speakers of the language.

7.2.1.7.4. RORO (CENTRAL PROVINCE)¹⁵

In the Roro language there are three main differences between the orthographies worked out by the Sacred Heart Mission and the London Missionary Society. /t/ is realised as [s], [ts], [t^s], or [t^h] before the vowels /i, u/. Both orthographies have a symbol for this allophone,

in addition to using <t> for [t]. The London Missionary Society orthography has <s>, as [s] is found in Delena, the main village in their area, while the Sacred Heart Mission orthography has <ts>, as [ts] and [t^s] are the common allophones in the main dialect area in which that mission works. They used <z> for a while in the very early period (Ray 1907:419), which van Lamsweerde feels is probably due to Italian influence. The second main difference is that the Sacred Heart Mission orthography has for the voiced bilabial phoneme, which is realised as [β] or [b] or occasionally [v], while the London Missionary Society orthography has <v>. The London Missionary Society taught literacy in Motu, not Roro, for many years among the Roro people. When the missionaries did decide to use Roro in schools, the orthography they devised was based on how Roro people wrote their language. And these people, who had worked out their writing system on the basis of their education in Motu, represented [β] by <v>. The third difference is that Chatterton in his translation of the four gospels used both <l> and <r> whereas the Sacred Heart Mission uses only <r>. There does appear to be only one phoneme, which to a European may sound more like [r] or [l] on different occasions. However, Roro people use only one symbol in their own writing, either <r> or <l>, and Chatterton himself uses only <r> in a recent paper (Chatterton, n.d.). The Sacred Heart Mission orthography also included some diacritics on the vowels representing glides in diphthongs, rather as is done in Toaripi. The practice was discontinued and it certainly does not seem necessary for native speakers.

7.2.1.7.5. MILNE BAY PROVINCE¹⁶

Most of the early language workers in the Milne Bay Province came from the Tonga and Samoa area of the Pacific. They showed a strong aversion to the use of <y> and <w> in the orthographies they designed. For instance, in Suau they wrote /y/ as <e>, both word-initially and -medially; they also left unwritten the /y/ and /w/ that occur between vowels, as in the disyllabic word /owa/ which was written as <oa>.¹⁷ Labialisation in these languages was written as either <o> or <u> following the plain consonant. But this often led to ambiguity of syllable division. For example, one cannot know from the spelling Guasopa whether this place name should be pronounced as [gu.a.so.pa] or [gwa.so.pa]. (Muyuw speakers actually say ['gwa.sop].)

7.2.1.7.5.1. Dobu (Milne Bay Province)

The development of the Dobuan orthography is an interesting and continuing story, which now involves efforts to unify the orthographies of two different churches. Lawton (chapter 7.4.5.9. in this volume) outlines the various points, which include whether both <l> and <r> are needed, how labialised stops should be written, whether long words should be cut up and, if so, how, and whether quite a number of purely etic occurrences of the glottal stop have been included in the spelling of words.

7.2.1.7.5.2. Yeletnye (Milne Bay Province)¹⁸

In the Milne Bay Province, Yeletnye, the language spoken on Rossel Island, has the reputation of being impossible to learn. Perhaps the main reason for this is its phonological complexity as compared with the neighbouring languages. The stops can be plain, prenasalised, labialised, or palatalised; they can have a nasal release or simultaneous bilabial closure; and the 11 vowels can be nasalised and/or lengthened. No wonder that the speakers of Yeletnye made few attempts to write their language; they had no idea how to write all of these non-English sounds and seemed to believe that it was impossible to write their language.

In 1963 the Catholic Mission duplicated a book of 'Catechism and Prayers' in an orthography which used 13 symbols for vowel qualities, doubling for vowel length, and diaeresis for nasalisation of vowels. However, this book and orthography have fallen into disuse. In 1974, J. Henderson of S.I.L. analysed the consonantal system in terms of Firthian prosodies and proposed an orthography which symbolised all of the distinctions in the consonant-prosody system fairly simply. He also distinguished the 11 vowel phonemes with diaeresis and circumflex, vowel length by doubling the symbol, and nasalisation by a colon preceding the vowel.

Since there were several points for which alternative symbolisations had been suggested, Henderson conferred with a group of seven influential Rossel people who could already read in English or the Misiman language. They had a good discussion together and these literates expressed their views on each point. One issue was how to distinguish the 11 vowels - by diacritic marks or by digraphs such as vowel symbol followed by <r> or <h>. There was a unanimous preference for diacritics, and the chief reason given was the overall length of written words. Words that sound short should be written short. For the phoneme /+/

the symbol <ɪ> was preferred to <f> because in handwriting <f> could easily be mistaken for <i>. For nasalised vowels a preceding colon was adopted instead of a diacritic mark above the vowel symbol because six of the vowels already had a diacritic above them and an extra mark looked rather ridiculous. For distinguishing a fronted alveolar nasal from the alveolar one, the symbol <ɲ> was preferred to <ɳ> or <ɿ> because circumflex and acute already have their function of distinguishing vowels and people might get confused if one of these diacritics had two functions.

Now that there is an orthography which a representative group of Rossel people have had a share in formulating, the Hendersons are proceeding to test it out by teaching a few people to read in their own language.

7.2.1.7.6. CENTRAL BUANG (MOROBE PROVINCE)

Central Buang is unusual in having four back velar consonants which contrast with the ordinary velar series. At first (about 1960) B. Hooley distinguished three of these four contrasts in the orthography. But the reaction of a number of young people who could read Pidgin and Yabêm was that a booklet written in this trial orthography was too hard and they could not read it. Hooley had hoped that when educated literates picked up a Buang book they would feel sufficiently encouraged to try and read the vernacular, therefore he changed the orthography so that only one of these contrasts was distinguished.

Phonemes:	/k/	/ḳ/	/g/	/g̣/	/χ/	/χ̣/	/ŋ/	/ŋ̣/
Trial orthography:	<k>	<kh>	<g>	<gh>	<x>	<h>	<ng>	<ng>
Final orthography:	<k>	<k>	<g>	<g>	<gg>	<h>	<ng>	<ng>

There were several other difficulties in designing the orthography for Central Buang, some of which are the result of the conflicting influences of Pidgin and Yabêm in the area.¹⁹

7.2.1.7.7. HALIA (BOUGAINVILLE PROVINCE)²⁰

An orthography for Halia devised by Fr Lamarre of the Catholic Mission has been in limited use since 1950. Its main features were the use of <ñ> for /ɲ/, <i> for /y/, <u> for /w/, and <a>, <e>, <i>, <o>, <u>, <ei>, <au>, and <ou> for the allophones of 14 vowel phonemes. Since 1963 J. Allen of S.I.L. has examined the phonemic system carefully and has evaluated the reactions of literates to possible changes in the orthography. In 1970 a slightly modified orthography was adopted and is now in wide circulation. The main changes were the use of <ng>

for /ŋ/, and the introduction of <ö> and <ëi> to distinguish a couple of the previously unmarked vowel contrasts which have a high functional load. All of Allen's attempts to use more than ten distinctive symbols for the 14 vowels and to use these symbols for phonemes rather than allophones have met with resistance from Halia-speakers who are used to reading the 1950 orthography.

7.2.1.7.8. MIDDLE WAHGI (WESTERN HIGHLANDS)

A considerable number of languages have a series of phonetically complex consonant phonemes usually known as prenasalised stops. Linguists have usually represented these in their orthographies with single symbols such as , <d>, and <g>. People learn to read and write these very easily, and this symbolisation seems to match well with the psycholinguistic units operating in the mind of the native speaker so long as he remains monolingual. However, when he learns to read and write a language such as Pidgin or English that has a different phonemic system from his own, the new system interferes with the old system and he unconsciously develops a new bilingual set of psycholinguistic units that at some points matches allophones rather than phonemes. As a result he wants to write his mother tongue differently. Generally he retains the simple symbols , <d>, and <g> in word-initial position for the vernacular prenasalised stops, but in medial and final positions he now wants to write <mb>, <nd>, and <ng> to follow the practice of Pidgin or English in writing such sounds.

This is what has happened in Middle Wahgi. In 1963 D. Phillips of S.I.L. began writing the four prenasalised stops /^mb/, /ⁿd/, /ⁿj/, and /ŋg/ as , <d>, <j>, and <g> respectively and these were well received in literacy classes. However, the reactions and needs of young people coming through the English and Pidgin schools in the area gradually became a matter of increasing concern, and at an inter-mission orthography conference in 1969 it was decided to write these prenasalised stops as , <d>, <j>, <g> word-initially and as <mb>, <nd>, <nj>, <g> word-medially and -finally. (The digraph <ng> was already being used for the velar nasal /ŋ/ so could not be used for the velar prenasalised stop.)

Another major problem in Middle Wahgi is the existence of three different lateral consonants (dental, alveolar, and velar) in the southern Kuma dialect and two (dental and velar) in the northern Danga dialect. Where a Kuma word has a velar lateral, the corresponding word in Danga has an alveolar lateral as its equivalent. This velar lateral was written as <ll> at first. Phillips found that he was able to teach

people to read this digraph satisfactorily but that young people who had been through an English or Pidgin school could not read it at all without instruction. He conducted extensive reading and writing tests among literate people to compare seven alternative symbols. The digraph <gl> was unsatisfactory in both dialects: people often misread it by inserting an extra vowel between the two symbols to pronounce [gəl] in a word instead of [g!]. <k> was satisfactory in the Kuma dialect but not in the Danga one. The symbol which the Wahgi people judged to be best for both dialects was the special symbol <+>.²¹ Despite Phillips' optimism about this symbol, it is still likely that Wahgi people who have learned to read in the schools will have difficulty reading it until they are given some transitional instruction. Moreover, we have yet to see how consistently literates will write this special symbol even after they have become familiar with it in extensive printed literature.

7.2.1.7.9. ENGA (ENGA PROVINCE)

Missionaries began studying the Enga language about 1950. A series of inter-mission conferences was held in 1959, 1961, 1966, and 1969 to clarify various features of Enga phonology and to reach agreement on a standard orthography. Engas were present at these meetings and came to have an increasing share in the final decisions.

One of the recurring problems was the analysis and symbolising of high and mid vocoids. Some of the 1966-69 decisions were as follows:

- (a) Palatalised consonants are to be written with a <y> following the plain consonant symbol.
- (b) Labialised consonants are to be written with a <u> following the plain consonant symbol.
- (c) Sequences of two dissimilar vowels such as /eo/, /lo/, and /ea/ are to be written by the appropriate two vowel symbols and no <y> is to be written between them.
- (d) However, in sequences of three or more vocoids [i] and [u] occurring between other vocoids are to be written as <iy> and <uw> respectively; [e] and [o] occurring between other vocoids are to be written as <y> and <w> respectively.

During the discussions it became obvious that the expatriates' theories about syllable structure and their feel for the syllabicity of high and mid vocoids was not always matched by the psycholinguistic judgement of the Engas themselves. In particular, decisions (b) and

(c) reversed the earlier expatriate practice of writing <w> and <y> in these contexts, and were the direct result of pressure from literate Engas.

7.2.1.7.10. FOE (SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE)

About 1953 W.M. Rule of the Unevangelised Fields Mission (now the Asia Pacific Christian Mission) prepared an orthography for Foe which included <x> for glottal stop. This symbol was easily learned and gave no difficulty until young men left Lake Kutubu for schooling or employment in the larger centres. There they found that when they wrote or received letters in Foe their new friends would comment on the unusual symbol used for the glottal stop. These young men experienced so much shame that they persuaded Rule to change over to using an apostrophe for the glottal stop, the symbol that was known to their friends in Port Moresby.

7.2.1.8. CONCLUSION

In the New Guinea area expatriates have been designing and revising alphabetic orthographies for over a century. Often they have worked independently and each man did what was right in his own eyes. And yet some very definite trends are discernable in the orthographies they have produced. From the successes and failures that they have had, and from similar experience in other parts of the world, some basic principles have gradually emerged. There are now clear guidelines for anyone setting out to create or revise an orthography. No longer does he have to blaze his own trail.

And there is another sense in which the would-be orthographer is no longer alone in his task. In the past a person who designed an orthography often defended it jealously against all criticism and alternative suggestions; the history of many an orthography is the account of running battles between individuals of strong convictions. But no longer are orthographic decisions the sole prerogative of expatriates in a developing country. As soon as there is a modest number of literates within a language group, they have a very important contribution to make in developing an orthography. In fact, it may be vital to the continuing acceptance of the orthography that a group of respected literates should be clearly seen to have the responsibility for the final decisions.

In a developing country such as Papua New Guinea the time has come for a more co-ordinated approach to providing orthographies for several hundred more languages. National leaders, educators, and linguists need

to work towards the formation of a national policy on vernacular orthographies. Such a policy should take into consideration the experiences and trends in a considerable number of other developing nations and apply them to the present and anticipated language policies of Papua New Guinea. The policy should include the basic principles of orthography design, a list of approved symbols that is large enough and flexible enough to meet the needs of the languages with more complex sound systems, and guidelines on how to revise an existing orthography without causing undue disruption.

N O T E S

1. The second author contributed the case-studies of Motu, Mailu, Toaripi, Roro, and Dobu.
2. Throughout this chapter diamond brackets enclose orthographic symbols, square brackets enclose (mostly Americanist) phonetic symbols, and slashes enclose phonemes.
3. The survey was conducted by Graeme J. Kemelfield of the Education Research Unit, University of Papua New Guinea, and Alan Healey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The survey was supported by the Research Fund of the Papua New Guinea Branch of S.I.L. There were approximately 125 responses to the questionnaires circulated and about 100 of these supplied information on orthographies.
4. This phenomenon has been noted in several languages of the Eastern Highlands Province. (a) In Gahuku, in the intervocalic position, glottal stop contrasts with all the other consonants and people write it with <q> fairly consistently; but in the word-final position glottal stop is the only consonant which occurs and people often leave it unwritten. (b) In Upper Asaro, almost all occurrences of phonemic glottal stop are in syllable-final position and no other consonants occur there. Thus it is just as reasonable to view this glottal stop as a syllable prosody as it is to view it as a consonant. Both <q> and an apostrophe have been tried in the Asaro orthography, but in neither case did people write the symbol often. (c) In Gadsup, in the syllable-initial position there is no glottal stop and people learn to write the other consonants fairly well; in syllable-final position only the three consonants <m>, <n>, and <'> occur and people leave all three of them unwritten much of the time. (d) In Binumarien, glottal stop contrasts with the other

consonants in word-medial positions and people learn to read <q> just as well as the other consonants. However, in word-initial position, although glottal stop contrasts with the other consonants, its contrast with a vowel-initial word is only detectable in phrase-medial position; all vowel-initial words add a predictable glottal stop when in phrase-initial position and when uttered in isolation as a citation form. It is not surprising that people show only 60% accuracy in writing word-initial glottal stop versus word-initial vowel.

5. For some of the major articles see Smalley et al. 1964 and for a good bibliography see Berry 1968.

6. Gudschinsky (1973:119) contends that the opposite is actually true: teaching a person two different symbols for the allophones of a single phoneme in his own language makes it more difficult for him to learn to react to these as two contrasting sounds in a second language.

7. The difficulty of achieving orthographic uniformity between related languages may be seen in Luzbetak 1956:42-8 and in Bromley 1961:79-82, 93-8.

8. The Motu orthography has been developed by members of the London Missionary Society. The information given here regarding it was obtained from Chatterton (personal communication) and from fieldwork done by Taylor at various times since 1967, in addition to the publications referred to. One should note that almost all the orthographies of the languages discussed in this section are the work of missionaries.

9. See, for example, Clarke, chapter 7.4.5.11. in this volume, concerning /ɣ/ in the Wedau language.

10. Taylor (1970:239) found voiceless stops to be generally aspirated, but most of the people he worked with spoke a different dialect from the one Dietz describes, and the latter is in fact the one used as a standard.

11. The l/r problem is a common one in the area. See, for example, Capell 1943:6.

12. Lawes had previously worked in Niue, a Polynesian language. This may have influenced him in the decision as to how to write the verbs and in other decisions too, such as not using <y> or <w>.

13. Taylor had a number of discussions with Thomson and Lioro Lapila on the various orthography problems.
14. The information on the Toaripi orthography is from Brown 1968, and also personal communication from Brown.
15. Some information has been supplied by Chatterton about the London Missionary Society orthography and by van Lamsweerde about the Sacred Heart Mission orthography. See also Joindreau 1907, and Bluhme 1970.
16. Information from David Lithgow in a personal letter.
17. Clarke, chapter 7.4.5.11. in this volume, mentions the reverse situation in Wedau: in early publications <w> was often written after medial /u/ but this usage is not acceptable to Wedau literates today.
18. Information from Henderson 1975, and from his unpublished paper, Yeletnye Phonemes, 1974.
19. For more details see Hooley 1974.
20. Information abstracted from an unpublished paper, Halia Phonemes, by Jerry Allen, 1970.
21. A detailed description of Wahgi orthography problems and psycholinguistic testing is given in Phillips 1973.

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7.2.2. WRITING LOWER GRAND VALLEY DANI: THE CIRCUITOUS DEVELOPMENT OF AN IRIAN JAYA ORTHOGRAPHY

H. Myron Bromley

7.2.2.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

On the smeared pages of a field notebook marked 'number one' are early attempts at writing some Lower Grand Valley Dani words: *hubako* night; *supuŋu* sweet potatoes; *yage* stone adze; *weiñam* in sight.¹ Now, several orthographies later, these words and many others are being written more like that than they have been during most of the intervening 20 years. This chapter documents those spelling changes as illustrative of vernacular orthography development in Irian Jaya, and proceeds to analyse current spelling variation found in local letters and compositions in terms of 1) the influence of the national language, Indonesian; 2) the influence of other dialects of the vernacular; and 3) the internal hierarchy or ranking of phonemes and phonemic contrasts in the vernacular language as representative of a deeper and probably more universal kind of phonological structure.

7.2.2.2. HISTORY OF THE ORTHOGRAPHY

7.2.2.2.1. PHONETICS TO PHONEMICS

The writing in field notebooks gradually shifted from rough phonetic script, fraught with all the inaccuracies of early hearing, to a more consistent semi-phonemic script. On the road to phonemic analysis there were two major breakthroughs. The first came after more than seven months of monolingual work in an unadministered area with base camp in a no-man's-land on an active tribal fighting front. A man recounting the story of a quarrel with his wife took pains to make clear that the recurring word in his tale was not *tugi* moon, as I had thought, but

tug: club - he had hit her with a club.² With that the contrast between high close and high open vowels was at last heard after being obscured by norms tenser and closer than those normally encountered. It was then clear that the palatal phones [ɲ, ʃ, ʧ, ɕ] are allophones of /n, l, t, k/ occurring in definable positions following high close vowels, particularly as the final elements in diphthongs. The double stop [k^p] and double fricative [ɕ^b] were interpreted to be allophones with [k] and [ɕ], respectively, occurring in definable positions after the diphthongs /au/ and /ou/; all of these phones later proved to be allophones of a single /k/ phoneme, as will be noted.

The second breakthrough came when intervocalic stops were seen to be interpretable as geminate clusters, so that the intervocalic voiced phones [b, ɹ, ɕ, ɕ^w] were seen to be allophones of the stops /p, t, k, k^w/. This interpretation, together with the recognition of a phonemic juncture at clitic boundary were basic to the phonemic analysis given in Bromley 1961:20-68. In the resultant phonemic orthography, the words mentioned at the beginning were now written *hupakko night*; *supputu sweet potato*; *jake stone adze*; *weinam in sight*.

7.2.2.2.2. CROSS-DIALECT ORTHOGRAPHY

When experience with other Grand Valley dialects was gained, it became apparent that the phonemic pattern of Lower Grand Valley was askew with the patterns of all the other known dialects. All those dialects have at least two series of stops, and some have three. In Lower Grand Valley a single series of stops /p, t, k, k^w/ plus /s, h, l/ represents the correspondences of the three series of stops elsewhere. It was decided to modify the spelling of the aberrant dialect from a purely phonemic system to one which would facilitate reading by speakers of neighbouring dialects. The series of stops which are voiced and prenasalised in Western Dani and Upper Grand Valley dialects, voiceless and prenasalised in Upper Mid Valley, and voiceless unaspirated in the rest of Grand Valley were recommended to be written with the symbols b, d, g, gw everywhere, however they are pronounced locally. The aspirated stop series, including the medial voiced allophones [b, ɹ, ɕ, ɕ^w], were to be written p, t, k, kw. In Lower Grand Valley Dani, where these two series have been conflated, the medial voiced allophones and final stop allophones are regularly correspondences of the aspirated stop series elsewhere, and were written p, t, k, kw. Initial stops are regularly correspondences of the voiced and prenasalised stops of Western Dani, and were to be written b, d, g, gw. Medial stop phones interpreted

phonemically to be geminate clusters are also regularly correspondences of the voiced stop series and were to be written like the initial stops, while medial aspirated stop phones, interpreted phonemically to be stop plus /h/ are correspondences of geminate clusters of aspirated stops or, in other dialects, of aspirated stop plus /h/, and were to be written stop plus h, thus ph, th, kh. The decision to give cross-dialect readability priority in constructing the orthography and the reasons behind it were highlighted in the description of the phonology (Bromley 1961).

It was at this stage that a literacy programme was begun in many Dani areas, and a number of local people became literate, particularly in the Western Dani area. However it was obvious that the intervocalic voiced allophones [b, ɸ, g, ɡʷ] written p, t, k, kw needed to be especially taught, since new readers, pronouncing very slowly, tended to syllabify with pause before the stop, so that *jake stone adze* was often read [ja kʰe] rather than [jaɡe].

In February 1961, the Dutch government linguist Dr J.C. Anceaux, the Roman Catholic linguist Fr P. van der Stap and I met to discuss the orthography, and the cross-dialect system earlier proposed (Bromley 1961) was largely adopted, except that the high open vowels were to be written as y and v, the Mid Grand Valley implosives were to be written with the digraphs bp and dl, and the suggestion of representing intonational contrasts more closely by using two punctuation marks in a row was abandoned. Now 'night' was written hvpago and 'sweet potatoes' was written svbvtv.

7.2.2.2.3. INDONESIAN-ORIENTED ORTHOGRAPHY

Scarcely had the orthography been approved before complaints began to come, and the protests were loud enough that a meeting was called by the government to discuss the issue again. At that time we who were linguists stoutly defended the orthography we had devised, and no alternative was adopted. But those who were not linguistically trained could make little sense of spelling [ɸ] as t, [p] as b, [b] as p and [k] as g in words like [peɸe] spelled bete *two*, [paɸɪ] spelled bapy *incest*, or [kaɡa] spelled gaka *they entered*. School programmes were spreading through the area with teachers who spoke Indonesian (then called 'Malay' in these parts), their own vernacular coastal languages and sometimes Dutch. Officially Dutch was to be taught in schools where Indonesian had not been introduced, but in fact the latter was the coastal lingua franca and began to spread to the interior with every contact with policemen, lower echelon government officers and even the very teachers, almost all of whom spoke Indonesian outside the classroom. Since very few of these men could use the official orthography but were continually

writing local village names and personal names, the seeds of spelling change were scattered widely.

When the political status of the area was decided in 1962 and Indonesian was assured as the national language of the future, the Protestant missions in Dani-speaking areas gathered to reassess the orthography. Foreseeing an aggressive educational policy and a desire to spread the national language as widely as possible, and having observed what was already happening outside the mission literacy programmes, we reversed the priorities of criteria for spelling. Transfer value to Indonesian would take priority over dialect transfer value. Each language and dialect would be written in a way that fitted reasonably with Indonesian spelling while adequately representing the sound contrasts of the language being written. Western Dani voiced prenasalised stops would be written *mb*, *nd*, *ngg*, *nggw*, but the correspondences of those stops in Lower Grand Valley Dani would be written *p*, *t*, *k*, *kw*. The voiced medial allophones of the aspirated stop series in most dialects and the single stop series in Lower Grand Valley Dani would be written everywhere as *b*, *r*, *g*, *gw*, but where these allophones occur word-finally in the phrase-medial position, the stop symbols *p*, *t*, *k* would be written to keep the visual shape of words as constant as possible, remembering that the slow reader and even more the new writer tend to introduce intonation contour terminals at word break and thus substitute stop allophones there anyway. Since *v* and *y* were not productive letters in Indonesian spelling, those letters were retained to represent the high open vowels. No change was made in the spelling of the palatal allophones in Lower Grand Valley Dani; the problem did not concern those working in Western Dani, the pressures did not seem as great as those for separate symbolisation of the voiced medial flap and fricative allophones of the stops, and it was hoped to add no more complications to the orthography than necessary. The illustrative words would now be written *hvbako night*; *svpvrsv sweet potato*; *jage stone adze*; *weinam small*.

What struck the framers of this orthography most forcibly was the incredible ease with which readers trained in the older system adapted to read material in the new. A select group of Western Dani men were presented with a half page of material written in the new script, including the digraphs *mb* and *nd*, the trigraph *ngg* and the quadrigraph *nggw* for what had previously been single letters and a digraph *b*, *d*, *g*, *gw*, and also including the symbols *b* and *g* now for medial allophones of aspirated stops, plus the new symbol *r*. After a few minutes of explanation these monolingual readers read the passage smoothly and well. The experience was repeated in the Lower Grand Valley area and elsewhere.

Word-finally and at clitic juncture there was and is a predictable writing problem in the new system. Local writers, pronouncing slowly as they write, tend to write the stop symbols and pronounce the stop allophones of any final p's, t's or k's, except in certain very common combinations with clitics that tend to be treated as units: /at-at/ arat *finished*. Faster, more experienced writers often write the voiced allophone symbols stem-finally before vowel-initial clitics. Writing more of these allophones seems to help some readers to read more smoothly, but the retention of the common visual shape of morphemes by writing the stop allophone symbols may be of help to others. In current practice the medial allophones are written stem-finally before vowel-initial clitics where the stem does not normally stand alone, and stem plus clitic then are written as a single word. But local writers still show considerable variation. Interestingly enough - and we shall note this fact again - the allophone symbol r is more frequently written before word space than are the parallel symbols b and g, even by monolingual readers and writers.

The only important revision of this spelling system during the period under discussion came when it was agreed, after long and sometimes heated discussions, to omit writing hyphens to represent clitic juncture, even though that juncture is contrastive in some environments in all dialects. Where the form preceding a clitic does not normally stand alone, that form with the clitic is written as one word. Elsewhere clitic juncture is written as word space. Very few local writers had ever mastered writing hyphens with even fair consistency, and the omission caused no observable problems of any degree of seriousness.

7.2.2.2.4. IMPACT OF THE NEW INDONESIAN SPELLING

During the years following 1962, adult vernacular literacy programmes sponsored by the missions were highly successful in areas of Christian response. In the Western Dani area there are an estimated 25,000 readers, most of them trained in these programmes. But with the spread of elementary education in government subsidised, mission related schools, which are also most successful in these same areas, more new readers are now coming from the schools than from the vernacular literacy classes. These readers have normally learned to read first in Indonesian, but have easily used this skill to read in their own language. However when these school-taught readers come to write their own language, they very frequently write with only five vowel symbols, leaving the contrast between high open and close vowels unwritten, and they make some other adaptations of Indonesian spellings in writing their own language.

When on 17 August 1972 President Suharto made a new Indonesian spelling official, in which y symbolises the very common consonant previously written j, it became obvious that the vernacular orthographies using y as a vowel symbol would have to be modified. As in Indonesian, schoolteachers and schoolchildren immediately began to write words in their own language with y in the new value: *naiyak my friend; yabu garden.*

At the Bible Translators' Institute sponsored by the United Bible Societies with the Indonesian Bible Society in March 1973, the participants, representing several affected languages, discussed the problem, and a smaller committee studied it further, with the result that it was recommended that what had been written j be written y in vernacular orthographies also, and that in languages where y had been used as a vowel symbol, the symbols i and u be retained for the high close vowels, and that those same symbols with an accent mark as distinctive as possible be used to write the high open vowels previously written y and v. In consultation with the Bible Society press, the circumflex accent was selected, although the press said that a grave accent would also be available. The timing of the change was left to be decided in each language area in terms of stocks of materials already produced and other relevant factors. The Western Dani translation committee, working in an area where the majority of readers have been trained in the vernacular literacy programmes, decided to make the change but not in the book of the four Gospels and Acts which was already in the final manuscript stage.

A greater Dani language family committee of Protestant missions met in November 1973 to restudy the problem, and it was felt 1) that the tendency toward a five-vowel orthography was stronger than our earlier action indicated, and 2) the use of an accent mark as distinctive as possible was perhaps not so important as had been thought, so that a grave accent might be more easily available and acceptable. Publications in this orthography were recommended as experimental. An edition of Mark in Yali of Angguruk and an edition of Acts in Lower Grand Valley Dani using the new orthography are in press; these are the only major books yet produced using the suggested spellings. The words introduced as examples earlier would in this orthography be written: *hùbako night; sùpùrù sweet potatoes; yage stone adze; weinam in sight.*

7.2.2.3. HOW LOCAL WRITERS SPELL - AND WHY

7.2.2.3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Attention up to this point has been to orthography decisions and suggestions made by teachers, missionaries, government officers and others who are not speakers of Lower Grand Valley Dani as their mother tongue. But the ultimate success or failure of any orthography is determined by the degree to which speakers of the language and others who may wish to write it can and do use the spellings proposed. A fresh look has been taken at the spellings in a file of about a hundred letters, mostly about half a page in length, written by a number of local persons, primarily evangelists trained to read and write in mission programmes. To evaluate the spelling of those not trained in those programmes, local elementary school pupils in grades three through six were asked to write vernacular compositions. The 16 papers done by sixth grade students were carefully checked, and compositions selected from the 77 others were also examined. Spellings different from those currently used in the orthography taught in the adult literacy programme were marked, and an attempt has been made to analyse the factors motivating these differences.

7.2.2.3.2. HOW LOCAL WRITERS SPELL

7.2.2.3.2.1. Consonants: Stop Allophones of Stops

In general, local writers write p, t and k as in the current Indonesian-oriented orthography. Since, however, there are no voiced stops in Lower Grand Valley Dani, some elementary school pupils use voiced stop symbols for the voiceless unaspirated stops. Particularly, b is sometimes written for the voiceless stop /p/, and, by some of the same writers, also for the fricative allophone [ɸ]. Only a few cases occur in the sample.

There are a few cases where a final /k/ is written t, e.g. svpvrvt for svpvrk *sweet potatoes*. This is not purely a random 'mistake', since the same process has occurred historically as in Western Dani logonet, cognate with Lower Grand Valley Dani logolyk *while that same subject remained*.

7.2.2.3.2.2. Consonants: Allophones of Stops Word-medially

In many of the letters and compositions, the medial allophone [ɸ] is written as w rather than b. Frequently the same writer within the space of a few lines spells the same word first with one then with the other

of these symbols. There are two factors prompting this spelling. One is the fact that in Indonesian *b* is always a stop, while for some speakers *w* is sometimes a labiodental fricative. Non-Dani teachers and others have frequently chosen to spell local words in this way. The second factor is internal to the language. In the Tangma or Kurima subdialect, unlike the Hetigima subdialect described in Bromley 1961, the allophone [b] can, for many speakers, be assigned to the phoneme /w/, which does not for them occur intervocalically otherwise, even though historically [b] is clearly an allophone of the aspirate /p/ phoneme. The reinterpretation is not complete in Tangma, however, for some speakers repeatedly interpret /w/ to occur medially in examples like *wasuak let him/her/them kill him/her*, and spell this then as *wasuwak*, where the graph *w* represents a semivowel. This contrasts with Kuban, also written by many as *Kuwan*, where the medial symbols *b* and *w* represent a voiced bilabial fricative. In the Hetigima subdialect area some speakers have reacted against writing [b] as *w*, since many of them clearly have intervocalic /w/ as a semivowel in contrast with [b], and this contrast also occurs in a subdialect on the other side of Tangma. The contrast is still more frequent in Western Dani, a language used in some important Bible schools in the greater Dani area and spreading through the influence of Western Dani evangelists in many places.

This contrast, with a resultant negative spontaneous reaction by some writers to using *w* for [b], fits with the common Indonesian pronunciation of such words as *lewat pass by*, with *w* pronounced as a semivowel. For these reasons, it appears justifiable to retain the symbolisation of [b] with *b*, while understanding that many local writers particularly in the Kurima area will often write *w*.³

In a very few of the school pupils' compositions there is an isolated case or two of the parallel use of *h* for [ɣ]. As described in Bromley 1961:35, initial *h* corresponds to the initial aspirated /k/ of Proto-Dani and several extant languages, so spelling [ɣ], an allophone of /k/, as *h* would make some historical sense. For these historical reasons, there are no occurrences of [h] between vowels within a morpheme. But in Lower Grand Valley [h] has come to occur between vowels in polymorphemic words and thus to contrast with [ɣ], and very few local writers have written [ɣ] as *h*.⁴ There is no pressure to change the present spelling.⁵

7.2.2.3.2.3. Consonants: Palatal Allophones

Some elementary school pupils sometimes have written the palatal allophones of /n/, /l/ and /k/ as in Indonesian with *ny*, *ly* and *c*. This pattern of writing is really remarkably rare considering the rather close

phonetic parallelism in the first two cases. Teachers and other non-Dani-speakers do often employ these Indonesian graphs. For Dani-speakers, the pressure to write these allophones with modified point of articulation seems very much weaker than the pressure to write separately the medial stop allophones with modified manner of articulation. Writing the palatal allophones separately would help Indonesian-speakers reading and writing Dani, but appears to be at least problematical for Dani-speakers during this time of transition from *y* as a vowel symbol to *y* as a consonant symbol. To write these allophones separately is of course quite possible, but would add two digraphs, and in the case of *c*, one new symbol to the orthography. With separately written palatal allophones, *weinam* *in sight* would be written *weinyam* (or possibly *wenyam*), and *kain headman; brave, generous* would be written *kainy* (or possibly *kany*). The writing of *c*, which is appreciably different in Indonesian from the Dani palatalised /k/, appears the least attractive and least motivated of these possibilities.

7.2.2.3.2.4. Omitted Consonants

Both evangelists and elementary school pupils, particularly those who are less skilful writers, frequently fail to write final *k* or medial *g* and sometimes medial *b*. This same phenomenon is observable not only as a spelling problem for speakers who do pronounce the sounds, but also, in the case of the medial allophones, as a sound change in some idiolects and dialects in which these sounds are lost. Some older speakers clearly pronounce the word meaning '*one, one of a group, another*' as *agaike*, as it is pronounced in Hetigima. More speakers say *aik* and many younger speakers say *ake*. Similarly *sobalin wash it* is pronounced by many younger speakers as *soalin*. It is not suggested that these consonant symbols be omitted when they represent sounds still pronounced, but rather that the spelling problem is rooted in an observable linguistic pattern.

7.2.2.3.2.5. Consonants: Reduction of Clusters with *h*

For most younger Hetigima-speakers and most Kurima/Tangma-speakers, there is no remaining contrast between *ph* and *p*, *th* and *t* or *kh* and *k*, and reader reaction has strongly favoured writing simply the stop symbol, even though historically and in extant Mid Valley Dani dialects, the clusters are certainly present. Most Hetigima-speakers and mature adult Kurima-speakers retain the *h* in clusters with *n* and *l*. However, very few younger adults and children retain these clusters, and with the

direction of change so obvious, it appears wise to shift the spelling of these words to conform with the new but already established pronunciation. There is one exception to both these generalisations. At clitic boundaries local writers retain the *h* very often, both after stops and continuants: *wate he killed him* (cf. Lower Mid Valley *wathe*); *wathanin rub it on me* (< *wat-* + *hanin*); *pale he cut it off* (cf. older speakers *palhe*); *palheak let me cut it off you* (< *pal-* + *heak*).

7.2.2.3.2.6. Glottal Stop

Glottal stop has already been described as not part of the Proto-Dani inventory of consonants (Bromley 1961:7). Frequently glottal stop occurs as part of the onset or terminal of an intonation contour (Bromley 1961:39). But glottal stop also occurs marking lexical contrast, e.g. *ane his voice*; *a'ne his vigour*. In 1961 it was suggested that glottal stop must be considered to be a phoneme in all positions because it contrasted in some, but that it need be written in a practical orthography only when it is not part of contour onset or terminal, and Powlison notes a similar case in Bora (Bromley 1961:39; Powlison 1968:78). But local writers of all backgrounds not only omit all contour initial and terminal occurrences of glottal stop, but also omit lexically contrastive occurrences more often than they write them. Sometimes writers write morphemically, symbolising the stop which was replaced by glottal stop, e.g. *wa'laga he, she, it died* is written also as *wataga* (/wa'-laka/ < /wat-/ + /laka/). But even more frequently, even when the derivation of the form is very familiar, writers simply omit the glottal stop and write, e.g., *walaga* for *wa'laga*. Some few writers, mainly trained in mission sponsored vernacular literacy programmes, write glottal stops word-medially rather consistently, and the orthography in current use retains them. However, it can be predicted that the writing of glottal stops will frequently be omitted by local writers, and may possibly be eliminated in a future orthography.

7.2.2.3.2.7. Vowels

Two departures from the current orthography for vowels are very common. First, most of the elementary school pupils write only five vowel symbols and do not distinguish in writing the high close vowels from the high open vowels. But some writers trained in vernacular literacy programmes also use only five vowels in writing, while pronouncing seven contrastively, and many, while writing the high front vowels differently, do not distinguish the high back vowels. Part of the

problem may lie in the order of presentation of items in the primers; both in Western Dani and in Lower Grand Valley Dani, *y* is introduced fairly early, while *u* and *v* are presented much later. Also, in script the only distinction between *u* and *v* is the elevation of the ligature, whereas *i* and *y* are distinctively shaped in script as in print. But there are other factors involved in this, to which we shall return.

Further, the diphthongs or two-part syllabics *ei*, *ai*, *au*, *oi* and *ou* are often not fully written, either by school pupils or evangelists. Historically many of these diphthongs developed from high close vowels following a [ɣ] allophone. Some writers, recapitulating this development, write only the high close vowel; others write only the initial element in some cases. Here again, part of the problem may lie in order of presentation in the primers, for diphthongs are not taught until the last of five primers. But the more skilled writers, both pupils trained in elementary school in Indonesian and evangelists taught in the vernacular, tend to write the diphthongs accurately, and it is suggested they be retained in the present orthography.

7.2.2.3.2.8. Clitic Juncture and Word Space

The elimination of hyphens as special symbols of clitic juncture has caused no very serious problems. However, the choice of where to write word space, and also where to write the special medial voiced allophones of stops, still gives many problems. Many writers write word space at most clitic boundaries, including the boundary between a verb stem and a cliticised auxiliary. Other writers tend to write most clitics as part of the preceding word. Rather frequently writers put word space at some morphological boundaries which are clearly within the phonological word, e.g. before the suffix *-mo*, *-ma* marking subject change with verbs. However, the principles currently adopted in the orthography conform quite closely to the usage of the faster, more experienced writers from whatever training background.

7.2.2.3.2.9. Punctuation

Punctuation is still not well mastered by local writers. Sentence initial capitals are used in the current orthography, to conform to the national language, but are written inconsistently. Quotation marks are not written consistently in any one of the letters or stories examined, and indeed are rather superfluous in Dani, which has quite clear lexical markers for the beginning and end of a quotation. Question marks have been used inconsistently in the orthography; earlier they were used to

mark rising intonation signalling a question, while later they were used at the end of any question. However many writers use the question mark only for rising intonation marking questions, thus after the first half of questions including two alternatives. Periods and commas pose fewer problems, and are written reasonably consistently by the better writers.

7.2.2.3.3. WHY LOCAL WRITERS WRITE AS THEY DO

7.2.2.3.3.1. Introductory Remarks

Differences in spelling from what has been taught and written are more significant than conformity, and where a large percentage of writers spell differently from what they have been taught, there are probably significant factors motivating the aberrance. Three kinds of factors seem most important.

7.2.2.3.3.2. The Orthography of the National Language

Any kind of spelling which is incompatible with the orthography of the national language will not survive. Other things being equal, the orthography which is most compatible with the national orthography has the most prestige. The use of only five vowel symbols is a case in point. Glottal stop is another case in point. Apostrophe has been used to mark glottal stop in some Indonesian spelling systems, but it is not commonly used now. Glottal stop is usually represented in Indonesian by *k*, e.g. *rakyat the populace* or by no symbol at all, e.g. *saat moment*. It is clear that the cross-dialect orthography made official in 1961 foundered on its incompatibility with the Indonesian orthography.

7.2.2.3.3.3. The Orthography of Related Dialects and Languages

While less important than the orthography of the national language, nevertheless this consideration is not to be neglected. Particularly Western Dani, the language spoken by the first evangelists in Lower Grand Valley, the language used in several central Bible schools, and the language into which more of the New Testament has been translated than most other languages in the area, has an effect on spelling by local writers in the Lower Grand Valley Dani area. The use of *b* rather than *w* for the medial allophone [b] makes the system of writing more congruous with the Western Dani system.

7.2.2.3.3.4. The Internal Hierarchical Ranking of Phonological Contrasts

The third and in many ways most influential factor motivating spelling different from what the writer has been taught is the phonological structure of the language. The phonemic analysis of the language is not the matter under consideration here. While there are some areas where there may be differences of opinion, two largely independent analysts came to agree on the phonemic inventory (Bromley 1961; van der Stap 1966:2-4). But graphemics or the development of writing systems involves more than phonemics, as has often been pointed out (e.g. Pike 1947:208; Nida 1954 (1964); Smalley 1964a,b,d,e; Powlison 1968). Both Smalley and Powlison propose that not all demonstrable phonemic contrasts are equally important in any language, but that some carry a heavier 'functional load' than others. Some items with a light 'functional load' may be omitted from the orthography. Smalley discusses the concept of 'functional load' in terms of text frequency, noting that a contrast that occurs only once or twice in 15 or 20 pages is obviously not as important as one that occurs in almost every sentence (1964e:140). Elsewhere he goes on to say, '... the greater the phonetic difference between phonemes in a set, the greater the functional load' (Smalley 1964a:5). He further says that within sub-systems of phonemes, the more contrasts the greater the functional load of the set. Most languages have more consonants than vowels, and therefore consonants carry a higher load than vowels. He adds that tone, juncture, stress, etc., as sets with few contrasts, carry still less functional load than the vowels. As a third factor he proposes, 'The more distinct levels on which a phoneme makes its distinction, the more functional load it carries', so that tone where it carries grammatical as well as lexical significance, carries higher functional load than where it has lexical significance only (1964d:5). Powlison in his published article repeats these same points and expands them to five factors for measuring functional load (Powlison 1968:87). Both Smalley (1964a) and Powlison refer to 'orthographic rank', and the latter goes on to say, 'Actually there is a natural ranking among phonemes' (Powlison 1968:90).

In connection with this notion of orthographic rank, the examination of non-standard spellings in the letters and compositions studied called attention back to another scheme of phonemic rank in the book *Fundamentals of Language* by Jakobson and Halle (1956). There they propose that there is a universal ranking of phonemes in the order of their acquisition by children and their loss in aphasia. Their terminology for specific distinctive features has not been widely appealing,

but on re-examination of their work, it appeared that the ordering they proposed was remarkably relevant to the spelling aberrations observed in Lower Grand Valley Dani, and there seems sufficient evidence to propose as a hypothesis for further investigation that the ranking of phonemes they propose for speech acquisition and loss is also observable in attempts to write by native speakers of the language. This means that the phonemes last acquired by children are perhaps also among those last mastered in writing and therefore those which may, if other pressures are present, be underrepresented in the orthography with least loss of communication. If this is so, the orthographic rank suggested by Smalley and Powlison is rooted deeply in the structure of human language in general. There are important differences in the schemes, most importantly Smalley's suggestion that vowels as a set carry less functional load than consonants, while according to Jakobson and Halle's scheme, major vowel contrasts are acquired before many consonant contrasts. Smalley's point has much to commend it in terms of the Dani evidence also, but the ordering of consonant contrasts and of vowel contrasts suggested by Jakobson and Halle provides hypotheses which can be further tested and which appear to be borne out in the Dani data.

1) Inherent features, i.e. the distinctive features of phonemes, outrank prosodic features. Jakobson and Halle (1956:22-4) imply but do not state this. In Lower Grand Valley Dani omission of writing clitic juncture, which is actualised as stress on the preceding item, stresslessness on the following item, is extremely frequent and was very frequent when that juncture was represented in the orthography.

2) Syllable initial consonants outrank syllable final consonants. Jakobson and Halle (1956:37) note that CV is the only universal model of the syllable. It is observed frequently especially with new writers of Lower Grand Valley Dani that final consonants are omitted, particularly k, or one is substituted for another, especially t for k.

3) Stops and flaps outrank fricatives (Jakobson and Halle 1956:42). In Lower Grand Valley Dani, the most frequently omitted consonants are the fricative allophones [ɸ] of /p/ and [ɣ] of /k/, while the flap allophone [ɾ] of /t/ is much less frequently omitted.

4) Labial and dental consonants ('diffuse' in Jakobson and Halle's terminology) outrank velar consonants ('compact' in their terms, Jakobson and Halle 1956:41). The single most frequently omitted phoneme in Lower Grand Valley Dani, of the set of major consonant phonemes, is /k/, both as a medial fricative [ɣ] and a final stop [k].

5) Mouth cavity stops outrank glottal stop. This is not treated by Jakobson and Halle, but is consistent with the sequence they propose,

where velar consonants have the lowest rank of mouth cavity consonants. As noted, in Lower Grand Valley Dani, glottal stop is very frequently omitted by writers.

6) Low vowels outrank high vowels. In Lower Grand Valley Dani, it seems clear that the set of vowels including /a, e, o/ is opposed to the set made of three subsets: /i, u/; /ɪ, ʊ/; and the diphthongs /ai, au, ei, oi, ou/. This opposition is observed in distributional restrictions on vowels in successive syllables. In writing, the vowels /a, e, o/ are written quite consistently, but even monolingual writers trained to read and write seven vowels often represent the contrast between high close and high open vowels inconsistently and also write diphthongs inconsistently. The pressure of neighbouring dialects and languages is perhaps often a factor, since many common words like *'this'* and *'they'* occur in some Dani languages and dialects with high close vowels, and in others with high open vowels. Upper Grand Valley dialects and Western Dani also lack most of the Lower Grand Valley diphthongs. But entirely monolingual writers also write in these ways. The influence of five-vowel dialects is not a major factor in Lower Grand Valley Dani, which does not abut on any of them, and it appears further that the extant five-vowel dialects represent an area of diffusion of loss of contrast, since they are geographically contiguous or nearly contiguous and represent three different languages, Grand Valley Dani, Western Dani and Yali.

But within the structure of the seven-vowel Lower Grand Valley dialect there are evidences that the contrast of high close versus high open vowels is somehow secondary. The same distributional restrictions that set all the high vowels and diphthongs apart from the low and mid vowels also group the high close and high open vowels. In the Hetigima subdialect, successive syllables in a two-syllable word may have high close vowels or high open vowels, but not a mixture, and vowels are harmonised to fit this pattern. The verbal suffix *-sik* occurs as *-ryk* after the vowel *y*, and many other such examples could be cited. The writing of Lower Grand Valley Dani and other seven-vowel dialects with only five vowel symbols therefore reflects internal structural factors as well as the pressure of the national language orthography.

7) Front vowels outrank back vowels. This is not stated plainly in Jakobson and Halle, but secondary contrasts of front vowels are listed as preceding secondary contrasts of back vowels (Jakobson and Halle 1956:41). In Lower Grand Valley Dani orthography it has been regularly observed that the /u/-/ʊ/ contrast is often not written even by writers who rather consistently write the /i/-/ɪ/ contrast. Part of the problem,

as has been noted already, may lie in the order of presentation of elements in the primers and in the difficulty of distinguishing u and v in script. But there may well be a deeper factor involved also.

It is to be noted that assigning of a low orthographic rank or phonological rank to a phoneme or contrast does not constitute a recommendation for its omission from the orthography. If the hypothesis suggested here is confirmed, an orthography omitting all low-ranking elements would represent a kind of infant or aphasic speech. But clearly some phonemic contrasts and elements are more important than others, and some low-ranking contrasts can be unwritten with little loss of communication if other factors favour this.

The factors discussed above help to explain why the omission of writing clitic juncture produced so few problems, and why glottal stop is so frequently omitted in writing. These considerations also indicate that the choice of the same basic symbols for the high open and high close vowels was probably a wise one when the latest orthography was constructed. The distinction of these vowels by use of a diacritic will probably be neglected by most local writers, both for the reasons internal to the language which now produce inconsistent writing of the contrasts, and because Indonesian does not employ diacritics to distinguish vowels except in dictionary entries (where é is marked to distinguish it from e, representing schwa). If and when the contrast between high open and high close vowels is lost in the orthography, it will not only be because of the Indonesian language, as Smalley (1964b) suggested it might be, but also because of factors internal to Dani (and perhaps shared by most languages) at a structural level deeper than phonemics.

7.2.2. WRITING LOWER GRAND VALLEY DANI

N O T E S

1. Lower Grand Valley Dani is the southernmost major dialect of Grand Valley Dani, a language of the central subfamily of the greater Dani family. This dialect is spoken in the Lower Grand Valley and upper gorge of the Balim River, in the central mountains of Irian Jaya (formerly West New Guinea), Indonesia. For linguistic relationships see Bromley 1967. The phonology and early orthography development are described in Bromley 1961. Two dissertations have been written on the grammar, van der Stap 1966 and Bromley 1972.

2. In this chapter forms not otherwise marked are written in the spelling under discussion at that point. Diagonals enclose phonemic spelling where that is specified, and square brackets enclose phonetic or semi-phonetic spelling where that is specified.

3. This use of *w* for [b] has also been observed in materials prepared at the Roman Catholic post at Jiwika in Mid Valley Dani. Both *w* (less frequently) and *b* (more frequently) are used for the allophone [b].

4. In the Yali language area, by contrast, *h* has been adopted for the [ɣ] allophone. There the initial allophone corresponding to aspirate /k/ in other languages of the family is frequently a voiceless fricative [x], and for both that initial allophone and the voiced medial [ɣ] the missions working in that area are writing *h*. The final stop allophone, corresponding to final /k/ in other languages of the family, is written *g*, and contrasts, as a backed velar, with the more fronted stop written *k*.

5. This discussion has not included the much more complex stop problem in Mid Valley Dani, where the implosives are added to the inventory, and where the phonetic values of both the aspirate stop series and the other main stop series shift markedly as one moves down the valley.

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7.2.3. VERNACULAR LITERACY: GENERAL REMARKS

Joice Franklin

7.2.3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is based upon the results of a literacy questionnaire sent to missions and agencies in Papua New Guinea.¹ The purpose of the questionnaire was to gain a clearer understanding of literacy in this country. However, because of the overall lack of response to the questionnaire, this chapter is limited and preliminary. The scope outlined here is restricted to the vernacular; therefore, national and church languages are excluded - except in the tables. Estimates of literates and degrees of motivation are given in columns in each table. This includes those literate or degrees of motivation in any language. It is unfortunate that some of the larger languages are not represented, e.g. Motu, but these languages are known to have a high rate of literacy due to early mission schools and later government schools.

An attempt has been made to include the few successful vernacular programmes, particularly those where the vernacular languages are currently taught in schools. Certain languages without questionnaire replies but with known literature are also listed (Healey 1974).

The chapter is divided into two sections: mainland provinces and island provinces, with the languages in each.² Each province (where responses to questionnaires were received) is summarised by a table which displays various columns of information. The work cited for each language is generally understood to represent the locality of the contributor, often for one of several dialects, and may or may not reflect the picture in other areas of the language. However, it is thought that an overall picture of the province is accurately represented. A dash (-) in the tables indicates lack of information. The estimates of speakers of the language and literates are only approximate.

The motivation column is symbolised with n (none), l (low), a (average), and h (high).³ Where there is a range in the motivation columns for older people and younger adults, e.g. l/a, the lower range represents the motivation of women.

The vernacular materials column is subdivided into primers and post-primer books. Symbolisation is: few (1-4 titles), some (5-9 titles), and much (over 10 titles). Books are all non-religious in content, but a further footnote indicates those languages which also have religious reading materials.

Vernacular literacy programmes are symbolised as: pa (past), pr (present), and fu (future). A further notation (C) indicates a literacy campaign where there is an enlarged programme of literacy classes covering a wide area of the language group.

A summary of the chapter is shown in Table 1. The number of languages in each province which have primers, other books, and literacy classes is indicated as well as percentage of literates.

A list of contributors is included in Appendix A. Appendix B is a sample of the first four pages of the questionnaire upon which the bulk of this chapter is based. Some contributors also completed a second part to the questionnaire which gave more detailed information.

TABLE 1
Summary of Tables 2-16

Province	Total Population	languages reported	Population Reported	% of literates	Motivation			Vern. Books		vernacular classes
					old	adult	7-17	primers	other	
Central	110,200	3	16,700	-	1	a	h	2	2	3
Chimbu	162,000	5	125,000	12-13	1	1	a	5	4	5
Eastern Highlands	238,400	17	198,680- 204,680	8-10	1	a	h	17	17	17
East Sepik	134,400	15	123,959	12-20	1	a	h	8	7	11
West Sepik	94,900	9	24,850	7	1	a	a	5	3	9
Enga	169,200	1	140,000	11	1	a	h	1	1	1
Gulf	50,900	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Madang	145,200	5	26,700- 27,500	6	1	a	a	2	1	4
Milne Bay	112,200	6	25,700	20	a	a	h	4	4	6
Morobe	239,500	23	144,600	40	1	a	a	10	14	17
Northern	63,600	8	53,500	25	a	a	a	3	5	8
Southern Highlands	173,800	5	133,000- 135,000	7-8	1	a	a	5	5	5
Western Highlands	196,500	7	107-500- 114,500	10	1	1	a	6	4	6
Bougainville	72,900	6	46,400	41	1	a	1	4	4	5
East New Britain	90,700	1	5,000	-	1	a	h	0	0	1
West New Britain	47,700	2	12,000	68	a	a	a	0	1	2
Manus	19,900	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Ireland	51,800	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2,173,800	113	1,183,589- 1,199,389	-	1	a	a	72	72	100

7.2.3.2. MAINLAND LANGUAGES

7.2.3.2.1. CENTRAL PROVINCE

TABLE 2

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adults	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Kunimaipa ^a	10,000	-	1	a	a	yes	much ^c	pa,pr,fu
Magi	4,700	-	a	h	h	no ^b	none	fu
Mtn Koiari	4,000	1,000	n/l	l/a	h	yes	few ^c	pr,fu
3	16,700	- ^d	1	a	h	2	2	3
^a Also in Morobe Province but totals noted here.								
^b Orthography prepared.								
^c Religious materials also.								
^d Inadequate information supplied.								

Other languages and population in this province with vernacular literature are (Healey 1974): Fuyuge 13,000; Gabadi (Kabadi) 1,500; Keapara (Hula) 16,400; Kuni 2,000; Mekeo 7,000; Motu 13,000; Roro 7,600; Sinagoro 12,000; Tauade 11,000.

In the Kunimaipa area, literacy classes were first begun in 1968 and have continued on a small scale. The programme is in the beginning stages of training national instructors with plans for an expanded programme in the near future.

The Mountain Koiari people are mostly literate in English as a result of schools beginning as early as about 1925, but more widespread since World War II. Though literate in English, the people are enthusiastic about materials in the vernacular.

7.2.3.2.2. CHIMBU PROVINCE

TABLE 3

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adults	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Chuave	20,000	3,000- 4,000	n/l	1/a	a	yes	none	fu
Dadibi	5,000	200	n/l	1/a	a	yes	some ^a	pa,fu
Golin	25,000	1,500- 2,000	1	a	h	yes	few ^a	pa,fu
Kuman	69,000	10,000	n/l	1/a	a	yes	none ^a	pa
Salt-Yui	6,000	500	1	1	1	yes	much ^a	pa,pr,fu(C)
5	125,000	15,200- 16,700	1	1	a	5	3	5
^a Religious materials also.								

Two other languages are known to have some literature: Dom 17,000 and Sinasina 18,000.

The first school in the Kuman area was established about 1936. There is some vernacular work in the area but the materials are mainly religious and used principally in local churches.

The Golin people have had some opportunity to attend literacy classes since 1964 but lack of motivation has been a hindrance. Encouragement from the Department of Education would be helpful. Often those who are literate in the vernacular and New Guinea Pidgin are not given recognition when seeking employment; such recognition would be a stimulus to literacy classes.

Test classes of vernacular materials have been held in the Salt-Yui area for several years. Plans included a literacy campaign for 1975.

7.2.3.2.3. EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

TABLE 4

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adults	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Agarabi	12,000	2,000- 4,000	1/a	1/a	a/h	yes	few ^a	pa, fu
Auyaana-Kosena	6,500	200	1/a	a/h	h	yes	much ^a	pa, fu
Awa	1,500	125	n	l	a	yes	some ^a	pa, fu
Baruya	4,500	200	l	1/a	a	yes	much ^a	pa, fu
Bena-bena	20,000	1,000	n/l	1/a	a	yes	much ^a	pr(C)
Binumarien	180	60	h	h	h	yes	some ^a	pa, fu
Fore	14,500	2,000	n/l	1/a	h	yes	some ^a	pa(C)
Gadsup	8,000- 9,000	500- 800	l	h	a	yes	some ^a	pa(C), fu
Gahuku	7,000	1,500	a	h	h	yes	much ^a	pr(C)
Gimi	10,000	600	1/a	a/h	h	yes	much ^a	pa, pr, fu(C)
Kamano-Kafe	47,000	4,700	1/a	a	h	yes	much ^a	pa, pr, fu
Kanite-Ke'yagana	15,000	1,300	n	a	h	yes	much ^a	pa(C), fu
Siane ^b	20,000	200	h ^c /a	a/h	h	yes	few ^a	pa, fu
Tairora	8,000	500- 600	n/l	1/a	h	yes	much ^a	pa, pr, fu
Upper Asaro	10,000	500	l	1/a	a	yes	few ^a	fu
Usarufa	1,500	150	-	-	-	yes	few ^a	pa, fu
Yagaria	13,000- 18,000	1,000- 3,000	1/a	a	a/h	yes	much ^a	pa, pr, fu
17	198,680- 204,680	16,535- 20,935	1	a	h	17	17	17
^a Religious also.								
^b One dialect also in Chimbu Province.								
^c Women.								

In addition, there is at least one other language, Yabiyufa (Yamiyufa) 5,500, with some materials in the vernacular.

In the Gahuku and Bena-bena languages, a literacy campaign has been in progress since 1971. Instructors were trained in a training course and local supervisors direct the village classes. Village libraries and reading classes encourage new literates. Literacy courses begin twice yearly. The primary hindrance to the programme is a general lack of adequate wages for local instructors, although they are paid by the

Local Government Council (LGC). The programme could also be enhanced by more LGC encouragement to the village people.

Individual Kamano-Kafe literacy classes were first begun in 1965, but only recently has interest spread. Vernacular is also taught in two schools. An experiment in vernacular cassette literacy is being tested in five classes led by a local instructor. The cassette materials are used in conjunction with a primer. A literacy team supervises colportage of literacy materials in outlying areas. The programme is hampered by a lack of finance. In particular, this creates difficulty in enrolling and keeping instructors.

A Kanite-Ke'yagana literacy campaign was held from 1969 to 1972, enrolling some 1,400 people. Follow-up includes village libraries and periodic reading classes. Funds for the initial campaign were given by the LGC but when this help ceased, the programme was financed from private funds. Instructors were trained in a one-month course and then once fortnightly for additional one-day in-service training.⁵ The first government school in the area was established in 1972.

From 1969 to 1971, a literacy campaign was conducted in the Fore area and at least 600 students were enrolled. Ten Fore-speaking instructors taught the classes and finance was provided by the LGC.

Other language areas expecting to begin fuller literacy programmes soon are: Gadsup, Gimi, Awa, and Siane.

Yagaría vernacular classes have been organised by women's groups within the Lutheran Church and are therefore mainly attended by women. Other Yagaría vernacular classes organised by New Tribes Mission graduated 325 students from 1972 to 1974.

7.2.3.2.4. EAST SEPIK PROVINCE

TABLE 5

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adults	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Abulas (Maprik)	39,290	500	1/h	a/h	a	yes	some ^a	pa,fu(C)
Alamblak	1,100	30	1	a	h	no	few ^a	fu
Ama	390	5	-	-	-	no ^b	none	fu
Banaro (Weo)	2,500	250	a	h	h	no	none	
Boiken	30,528	6,000- 15,000	n	1/a	a/h	yes ^c	none ^{a,c}	pa,pr,fu
Kwanga (Gawanga)	5,000	2,500	n	1	h	no	none ^a	
Iatmul	11,000	2,000	1	a	a/h	yes	few ^a	pa,fu
Manambu	1,500	450	1	a	a	yes	some ^a	pa
May River Iwam	2,500	20	-	-	-	yes	none	fu
Mtn Arapesh	5,000	300	a	h	h	no	few ^a	pa,fu
Muhliang	10,646	1,000	1	1/a	a	no	none	
Sawos ^d	9,005	-	n	1	h	no	none	
Sepik Iwam	1,600	30	1	h	h	yes	none ^a	pa,pr,fu
Washkuk	3,000	500	a	h	h	yes	some ^a	pa,pr,fu
Yessan-Mayo	900	75	n	a	h	yes	some ^a	pa,pr,fu
15	123,959	13,660- 22,660	1	a	h	8	7	11
^a Religious also.								
^b Orthography prepared.								
^c Yangoru dialect only.								
^d Reported as the language 'Tolembe1' but probably Sawos (Laycock 1973).								

There are three other small languages with a little literature.

The main problem in this province is the lack of interest in vernacular literacy. Motivation is higher for literacy in Pidgin. A notable exception is Sepik Iwam where there is presently a great interest in vernacular classes. Elsewhere some experimentation has been done with introducing the reading skill through Pidgin and then transferring to vernacular.

However, in the Yangoru area of the Boiken language, there has been a good response to vernacular literacy in schools.

Materials are being tested and teachers will soon be trained for a literacy campaign in the Abulas language.

Previous literacy efforts amongst the Washkuk have developed into a programme at Ambunti called the Ambunti Akademi. The Akademi is intended for children and teaches vernacular literacy as well as Pidgin and English. This course runs for 30 weeks per year and is taught by nationals but supervised by expatriates. From 1971 to 1974 enrolments totalled nearly 400. Plans for the future incorporating literacy include expansion into vocational training as well as a programme for school leavers.

7.2.3.2.5. WEST SEPIK PROVINCE

TABLE 6

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adults	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Amanab	3,100	250	1	a	a	no	none	fu
Anggor (Senagi, Bibriari, Watapor)	1,250	35	n/1	1/a	a	yes	few ^a	pa,pr,fu
Au	4,000	200	1/a	a	h	yes	few ^a	pr, fu
Mianmin	1,500	150	1	a/h	h	yes	few	fu
Oksapmin	4,000	-	-	-	-	yes	none	fu
Telefol	4,000	400	1	1/a	h	yes	none ^a	pr, fu
Tifal-Atbal	2,800	25	-	-	-	no	none ^a	fu
Waris	3,000	500	n	n/1	a	no ^b	none	fu
Yuri	1,200	-	-	-	-	no ^b	none	fu
9	24,850	1,560	1	a	a	5	3	9
^a Religious also.								
^b Orthography in preparation.								

Other languages known to have materials are Abau 4,000 and Olo 10,800.

The first vernacular literacy classes in Telefol village areas were begun in 1968 and from 1968 to 1974 approximately 400 students were enrolled. Instructors are vernacular-speakers. The programme has been hampered by lack of motivation as well as suitable places for classes. LGC support is needed for encouragement to the people.

7.2.3.2.6. ENGA PROVINCE

TABLE 7

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adults	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Enga	140,000	15,000	n/1	1/a	a/h	yes	much ^a	pa ^b , pr ^b , fu ^b
1	140,000	15,000	1	a	h	1	1	1
^a Religious also.								
^b Lutheran sponsored.								

In addition, the Ipiili language with 5,500 speakers is known to have literature.

There have been literacy classes in the vernacular in Enga since 1964 but the programme has unfortunately included numerous false starts. Apparently this is due to staff shortages and the low priority given to literacy by the church leaders.

7.2.3.2.7. GULF PROVINCE

The following languages are known to have at least some literature: Kerewo 1,600; Namau (Koriki) 6,100; Orokolo 11,000; and Toaripi (Keuru-Aheave) 10,000.

Non-religious literature in Orokolo and Toaripi is restricted to school primers. However, vernacular literacy seems to have become a part of the life and culture of both areas today. This is evidenced by extensive correspondence and the keeping of minutes for church and business meetings. In addition, notes regarding family and group exchanges are kept.⁶

7.2.3.2.8. MADANG PROVINCE

TABLE 8

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adult	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Karam (Kalam)	14,000	50	1	1/a	a	yes	few ^a	pa, fu
Kobon	3,500	20	a	a	h	no ^b	none	fu
Rawa	6,300	200	1/a	a	a	yes	none	fu
Siroi	600- 700	350- 400	1/a	a	a	no	none ^a	fu
Tangu (Tanggu)	2,300- 3,000	1,000	n	a	1	no	none	
5	26,700- 27,500	1,620- 1,670	1	a	a	2	1	4

^aReligious also.

^bOrthography prepared.

In addition the following languages are known to have literature: Amele 3,100; Garuh (Nobonob) 2,000; Bel (Gedaged) 2,200. At least two small languages also have some literature.

7.2.3.2.9. MILNE BAY PROVINCE

TABLE 9

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adult	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Daga ^a	5,300	500	n	l	l	yes	some ^b	pa(c)
Dobu	7,700	- ^c	h	h	h	yes	some ^b	fu
Iamalele	2,500	1,000	l	a	h	no	few	fu
Iduna	4,900	-	-	-	-	yes	few ^b	pa, fu
Muyuw (Murua)	3,000	500	a/h	h	h	yes	few ^b	pa(c)
Rossel (Yeletnye)	2,300	600- 750	h	h	h	no ^d	none	fu
6	25,700	2,600- 2,750	a	a	h	4	5	6

^aSome population also in Central Province but totals noted here.

^bReligious also.

^c80-90% school-age or over are literate.

Other languages known to have literature are: Are (Mukawa) 1,200; Boanaki (Galavi) 1,700; Bwaidoga 5,400; Duau 7,100; Kilivila (Kiriwina) 14,000; Misima 7,200; Nimowa (Nimoa) 1,100; Suau 6,500; Sud-Est 1,700; Tawara (Tavara, Keherara, Basilaki) 7,900; Tubetube 1,300; Wedau 2,200.

The Dobu language area has had the advantage of vernacular schooling since 1892 by mission schools. In recent years however, English has been emphasised. Now vernacular classes with new primers and materials are being used in schools. Vernacular is used extensively in church and mission activities and LGC business. Missions have training courses in vernacular for their workers and write their own teaching materials for their church programmes.

An on-going literacy programme in the Muyuw area is being taught in Community schools and villages by pastors or Muyuw-speakers. The village classes are hampered by lack of finance.

In 1967 the LGC sponsored a vernacular literacy campaign in Daga but the promised salary increases for instructors were later withdrawn. This caused instructors to lose incentive and consequently the people themselves voted to discontinue classes.

7.2.3.2.10. MOROBE PROVINCE

TABLE 10

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adult	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Ampeeli (Wojokeso)	1,000	100	n/l	n/l	a	yes	much ^a	pa, fu
Atzera (Azera, Acira)	14,000	-	-	-	-	yes	much ^a	pa(C)
Biangai	1,100	300	1	a	h	yes	some ^a	pa, fu
Buang	6,000	3,000	1	1/a	1	yes	some ^a	pa(C)
Guhu-Samane (Mid-Waria)	4,500	2,500	a	h	1	yes	much ^a	pa(C), pr, fu
Kaiwa	1,500	-	-	-	-	no ^b	none	
Kapau ^c (Hamtai)	32,000	3,000	n/l	1	a	no	none ^a	
Komba	12,000	5,000-6,000	n/a	a	a	no	none ^a	
Kovai (Kowai)	4,000	3,000	-	- ^d	- ^d	no	none	
Langimar (Angaata'a)	1,000	25	n	a	a	no	none	fu
Manga Buang	2,500	800	-	-	-	no	none ^a	fu
Menye	13,000	-	n/l	n/l	n	no ^b	none	fu
Nabak	12,000	4,000	1	a	a	no	some ^a	
Ono	4,100	1,800	1/a	1/h	h	no ^b	none ^a	fu
Patep	1,200	600	n/l	- ^d	- ^d	no	none	fu
Selepet	6,300	5,000	h	h	h	no	few	pa, fu
Suena	2,000	800	1	1	a	yes	few ^a	pa
Timbe	11,400	-	-	-	-	no ^b	none	fu
Uri	2,500	800	1	a	a	no	few ^a	pr, fu
Waffa	1,000	200	a	h	h	yes	few ^a	pa, fu
Wantoot	5,000	-	-	-	-	yes	few ^a	pa
Werl	3,500	2,000	a	h	h	yes	some ^a	fu
Yabem (Jabem, Jabim, Yabim)	3,000	2,500	- ^d	- ^d	h	yes	some ^a	
23	144,600	35,425-36,425	1	a	a	10	13	17

^aReligious also.^bOrthography in preparation.^cAlso in Gulf Province but total noted here.^dHigh percentage are literate.

Other languages in this province with known literature are: Binandere 3,000; Maisin 1,800; and Ubir 1,000.

The Anglican Mission at Popondetta is establishing a Christian Training Centre and plans to teach vernacular literacy.

Reports from the Korafe area show that between the ages of 10 and 30 most people are literate in English and a high percentage of men between the ages of 30 and 50 are also literate in English. Vernacular primers are being prepared. These will be used with children before entering school. It is hoped the primers will also be suitable for women.

In the Managalasi area, literacy efforts have been under way for some time and in 1974 a literacy team supervised classes taught by nationals in six villages. 140 villagers were enrolled. Libraries have been established in these villages.

7.2.3.2.12. SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

TABLE 12

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adult	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Angal Heneng	55,000	3,800	1	1/a	a	yes	few ^a	pa,pr,fu
Duna	20,000	1,000	1	a	a/h	yes	some ^a	(C)
Fasu	1,000	225	1/a	a/h	h	yes	some ^a	pa,pr(C),fu
Kewa	41,000	4,000	1	a	a	yes	some ^a	pa,pr
Wiru	16,000- 18,000	1,000- 2,000	-	-	-	yes	some ^a	pa(C),fu
5	133,000- 135,000	10,025- 11,025	1	a	a	5	5	5
^a Religious also.								

The Angal Heneng language can be broken down into the following dialects: Mendi 10,000; Nipa 25,000; and Nembi 20,000. In the Mendi and Nipa areas the United Church began a vernacular literacy effort in 1974. Most of the literates noted are in the Nipa dialect. There are more materials available in the Nipa dialect than the Mendi and no materials in the Nembi. The Apostolic Christian Mission has had a continuing programme for almost ten years in vernacular literacy. From 1971 to 1974 an average of 150 students have been enrolled in literacy classes annually. Future plans of the mission include improved teacher-training methods, more printed materials and establishment of libraries

One other language, Medlpa (Hagen) 75,000, is known to have literature.

The Kyaka Enga New Testament published in 1973 has evoked a widespread reading interest. Previous vernacular classes were held spasmodically. Classes are now held in most churches conducted by Kyaka-speaking pastors supervised by trained nationals. There were approximately 40 village classes in 1974 meeting two hours daily, three days weekly. There is a need for more suitable materials and more finance for instructors.

In the Kuma area, vernacular classes for men and women and also children in schools have been conducted by the Swiss Mission for several years. These classes are held at the main station and also in villages. There is a need for more suitable materials and more trained instructors and supervisors.

7.2.3.3. ISLANDS

7.2.3.3.1. BOUGAINVILLE PROVINCE

TABLE 14

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adult	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Buin	10,000	5,000	-	-	-	yes	few ^a	pa
Halia	12,000	5,500	1	- ^b	- ^b	yes	few ^a	pa, fu
Nagovisi	5,500	-	-	-	-	no	none	
Nasioi	13,000	6,500	1/a	a	1	yes	few ^a	pa, pr
Rotokas	4,200	1,000	1/a	a	a	yes	some ^a	fu
Timputz	1,700	850	1/a	a/n	n	no ^b	none ^a	fu
6	46,400	18,850	1	a	1	4	4	5
^a Religious also.								
^b Orthography prepared.								

Other languages with known literature are: Eivo 1,300; Hahon 1,000; Kunua 1,500; Petats 1,600; Siwai 7,000; Solos 2,700; and Teop 3,700 plus three other small languages.

In Halia the first vernacular books were printed in 1968 and have a wide distribution. The first schools in the area were begun in the early part of this century. The Halia Welfare Society is building a primary school and plans to teach vernacular literacy; elsewhere only English is used in schools.

Plans for the Buin, Rotokas, Timputz, and Nasioi include national writers preparing post-primer reading materials. Literate Buin-speakers have expressed keen interest in more literature about their local customs and culture and a dictionary. All literature prepared in the Buin language has sold well throughout the area.

7.2.3.3.2. EAST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE

TABLE 15

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adult	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Kakat	5,000	200	1	a	h	no ^a	none	fu
1	5,000	200	1	a	h	0	0	1
^a Orthography prepared.								

There is also some known literature in the following languages: Duke of York 5,300; Kol 1,900; and Mengen (Poeng, Orford, Longeinga) 6,000. The largest language in this province, Kuanua (Tolai), has 64,000 speakers. There is literature in Kuanua and a high percentage of literates. Vernacular is being taught in some schools with primers prepared in 1972 by Tolai members of the Department of Education.

7.2.3.3.3. WEST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE

TABLE 16

Language	Approx. Speakers	Approx. Literates	MOTIVATION			VERN. BOOKS		Vern. Classes
			Old	Adult	7-17	Prim.	Other	
Nakanai	8,000	5,600	1/a	a	a	no	few	fu
Maleu	4,000	2,500	1/h	a	a	no ^a	none	fu
2	12,000	8,100	a	a	a	0	1	2
^a Orthography in preparation.								

Two other languages are known to have literature: Aigong-Bao 1,000 and Meramera 1,000.

A Nakanai writers' course was held in 1973 to train national writers and the materials written in this course are now being published.

7.2.3.3.4. MANUS PROVINCE

One language, Sabon-Bowat 1,400 is reported to have literature. From 1914 to 1940 German missionaries learnt various vernaculars and wrote religious materials in them. Some of this material is being revised and used today but not in organised classes. Otherwise little information concerning vernacular literacy has been reported. Most young adults can read and write, but there is little literacy motivation amongst un-schooled and older people.

7.2.3.3.5. NEW IRELAND PROVINCE

Languages with reported literature are: Kaira-Mussau 3,700; Kara 2,300; Lavatbura-Lamusong 1,300; Lavongai 9,400; Lihir 4,800; Malik 2,600; Patpatar 4,700; Siar 1,700; Tangga 5,000; and Tigak 4,100.

7.2.3.4. CONCLUSION

Though there are many literates in Papua New Guinea, a vast number of people living mainly in the rural areas remain illiterate. In the past little has been done for these people. However, in recent years there has been a growing interest amongst missions and other agencies to provide vernacular literacy classes in villages and schools. Low motivation is a hindrance in many areas but provision of more cultural materials may be an incentive to learn to read and write. Where there is religious fervour, there is generally an increased interest in literacy.

Acknowledgement should be given to the many mission and government schools which have produced the majority of literates in this country. Though literate, however, many Papua New Guineans do not read their own language - even where materials are available. The questionnaire shows conclusively that throughout Papua New Guinea the language preference in the village homes, market, village 'court', and often church and sports is the vernacular. Despite this preference, national and church languages can and have served as vehicles for teaching literacy, although their cultural usage in villages is obviously restricted.

The organisation and supervision of literacy programmes throughout this country is a major problem. Help, both with finance and encouragement, is needed from area authorities, community groups, and Local Government Councils. Schools can also help by allowing vernacular classes where vernacular instructors and materials are available.

An experienced literacy worker notes that literacy materials should be written by nationals and, ideally, also produced by them (Gudschinsky

1973). The training of national writers is a major concern for many areas of Papua New Guinea today. Local customs and culture, Scripture, and books which facilitate transfer from the vernacular to a second language are the most popular literature for many parts of this country.

Because of the multiplicity of languages and the reported paucity of suitable materials, the task of vernacular literacy has been thought to be insurmountable in Papua New Guinea. However, this chapter has sought to show that there is a quantity of materials already available as well as more than ever before being prepared. Opportunity now exists for action in at least two ways: first, to insist upon the use of vernacular instruction in schools where materials are available, and secondly, to implement the Eight Point Plan (a plan initiated by the Somare Government for the purpose of more national involvement in all phases of the country's economy) by encouraging village and community education in the vernacular. Since '... a person can only learn to read in a language he understands' (Gudschinsky 1973:6), it follows that the opportunity to learn to read the vernacular will promote better communication in Papua New Guinea.

7.2.3. VERNACULAR LITERACY: GENERAL REMARKS

N O T E S

1. The questionnaire was compiled jointly by Graeme Kemelfield of the Education Research Unit of the University of Papua New Guinea, and Alan Healey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. It was sent by the Research Unit to missions and agencies engaged in literacy work in Papua New Guinea.
2. One province (Western) and part of another (Southern Highlands) are not covered here but are reported upon separately by J. Rule in chapter 7.2.4. in this volume. Part of the listed Central Province now includes the new (post independence) National Capital District.
3. Judgements on factors such as motivation are recognised as impressionistic. As mentioned, the ranges of motivation given apply to literacy in any language, not just the vernacular. A further complication is that coastal areas in particular already have a high rate of literacy making the motivation question difficult to assess.
4. My appreciation to the unseen, unknown helpers who took time from busy programmes to send in the literacy questionnaires. I am especially indebted to my own Summer Institute of Linguistics colleagues, who form the largest percentage of the contributing list, for their encouraging response to yet another questionnaire.
5. For a more detailed account of this programme see S.G. Harris (1971).
6. Information from Rev. H. Brown, United Church.

J. FRANKLIN

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7.2.3. VERNACULAR LITERACY: GENERAL REMARKS

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire Respondents

CENTRAL PROVINCE

Pastor Dia Taeva, United Church (Magi)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Roger Garland (Mountain Koiari),
Elaine Geary (Kunimaipa).

CHIMBU PROVINCE

Fr N. Beutener, Catholic Mission (Kuman)
Fr John Nilles, Catholic Mission (Kuman)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Gordon Bunn (Golin), Barry Irwin (Salt-Yui), George MacDonald (Dadibi), Robert Thurman (Chuave).

EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

Margarethe Burgin, Swiss Evangelical Brethren Mission (Gadsup)
Rev. E.L. Dams, Anglican Church (Siane)
Peter Mattman, Swiss Evangelical Brethren Mission (Agarabi)
Guenther L. Renck, Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (Yagaria)
Ulrich Spycher, Swiss Evangelical Brethren Mission (Tairora)
R. Trigg, New Tribes Mission (Yagaria)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Vida Chenoweth (Usarufa), Ellis Deibler (Gahuku), Dorothy Drew and Audrey Payne (Kamano-Kafe), Chester Frantz (Gadsup), Jean Goddard (Agarabi), Dorothy James (Siane), Richard Lloyd (Baruya), Richard Loving (Awa), Doreen Marks (Auyaana-Kosena), Sam McBride (Gimi), Joy McCarthy (Kanite-Ke'yagana), Graham Scott (Fore), David Strange (Asaro), Alex Vincent (Tairora), Robert Young and Maurice Grace (Bena-bena).

EAST SEPIK PROVINCE

Rodney Feldhahn, Churches of Christ (Weo)
Rev. Francis Mihalic, Catholic Mission (Boiken)

Fr Ferd. Mitterbauer, Catholic Mission (Sawos)
Rev. Theo. Neumann, Catholic Mission (Kwanga)
W. Gordon Summerson, South Seas Evangelical Church (Muhiang)
Fritz Urschitz, South Seas Evangelical Church (Abulas-W. Wosera dialect)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Sören Årsjö (Ama), Les Bruce (Alamblak),
Bob Conrad (Mountain Arapesh and May River), Robin Farnsworth (Manambu),
Velma Foreman (Yessan-Mayo), Allen Freudenburg (Boiken), Orneal Kooyers
(Washkuk), Marilyn Laszlo (Sepik Iwam), Philip Staalsen (Iatmul),
Patricia Wilson (Abulas).

WEST SEPIK PROVINCE

Lindsay Smith, Baptist Mission (Telefol)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Al Boush (Tifal-Atbal), Robert Brown
(Waris), Glenn Graham (Amanab), Thea Lake and Veda Rigden (Yuri),
Marshall Lawrence (Oksapmin), Robert Litteral (Anggor), David Scorza
(Au), Jean Smith and Pam Weston (Mianmin).

ENGA PROVINCE

Gerard Bus, Catholic Mission (Enga)
Robert Meyer.

MADANG PROVINCE

William Houghton, Anglican Mission (Kalam)
Barry M. Nobbs, Catholic Mission (Tangu)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: John Davies (Kobon), Margaret Mathieson
and Margaret Wells (Siroi), Lyle Scholz (Kalam), Donald Toland (Rawa).

MILNE BAY PROVINCE

Summer Institute of Linguistics: John Beaumont (Iamalele), James
Henderson (Rossel), Joyce Hockett and Ramona Lucht (Iduna), David
Lithgow (Muyuw and Dobu), John Murane (Daga).

MOROBE PROVINCE

Michael Baer, Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (Yabem)
Hans Fink, Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (Kapau)
Fr Gerard Hafmans, Catholic Mission (Kovai)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Maurice Boxwell (Werl), Larry Cates
(Atzera), Len Chipping (Menye), Ian Davidson (Kaiwa), Don Davis (Wantoot),
Ray Dubert (Biangai), Edmund Fabian (Nabak), Mick Foster (Timbe), Roma
Hardwick and Joan Healey (Manga Buang), Bruce Hooley (Buang), Joyce
Hotz and Mary Stringer (Waffa), Ronald Huisman (Langimar), Linda Lauck

and Karen Adams (Patep), Ken McElhanon (Selepet), Tom Phinnemore (Ono), Ernest Richert (Guhu-Samane), Neville Southwell (Komba), Tom Webb (Uri), Dottie and Edith West (Ampeeli), Darryl Wilson (Suená).

NORTHERN PROVINCE

Summer Institute of Linguistics: John Austing (Omie), James Farr (Korafe), Bud Larsen (Orokaiva), Mike Olson (Barai), Carl Brown (Managalasi), Douglas Parrington (Notu), David Wakefield (Miniafia), Harry Weimer (Yaréba).

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

Glenda Giles, Christian Missions in Many Lands (Duna)
Fr Senan Glass, Catholic Mission (Angal Heneng-Mendi)
Margaret Reeson, United Church (Angal Heneng-Mendi, Nipa)
Victor Schlatter, Apostolic Christian Mission (Angal Heneng-Nipa)
Ruth Tipton, Christian Union Mission (Angal Heneng-Nembi)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Graham Collier (Wiru), Karl Franklin (Kewa), Eunice Loeweke (Fasu).

WESTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

Bruce Blowers, Church of the Nazarene (Kuma)
E.E. Jungen, Swiss Evangelical Brethren Mission (Kuma)
Don O'Connor, Catholic Mission (Tembagla)
Robin V. Thomson, Baptist Mission (Kyaka Enga)
Summer Institute of Linguistics: Joan Hainsworth (Narak), Robert Head (Kaugel), Al Stucky (Ek Nii), Lance Woodward (Maring).

BOUGAINVILLE PROVINCE

Summer Institute of Linguistics: Jerry Allen (Halia), Irwin Firchow (Rotokas), Margie Griffin (Buin), Roman Hostetler (Timputz), Bruce Hunt (Nagovisi), Conrad Hurd and Margaret Vaughan (Nasioi).

EAST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE

Summer Institute of Linguistics: James Parker (Kakat).

WEST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE

Summer Institute of Linguistics: Graham Haywood (Maleu), Raymond Johnston (Nakanai).

MANUS PROVINCE

Sister Theodore Lee, Catholic Mission.

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY SURVEY -- GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS

- (a) Please answer a separate questionnaire for each language group if at all possible and especially in rural areas. This is not necessary in towns: one questionnaire will be adequate there.
- (b) Please attempt to answer all questions.
- (c) To answer the questions marked with an asterisk, enlist the help of a perceptive middle-aged family man who lives in a typical village.

- A1. Your name Date
- A2. Your address
- A3. Your institution/mission/government department
- A4. Name of the language or language group you work/worked amongst

- A5. Government name and spelling
- A6. Alternative names
- A7. Estimated total number of people who speak it as their first language
- A8. The language area is located in the part of the
 sub-district of the district.
- *B1. What languages are spoken by (some people of) this group in addition to their vernacular language (mother tongue)?
- a. area or church lingua franca
- b. neighbouring vernacular language
- C1. Estimated number of the vernacular speakers who can read and write (in some language)
- *C2. How strong is the desire to learn to read and write among various sections of the community in this language area? (CIRCLE one alternative along each line.)
- | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|------|---------|-----|------|
| Older men | 26 years and over: | high | average | low | none |
| Older women | 26 years and over: | high | average | low | none |
| Young men | 18-25 years: | high | average | low | none |
| Young women | 18-25 years: | high | average | low | none |
| Unschool
ed children
and teenagers | 7-17 years: | high | average | low | none |
- *C3. Which of the following reasons seem to be the main motivation that people have now for wanting to learn to read and write? (CIRCLE any number of reasons.)
- a. writing and receiving personal letters
- b. getting better jobs
- c. running small businesses
- d. prestige
- e. reading religious books (Scripture, hymns, etc.)
- f. reading news, notices, etc.
- g. getting into Local Government Councils or politics
- h. keeping records of exchanges
- i. keeping minutes of meetings
- j. keeping up with their children
- k. other (specify)

- *C4. If you have not recently done so, ask several well-informed people from various villages what are the main reasons that people have for not wanting to learn to read and write. (CIRCLE any number of reasons.)
- feel incapable
 - don't see any benefit to them personally
 - lack of time to attend classes
 - classes held at unsuitable times
 - classes only in vernacular, but people want them in a national language
 - classes only in a national language, but people want them in vernacular
 - lack of money to buy books
 - unwillingness to buy books
 - other (specify)
- D1. Is there an orthography (spelling system) in existence for the vernacular language?
- D2. Is there in existence a written description of the orthography (either a linguistic (phonemic) description of the sounds and symbols or a guide to pronunciation given in a dictionary or grammar)?
- D3. By whom was it written? When?
- D4. Where may a copy of this description be consulted?

- D5. In the vernacular orthography (spelling system) that you are familiar with, list the symbols that are used:
- single letters:
 - special letter combinations (like ae ng th) for single sounds:
 - special non-English symbols (like ŋ ʒ â é ü ä ð ɿ ') and a description of the sounds they represent:
- D6. List any symbols which have a pronunciation rather different from their use in English (or Pidgin or Hiri Motu).
- h is pronounced like Scots or German ch
 - b is pronounced like mb
 - r is flapped and sounds more like d than like an English r
 - c is a catch in the throat as in English Oh-oh!)
- *D7. How long and widely has this orthography been used by the speakers of the language?
- D8. If there were or are other orthographies for this vernacular, who sponsored and who used them?

E1. Are there primers (or other materials) in existence designed to teach people to read and write the vernacular?

*E2. What audience is the content of the primers suitable for? (CIRCLE one alternative.)

- a. 7-year old children
- b. adults
- c. both 7-year olds and adults

E3. What type and bulk of literacy materials exist in this vernacular language (including materials which are at present out of print)?

Type of materials	number of books	pages per book
PRE-PRIMERS and PRE-WRITING BOOKS (for teaching shape discrimination, eye movement, and hand movement)		
PRIMERS (for teaching alphabet symbols, syllables, words, and sentences at a controlled rate; for practising reading using graded stories; and for practising writing)		
POST-PRIMER READING MATERIALS (for developing reading fluency after the primer series is completed, using books with a variety of topics and difficulty)		
OTHER KINDS OF MATERIALS (describe)		

F1. Approximately when were literacy classes (as distinct from schools) begun within this language area?

F2. Who, or what body, organized these first classes?

F3. Give the name and address of any person or body that has recently been, is now, or intends to be involved in organizing literacy classes (as distinct from schools) in this language area, and indicate in which languages.

G1. Has your institution/mission/department conducted short-term literacy classes (as distinct from permanent schools) in recent years?
 When?
 Are they/you conducting literacy classes at present?
 If so, do they/you intend to continue conducting similar classes?
 If not, do they/you intend to start classes in the future?
 When?

G2. Estimated enrollments:

	<u>number of</u> <u>classes</u>	<u>total</u> <u>students</u>
1971		
1972		
1973		
1974		
1975		

H1. Have libraries been arranged in villages or other places (e.g. government station, schools etc.)? How many libraries?

H2. What else is being done to try to encourage literates to keep reading and writing? (CIRCLE any number of alternatives.)

- a. organized reading classes
- b. refresher course
- c. vocational training course
- d. writer's course
- e. other (specify)

H3. How often is such a class or course held, and what is its duration?

H4. What have you done to train, develop, encourage or assist nationals to write?

Z1. GENERAL COMMENTS:

Return this questionnaire to: Mr. Graeme J. Kemelfield
Education Research Unit
P.O. Box 4820
University, C.D.
Papua New Guinea

7.2.4. VERNACULAR LITERACY IN THE WESTERN AND LOWER SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCES: A CASE STUDY OF A MISSION'S INVOLVEMENT

Joan Rule

7.2.4.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

As early as 1876, Luigi d'Albertis, the flamboyant, egocentric Italian botanist, had explored right up into the headwaters of the mighty Fly River, but it was not till the turn of the century that the first government outpost in the Western Province (then called 'The Western Division') was established at Daru, on an off-shore island due south of what was known as Kiwai Island, just west of the Fly mouth. The London Missionary Society had commenced work there a little earlier. The language, Kiwai, was reduced to writing by Rev. Baxter Riley, literacy was pursued, and in the 1950s the New Testament was completed, and is currently used by the Kiwai. The London Missionary Society, now part of the group known as the United Church, also moved across into coastal areas of the Western Province, but according to information received from the Education Secretary of the United Church, Papua region, there is no specific vernacular literature currently being provided.

7.2.4.2. INITIAL PROCEDURES

As the Administration penetrated the 600 miles of the Fly River, establishing outposts and permitting missionary activity, the Unevangelised Fields Mission, now known as the Asia Pacific Christian Mission, moved in, and the story of vernacular literacy in the Western Province and Lower Southern Highlands Province has been largely the story of this Mission. As the Mission's stated policy from the outset, in addition to 'evangelisation and education of the national people', was 'the translation of the Holy Scriptures into their mother tongue' (U.F.M. n.d.:5), the analysis of the local language, and the promotion

of vernacular literacy were early priorities in each area. It was recognised that for any person, but especially for a linguistically isolated person, his language is the expression of himself, and the most effective communication is vernacular communication.

Men who by force of circumstances were continually at war and whose central interest in life was head-hunting were not the ideal subjects for a sedentary and seemingly tame pursuit like vernacular literacy. However, one by one, the areas were entered, and after the first months of settling in, the languages were studied and reduced to writing: Gogodala, along the Lower Fly River, and Aramia River (1935), and in the post-war years; Suki, 200 miles up the Fly River on the southern side (1946); Zimakani, near the junction of the Fly and Strickland Rivers and of the Lake Murray area to the north (1948); Aekyom, along the banks of the Ok Mart and extending to the Fly (1952); Yonggom in the Lower Ok Tedi area (1952). With the opening of the first Southern Highlands Administrative post at Lake Kutubu in 1949, the Mission moved in from the south (per seaplane) in 1950, and the local language, Foe, was recorded and the alphabet determined in 1951. As the neighbouring areas were opened up by the Administration, the Huli language of the Tari area to the north-west was given its alphabet (1953), and the Pole language of the Erave River to the south-east (a member of the Kewa group) in 1956. The Mission greatly benefited in that the Summer Institute of Linguistics had conducted its first summer school in Australia in 1950, and two of its students who became early associate staff members had joined the Mission as linguists, and were able to do the initial phonological and grammatical analysis of these three languages, to check the previously completed alphabets, and also to undertake the phonological analysis of the languages in all of the areas subsequently occupied, except for two where the work was being handled by other trained personnel. These various languages were the Sao (Sau) language of the Samberigi or Mt Murray area (1956); the Pa language of the trans-Strickland (1959); the Kaluli (Ologo) language of the Mt Bosavi area (1964); the Ningerum language on the Ok Tedi near the Irian Jaya border (a member of the Ok Family) (1967); the Bedamuni language of the Biami area (1969); and the Kuni language of the Lake Murray area (1970). The alphabets of the Ta:me and Dudi languages (both dialects of Tirio) on the south bank of the Lower Fly River, were checked in 1970. This completed the tally of the larger languages of the south-west area. Summer Institute of Linguistics teams analysed the phonology of the Fasu language south-west of Lake Kutubu in 1961, the Samo language north of the Biami area in 1971, and a team is currently working on the Polopa language of the area east of Samberigi.

Where various Mission groups or other agencies are at work in the one language area, failure to reach agreement on the orthography may mean considerable delay in the vernacular programme. However, in these tribes in the Western and Lower Southern Highlands Provinces, the Asia Pacific Christian Mission (A.P.C.M.) was the only group working on vernacular literacy, except for the large Huli tribe, where the Methodist Mission (now United Church), the Capuchin Order of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Seventh Day Adventist Mission were also working in the initial years of contact. In that situation the A.P.C.M. called a round-table conference in 1954, attended by representatives of all Missions, at which it submitted its alphabet and proposed orthography, and these were discussed and accepted by all groups. More recently, in 1970, in response to requests, a two-day seminar was held at the Tari Administration Centre, where lectures were given on the alphabet, orthography and basic grammatical features, for interested Mission and Administration personnel, by W.M. Rule of the A.P.C.M.

7.2.4.3. PRIMERS AND READERS - METHODS AND CONTENT

In the 1930s, along the Lower Fly, the first missionaries, L. Twyman, A. Drysdale and F. Briggs, who received supplies by coastal steamer from Port Moresby only irregularly and months apart, conducted their initial literacy classes with charts as they had neither duplicators nor any means of producing books. In the post-war years, as lines of communication improved and duplicators (and later printing-presses) became part of field equipment, both the Gogodala and the subsequently entered areas had first duplicated, and then printed, primers and readers. S. Horne and M. Teale produced Gogodala primers and readers in 1947-48, and in each of the other areas, the books were prepared within two or three years of the alphabet having been finalised. The syllable method of teaching reading was used in the first sets of primers in all the above-mentioned areas, except for Huli, where the literacy worker, E. Twyman, experimented with the sentence method, though even here some literacy teachers employed the syllable method, using the books as readers. Both these methods were replaced by a combination method when primers were revised in all areas, commencing with Gogodala and Foe in the mid-1960s, and including each language, the most recent being Aekyom (1972) and Pa and Huli (1973). At this time, pre-readers were also introduced, some on models prepared by J. Rule and V. Walton, some using the Department of Education pre-reader material. The newly-opened areas, of course, had no previous primers. N. Briggs at Bosavi put her first set of Kaluli primers and readers to use in 1971 and has found

them very successful. In the Biami area, entered in 1969, T. Hoey compiled primers in 1973, tested them in 1974, and is now using them in duplicated form. The Gogodala primers used the sentence method in stories with controlled vocabulary, plus separate complementary syllable drills, but the method followed in all the other areas has been to commence with key words of basic interest in the culture and, from these foci, (a) to build up into culturally relevant stories, and (b) to break down into syllable drill and recognition, so that new words are used and genuine reading commences as soon as possible. Manifestly the choice of words which contain both the phonemes of most frequent occurrence and also basic interest and usability in story material has been crucial. Since due to financial considerations, only one set of primers and readers has been possible in the areas, the criterion for choosing material has been that what is of interest to the adult male is also of interest to young people and to women, and for this reason, the hunting of pigs and cassowaries, the building of houses and canoes, adventurous, eventful trading trips, pig-feasts and singsings, visits by plane to large (comparatively!) centres, have featured largely in the story content, with gardening, fishing, treatment of sickness, and other relevant everyday activities also having a place. One trend in the construction of readers has been to utilise the ability of local literate men as writers. For example, in the Foe series, with four phonemes plus nasalisation and some glides still to be introduced, seven excellent hunting stories in the restricted vocabulary were written by Sesemena Kunugamena, who also wrote all the stories for the final reader with the illustrations being done by an indigenous artist, Malawa Toni.

7.2.4.4. STUDENTS

Because, in each tribal group, the Mission began its activities in the earliest days of outside contact, the potential students, who had strong motivation for such activities as hunting, gardening, fishing, trading, discussing and fighting, had no motivation except curiosity for learning to read and write. However, as the areas opened up, some of the men went out to work on the coast in towns and plantations, and as the languages were learned and the Christian message preached, some people became Christians. All the missionaries engaged in literacy work are unanimous that the two dominant motives for desiring literacy have been to maintain communication between those at work and those at home in the village, and to read God's Word for themselves in their own language. At Mt Bosavi, where a missionary couple first settled in 1969

and the first vernacular literacy class in the Kaluli language was conducted in 1971, Norma Briggs has written:

This class was successful if the flow of letters from the coast is any indication! About half of the class has gone to the coast To write an intelligent letter is the test in these parts ... no good going to the coast if you can't write home!

On the other hand, Ivy Lindsay from Suki in the Western Province, where the percentage of literates is very high, reports

Our greatest response came following a convention where there was a real movement of the Spirit of God. The people who came into spiritual blessing had the incentive. Scores of them became good readers.

Other motives have been noted in one or more areas. These are: prestige, the handling of one's own affairs or business, a stepping-stone to English or Pidgin, the acquisition of 'education and knowledge, when and where it is offering', and a 'new (i.e. added) interest in life' (both these latter from the populous energetic Huli tribe).

There are two areas, both in the Upper Fly, where the adult population has shown little interest in literacy, and the missionary in one of these (the Yonggom language group) has commented that local men returning home after graduating from Teachers' College have damaged the literacy cause by indicating that they consider the vernacular 'to be only rubbish at the best'. Fortunately such an attitude does not appear to have been noticeable, or to have had any significant effect, in the other areas, and the current official encouragement of the vernacular languages will no doubt effectively counter such attitudes.

Certainly it is true that among those of school age, the Department of Education, staffed by Australians and committed to English as the single medium of instruction in the schools, discouraged the teaching of the vernacular in the school syllabus from the early 1950s to 1972. During that time in most of the Mission areas, the literacy workers, convinced of the value of becoming literate first in the mother tongue, conducted vernacular literacy classes for all schoolchildren either for a year before they entered school (at 6-7 years), or concurrently with the school programme, by adding an extra 15 minutes to some part of the school day, so that while the children were acquiring oral English, they were learning to read and write their vernacular. Both methods were successful, and as a result, many hundreds of ex-schoolchildren including those who left school before or at Standard 6, who were not selected for High School, and who have dropped English, are fluent readers and writers of their own language. In 1972, when Mr Vincent Eri was the first Papua New Guinean Acting Director of Education, *Additions to the Primary School Syllabus* were published which required,

among other things, one hour per week to be given to native language and community activities, and since that time, vernacular literacy and creative writing in the vernacular have been pursued within the official school programme. Under the present National Coalition, the Department of Education has devoted attention to the running of pilot courses in selected schools whereby the children become literate in their own language first and subsequently in English. Those in the Mission who have been doing this in the local school for many years have found that it pays good dividends in terms of an appreciation of the mother tongue and the individual identity, the preservation of the language's oral literature by committing it to writing, and the encouragement of creative writing. There is also no doubt that progress in the metropolitan language, in this case English, is in no way hindered by the child's achieving literacy first of all in his own language.

It has been found in all the areas that the older people (40 years +, with the life expectancy at about 55) only achieve literacy when the mental alertness and motivation are really strong. Since in all the areas literacy is also being conducted among the children and young people, it follows that in the areas first entered (Gogodala in 1932, Suki in 1946) the overall literacy rate is much higher, as many of those now in the older age bracket became literate in their childhood or adolescence. The Gogodala overall estimate is 50%, Suki 60%. The areas entered in the late forties or the fifties, have overall estimates varying from 33% (Zimakani), 25% (Foe, Samberigi, Yonggom) down to 10% (Aekyom), 8% (Pole, Huli), 4% (Pa). (In the latter case, a small, scattered population in the remote trans-Strickland area illustrates the situation where lack of motivation, as well as absence of strategic teaching centres, militates against a rapid achievement of literacy.) These overall estimates, however, must not be allowed to mask the fact that in most of the areas, because of the vernacular literacy prior to, or concurrent with, the English programme, the majority of the children and young teenagers are literate in their own language. For example, in the Samberigi tribe of 2,200, 95% of 500 schoolchildren (recently graduated and current) are literate. These 475 children would in their turn represent some 70% of their age bracket. Thus total literacy (discounting the small group who cannot or will not learn) is certainly an attainable goal in these relatively small tribes within three or four decades, providing an adequate number of instructors can be provided for the expanding population. The inaccessibility of some of the population, as with the Aekyom where many live in rather difficult terrain up in the headwaters of the Fly and Mart Rivers, is in some cases a deterrent. In others, a number of different Missions with differing language

policies, as in the Huli tribe, may be a factor. Of the seven Missions at present working in the area, the Seventh Day Adventist Mission and a small group, the Sovereign Grace Baptist Mission, have aimed at introducing Pidgin, though this was not spoken by the people, as had the Roman Catholic Mission, which has in more recent years also evinced a growing interest in using the vernacular as well in promoting vernacular literacy. The remaining four Missions, the A.P.C.M., the United Church, the Christian Missions in Many Lands (C.M.M.L.), and the Wesleyan Mission, have all aimed at vernacular literacy from the outset, using the materials produced by the A.P.C.M. These had varying degrees of success, depending on continuity of staff (e.g. in the C.M.M.L. Koroba area since 1961, more than 25 European staff have come and gone), the use or non-use of syllable break-up drills which were needed to supplement the initial sentence-method primers, and the amount of training given to those conducting literacy in the outlying hamlets (often the pastors, who had had no teacher training). All these Missions are agreed that the new Huli primers and readers, prepared by Syd Gould of the A.P.C.M. in conjunction with a teacher-training programme, will ensure a much more rapid rise in the literacy rate.

7.2.4.5. INSTRUCTORS

The two most obvious trends in the field of instruction have been the indigenisation of the teaching programme, and the upgrading of the scope and content of the training course. A corollary of the second has been the improved status of the vernacular teaching role. The first full-scale training course for indigenous teacher trainees was conducted by Murray and Joan Rule at Lake Kutubu commencing in October 1965. The local language, Foe, was the medium of instruction, and the lectures were given in Principles of Teaching, Reading Method, Writing Method, Number Method, Teaching Aids and Class-room Techniques, with demonstration lessons and practice teaching a part of each day's programme. The trainees, eight in number, were all young men, some married, literate in their own language. One only had had several years of English school. After the first term of eight weeks, the trainees were sent out to their areas to commence literacy classes, and brought back in for a second term of four weeks in June 1966, and three short revision and refresher terms in November 1966, January and May 1967. Similar courses have subsequently been held in the Pole, Aekyom and Gogodala areas, and more will be held from time to time as needed. In 1973, a teacher-training course of four weeks was conducted by Jean May and Eunice Loeweke of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Fasu tribe, and graduates of this course are now teaching in their village centres.

A slightly different and highly interesting approach is being used by Syd Gould, the A.P.C.M. Literacy Supervisor in the Huli area. Faced with a very large tribe extending over a hundred miles of country, and very few roads, he first trained his literacy assistant, Olene Yawai, and then together they launched teacher-training courses in nine strategic centres covering the Mission areas of A.P.C.M., Christian Missions in Many Lands, Wesleyan Mission, and the United Church. To be accepted, the trainee needs to be able to read and write Huli. The course consists of three concentrated fortnightly sessions spaced a few months apart. During the intervals, the trainees practise on a small settled group what they have learned in the session. This allows the lecturers to move around the nine centres in turn. Increasingly, as he has shown he can handle it, the lecturing and demonstration have been handed over to Olene Yawai. At the end of 1973, allowing for a 10% drop-out, they estimated they had at least 100 teacher trainees practising. The first of these groups of teachers graduated in March 1974, and the remaining groups through to July, so that by the second half of 1974 some 3,000 pupils could be taught. Each of the communities has fed and lodged the lecturer, and provided the \$12.00 towards each fortnight's training course. The trainees, when they graduate, 'must pass a test on teaching principles, and also pass an inspection on actual teaching'. Since the project is Mission-sponsored, 'They must also be of good spiritual standing to the church'. Gould and Yawai ran a supervisors' training course for those who did well as teachers, and now have supervisors out in many areas. Yawai has gone on to theological training, and Dalewa Pipigi has succeeded him. In accordance with Gould's original vision, he is training three supervisors for C.M.M.L. and is planning a teachers' training course for the S.D.A. Mission for September 1977.

In all areas, the indigenous literacy teachers are paid by the hour at regulation rates, and almost all are part-time workers, teaching from four to 20 hours per week, and spending the rest of their time on their own gardens and other activities. The Mission Literacy Committee has found that over half its annual budget is being devoted to teachers' pay. It is conceded to be desirable that a class should contribute to its teacher's pay, but in so much of the Western and Southern Highlands Provinces there is little or no cash cropping, and thus very little income. The economic situation is slowly improving, but the income probably has to reach a certain level before people are willing to divert some of it from the acquisition of food and clothing and 'things', to the acquisition of skills.

7.2.4.6. CLASSES AND CAMPAIGNS

In none of the areas have campaigns of the 'crash-course' variety been held, except with small pilot groups to test out primers before printing. The regular class for so many days a week has always been the pattern. In the pre-war years, education was largely a branch of the activity of the Christian Missions, and consequently 'schools' were open to all comers. With the appointment of the first Director of Education in 1946, and the subsequent sorting out of the conditions under which a school would be 'recognised', syllabus, staff and pupils became subject to regulations, but in the earlier years, and up to the mid-1950s, missionaries in all the areas which had been entered up to that point were conducting schools for four or five mornings a week. These, which attracted a wide spread of ages, were basically vernacular literacy classes (reading and writing) with added instruction in numbers, geography and sometimes hygiene, in the Gogodala area oral English also being added. When regular schools were set up and 'school age' defined and regulated, separate classes were organised for adults. From areas where records have been kept or where one of the original missionaries is still on the field, it is clear that the growth pattern was that the missionaries themselves conducted regular literacy classes for a certain number of mornings (or afternoons) each week, organising a new intake each year. Then, from these groups, some with an aptitude for, and interest in, teaching joined in the teaching programme. Finally, as an organised training course was established, and numbers of teachers were trained, classes were able to be held simultaneously in a number of the village centres, and the missionary could turn to more advanced teaching. For example, in the Orokana area of the Foe tribe (the total population of the tribe is about 3,400), Hector Hicks over the years 1957-63 with the assistance each year of sometimes one, sometimes two colleagues, with a new intake each year, taught 690 teenage boys, young men and older men (mostly teenagers) with sometimes 70 in a class, of whom 85% became literate. In the following two years, three nationals came into the programme; the year after that the training course at Lake Kutubu was held, with these three young men being among the trainees. Currently, seven literacy classes are being held apart from the school programme.

At Samberigi (the total population of the tribe being 2,200) over the years 1958-66, Don Mosely had yearly intakes of school-age children and adults, with the class of adult men coming in three times a week, and ranging in numbers from 40 to 70. His wife also conducted literacy for girls and women. After this, the appointment of a full-time literacy supervisor enabled 100-150 adults to be taught daily in three classes,

plus vernacular literacy in the English school, and pastors to be trained to take on vernacular literacy in their village centres. Currently 15% of the population are being taught, which will bring the overall literacy rate up to 40%.

The records from the Huli area indicate that in the early years of literacy classes, the majority of learners were women, but the reason for this lies probably in the fact that the majority of the teachers were women (missionaries' wives). In the current programme, the indigenous trainees are all men.

In the Gogodala tribe (population 11,000), although the early classes were quite large, individual missionaries were limited in number and could only be in one place at one time. Since the training courses have been held within the last three years, there are currently (at the time of writing) 57 classes being conducted by 57 indigenous teachers with 800 learners, for 1½-2 hours per day three days a week. These are being supervised by two European and four indigenous supervisors. This is apart from whatever vernacular literacy is being given to those of school age in the English school programme.

In the Upper Fly area, e.g. in the Aekyom-speaking group, adults in the past were not in the main interested enough in literacy to come in to centres for classes, but the current programme includes (a) a series of 'literacy treks' whereby those in the inaccessible hill areas will be reached and (b) regular literacy classes held in 12 villages.

The budget of the Mission Literacy-Literature Committee, in addition to grants to areas for new literature, the printing or reprinting of primers, and teachers' pay, meets a proportion of the running costs of literacy classes such as teaching aids, duplicating paper, stencils, according to relative numbers being taught.

William Smalley, Translation Consultant with the American Bible Society, has suggested¹ that in developing areas, literacy should be established as a 'highly respectable adult male activity' so that it won't fail through being regarded as 'kid's stuff' or a woman's pursuit. While the adult male has certainly been in focus in most areas, it is interesting to note that in the first-entered areas, the young men of 25 years ago are the adult males of today and they haven't thrown away their interest in reading now they are adults because some of their fathers weren't interested in it as adults. Gould considers that 'trying to teach older folk is not a very economical use of manpower' when the latter is in short supply. It would seem that the answer lies in the current trend of more and better training courses for indigenous teachers so that literacy can be offered at the village level to adult groups and young people's groups as well.

While ever in these rural areas the people are subsistence farmers with a little cash cropping, the literacy class for a short period in the morning or afternoon for six to twelve months will remain the major method of achieving literacy among the adolescent and adult population. Among those of school age, the method will be four or five literacy periods a week in the school programme, plus or minus a pre-school year of morning classes in the vernacular.

7.2.4.7. MAINTAINING LITERACY

There is no doubt that a major factor in earlier years militating against acquiring 'the reading habit' was the dearth of sufficient simple and interesting material to read. Those who had to go straight from the final reader to a New Testament Gospel just did not have enough practice with easy material to build up confidence and fluency, and many of these, though they read with comprehension, have never built up reading speed, and read aloud to others very slowly. (The use of syllable method alone was also a factor in this.) The first move in the right direction was the acquisition by most of the areas in the late 1950s of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge's 'Gospel Picture Books'; eight books with pictures only, illustrating our Lord's life from birth to resurrection and ascension, and these were interleaved with a simple paraphrased version of the story depicted by the illustration. Some areas followed these with Old Testament stories, some with local stories or legends, and a number commenced local newspapers (duplicated) either regularly or as news warranted. Also in the 1960s, use was made of booklets with suitable pictures and English text for translation which were being made available by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the most widely used being *How the Jews Lived*, *The Story of Transport*, followed by *People of Papua New Guinea*, *Houses of the World*, *New Guinea's Neighbours* and several stories illustrating the value of hygiene and the prevention of sickness. With the setting up of the Mission Literacy and Literature Committee in 1969, this trend has been further encouraged, in the budget for each year at least one booklet of English script and pictures being made available in sets of 30 to each large centre. These are used with the various classes and the popularity gauged. Books that have sale value are produced in greater numbers and sold at cost, or at a price that the reader can afford to pay. Over the same period, a further encouraging trend has been the emergence of indigenous translators - Teachers' College graduates or senior High School students who are willing and able to take reasonably straightforward English texts and produce excellent translations.

The Literacy and Literature Committee has also explored other methods of providing booklets with reader appeal. Currently a consignment of the *Ladybird* book, *Stone Age Men in Britain* has been purchased, and is being distributed to the areas, and in this case the English text will be over-leaved with the vernacular, so that both text and translation will be available to those who also know English. Another current experiment is the publication of a book of actual photographs of a hunting adventure, taken by our Mission photographer, with simple English text for each area to inter-leave with the vernacular. This is still in the planning stage, but the results of a research survey on reactions to pictures carried out by John Sievert of the Lutheran Mission some years ago suggested that in unsophisticated areas, photographs rated more highly than drawings. Several writers and artists within the Mission are also being approached to provide texts and drawings suitable for production and use. With all of these, a basic number will be produced for use in the literacy and reading classes, and where sales value is assured, a greater number will be produced and sold, costs being covered wherever possible.

The local newspaper is an excellent means of keeping people reading; one such is the *Gogodala Tutuli (Conch Shell)* with a monthly distribution of 1,300 copies, indigenous contributors providing all the copy, and the *Huli Hall (Bamboo Torch)*, which has a growing distribution, and is aiming to appear monthly. Others are coming out, but less regularly, as news and editing staff permit. In the Foe Lake Kutubu area, a notice-board giving the weekly information about plane and personnel movements has been popular. Summaries of convention messages and Church Council discussions are duplicated and well received. Reading rooms, mobile or rotating libraries, and reading groups are some of the means being used or about to be used for the maintenance of active literacy.

The training of indigenes as creative writers is also one of the current aims, and this may also help in decisions as to what will have reader appeal and value. One missionary who has been working in the Gogodala area for 34 years suggests that 'perhaps one of the local problems is that there are no local "Deadwood Dicks" to read!'. However, indigenous writers may well come up with such equivalents. To date in the areas under review, they have written up local legends, humorous or dramatic local events, items for local newspapers (sports reviews, Council news, summaries of convention meetings, etc.), but at the Dauli Teachers' College, staffed by the A.P.C.M., students are experimenting with the short story form, and the field is wide open.

The provision of this intermediate and supplementary material has fulfilled a real need, but it should also be added that the vernacular

New Testament books maintain steady sales among the Christian sector of the population.

With the National Coalition Government's current encouragement of pride in the local language and culture, the future of vernacular literacy and literature is bright. In the areas under review, being all in the Papuan section of the country, the trade language of Papua, Hiri Motu, has been used by the men for communication across language boundaries. However, in all the Southern Highlands language groups (Pole, Sao, Foe, Huli, Kaluli and Fasu), there is currently a marked desire to speak and write New Guinea Pidgin, particularly on the part of pastors and community leaders, and of those planning to go out for a period of employment. To this end, transfer primers have been produced or are planned for each of these areas. This will provide access to the much wider range of materials available in Pidgin. In this connection Ossie and Jenny Fountain of the Christian Missions in Many Lands in the Koroba area of the Huli tribe have worked out and have on trial an oral Pidgin course designed for non-Pidgin-speaking nationals. They aimed to have it on the market by 1974.

7.2.4.8. SUMMARY

To summarise: in line with the basic policy of the A.P.C.M. to communicate in the language of the people, in the post-war years all alphabets and orthographies have been checked by competent personnel, and older primers and readers have been revised to bring them into line with more modern and improved literacy methods. There is currently widespread indigenisation at instructor level, and the beginnings of indigenisation at instructor-training level. The former has made possible a significant rise in the literacy rate because of the placing of vernacular teachers in the farther-out and less accessible village centres. The last ten years have seen the establishment of good vernacular training courses in teaching principles and teaching method, and an incidental subsequent improvement in the community status of the vernacular teacher. There is currently a marked increase in direct translation and creative writing by local writers. The National Government's current encouragement of vernacular literacy generally and particularly in the schools gives official support to what was already being done among the schoolchildren in the majority of the areas under review and will doubtless provide an added motivation for literacy among young and older adults. The discernible beginnings of a desire to speak and write Pidgin are being met by oral courses and transfer primers. The author considers that the future of vernacular literacy is bright.

J. RULE

N O T E

1. Lectures given at United Bible Societies' Translation Workshop, Lae, Papua New Guinea, 1965.

7.2.4. VERNACULAR LITERACY, WESTERN AND LOWER SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

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7.2.5. VERNACULAR LITERACY IN IRIAN JAYA

Joan Rule

7.2.5.1. INTRODUCTION

With the Netherlands Administration holding a loose suzerainty over the western half of New Guinea, Protestant Missions (specifically the Utrecht Missionary Society and the Lutherans) began work on the north coast as early as 1855. Though apparently individual missionaries here and there used the vernacular, the main approach both in Bible teaching and in literacy was to use the Malay language. On the island of Biak, the early Dutch missionaries translated New Testament Scriptures and pursued literacy in the vernacular and at one stage there was quite a mass movement, but along most of the north coast Malay was used. In 1894, the Jesuit Fathers arrived on the south coast and for the most part appear to have pursued the same policy. There are currently, however, a number of linguists working on vernacular languages in several of the Catholic Missions along the coast.

The Administration established its first two permanent administration outposts in the then Dutch New Guinea in 1898, but it also looked at the large number of small language groups and their complicated structure, and decided against encouraging any one of them. As it stated in its 'Annual Report of the Governing Body to the United Nations', New Guinea Institute Handbook 1958:51, part of which has been quoted in the chapter on vernacular education in Irian Jaya (chapter 7.5.4. in this volume), 'Merely for the sake of convenience has the Government at some time in the past decided, in order to circumvent these difficulties, to employ the Malayan language as a free language...'. The replacement of Dutch administration by Indonesian administration did not see a change in this policy. Although the Indonesian flag was not raised till May 1 1963, on October 31 1962, Dr Sukarno stated that it was 'of extreme importance that the Highlands peoples be taught the Indonesian

language as speedily as possible', and that 'The Indonesian Government ... would provide whatever teachers were needed to bring the people rapidly to a literate state'.¹ The Indonesian Government has indeed placed literacy teachers in many centres. The conclusion in the previously mentioned Netherlands Report, however, still appears to be valid,

It cannot, however, be denied ... that this language has remained a foreign language for the Papuans with respect to composition and vocabulary, and that therefore the particular language of the district plays a dominating role everywhere in local intercourse between the inhabitants.
(New Guinea Institute Handbook 1958:51)

Though this observation was based largely on coastal areas, it has certainly been true also in the Highlands. Moreover, while the Government has encouraged literacy in the Indonesian language, it has not forbidden vernacular literacy work by the Missions among the adults and this work has flourished in the Highlands from the outset.

The entry into the Highlands has taken place almost entirely in the post-war years, with Enarotali in the Wissel Lakes being the first Government post established in the Central Highlands, in 1938, and the Missions (the Catholic Fathers and the Christian and Missionary Alliance) arriving there in 1939. In the same year, the Archbold expedition landed on Lake Habbema (since called Lake Archbold) north of the main Baliem Valley. In the post-war years the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Catholic Mission continued their work and were joined by the Unevangelised Fields Mission (and its Australian counterpart, the Asia Pacific Christian Mission), the Regions Beyond Missionary Union and the Australian Baptist Missionary Society. All these Missions are conducting their literacy work in the vernacular, as well as the Evangelical Alliance Mission in the Highlands area of the Bird's Head, the Rhenish Mission and some of the Reformed congregations. Why is it that vernacular literacy has been a general policy in the Highlands and not on the coast? Bert Power, for many years Field Director of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission in Irian Jaya, suggests as the main reasons:

1. The languages of the Central Highlands are fewer in number and much larger in population (Dani: approximately 160,000; Ikari: 200,000,² with Yali, Moni, and the Sibil area languages also having a large number of speakers).

2. Most of these groups were entered firstly by the evangelical missions, who placed major importance on giving the people the Scriptures in their own language, and this involves vernacular literacy.

Power reports that vernacular literacy and translation work are being carried out in 'most of the Highlands tribes' languages, from Kiwi (Ngalum) on the Australian border to Anggi (Mantion-Manikion) in the Bird's Head. This work is being carried on by the Missions'.

7.2.5.2. PROCEDURES

Each of these Missions in each of these areas has pursued a similar policy. The language has been reduced to writing, the Christian Gospel has been preached in the vernacular, and the first literacy classes have been composed of those wanting to read more of this Christian message for themselves. From the literates, those most suitable and enthusiastic are appointed as teachers. Power comments,

Usually someone is appointed from the Mission to head up the literacy program. This person is responsible to provide materials, give direction to the teachers, implement suitable primer material, add new stories, and see that the program is being carried out effectively.

This type of literacy work is being carried out among adults and young adults in regular classes and the Indonesian Administration has never hindered the Missions in any way in their vernacular literacy programmes. The Administration itself has placed literacy teachers throughout the areas to teach the people Indonesian, and the Missions, of course, have sought to co-operate with the Administration by seeing that church leaders become fluent and literate in the Indonesian language. In the schools, however, Indonesian is taught from the outset and the initial literacy is in Indonesian.

7.2.5.3. MISSIONS INVOLVED

The major Highlands tribes where this type of vernacular literacy programme is being pursued may perhaps best be summarised by reference to the Missions working among them. The Christian and Missionary Alliance in the Uhunduni, Moni, Ikari (Kapauku), Western Dani and Central Dani; the Catholic Fathers in the Uhunduni, Dani, Ok Sibil, Mt Goliath Group and other areas; the Regions Beyond Missionary Union in the Yali, the Western Dani, the Mt Goliath languages and other areas of the Southern Highlands; the Unevangelised Fields Mission and the Asia Pacific Christian Mission in the Western Dani, Mt Goliath Group, Ngalum (a member of the Ok Family), and other smaller groups; the Australian Baptist Missionary Society in the Central Dani, and the Evangelical Alliance Mission in the Anggi Lakes area of the Bird's Head, as well as in coastal areas.

7.2.5.4. DANI LITERACY

While the progress of literacy in each of the other areas has followed the normal pattern and has met with reasonable success, the story of vernacular literacy among the Western Dani (population circa 80,000) is a spectacular one, and highlights the scale of success that is possible when the motivation is sufficiently strong. Though it could be argued that the Dani, an energetic, enterprising, highly intelligent group, have advantages not possessed by some, yet the writer considers that this does not vitiate the validity of the conclusions which may be drawn, and it is proposed to attempt a summary of this story. At the beginning, literacy followed a normal path. From Ilaga in the extreme west where the Christian and Missionary Alliance were working, to the Asia Pacific Christian Mission areas of Bokondini and Kelila where the group of Western dialects were still spoken, the curiosity of the Dani was aroused when they saw marks written up on a blackboard during the giving of a Bible message, and were told that they were Dani words. When the missionaries promised to 'teach them how to make and understand the marks, their enthusiasm abounded'. Literacy began with a flourish. However, 'when the marks on the paper were not mastered in three easy lessons, concentration flagged, interest waned, and attendance became spasmodic' (Horne 1973:76-7). The motivation that was needed came in a way as unexpected as it was dramatic. Members of the Uhunduni tribe on the southern side of the Carstenz Range in a Roman Catholic Mission area had burnt their fetishes and magic charms, and the small group of Uhunduni living in the Dani area of Ilaga followed suit. A Dani chief, related to a leading Uhunduni Christian by marriage, decided to burn his bridges along with his fetishes and turn to Christianity, and the large population of the Ilaga Valley followed him. A key Dani legend explaining the loss of eternal life came sharply into focus and the message, along with all kinds of false embellishments, raced like fire throughout the Western Dani area, 'Burn your fetishes and get back eternal life!'. The missionaries, alarmed, opposed these mass burnings, and urged the people to wait till they understood Christ's teaching better. In every area, however, the Dani decided that they must get rid of their fetishes as community groups before they could take hold of God's way. Huge mass burnings took place and thousands of Dani now announced that they wanted to be able to read God's message for themselves.

Hundreds around every mission station were learning to read. Those who mastered the art taught others. At Bokondini as soon as a man or woman had learnt ten lessons, he collected charts, flash cards and primers from the mission and taught

a group of ten, while he himself kept a few paces ahead in a more advanced grade. As the number of classes increased, all available classroom space in existing buildings, including outhouses and laundries, was taken up. The readers then built themselves grass shelters where they could have lessons protected from sun and rain. As the work grew and trained pastors went into outlying areas, the literacy campaign was decentralised too, with teachers spreading out into these areas. (Horne 1973:174-5)

This was the situation throughout the Western Dani area in the early 1960s. Power comments

The better students ... were trained to teach their own people. These teachers took the literacy programs out to the villages. Many of these villagers built their own literacy schools, and helped to establish the literacy classes. With the opening of new Dani stations a literacy teacher would be sent into these new areas with a pastor so the literacy work would begin in the vernacular almost immediately. Every village church would have its own literacy program being carried on by the Danis.

In the Mulia Valley, where oversized goitres had affected the mental development of over half the population, the literacy programme showed

remarkable results. Leon Dillinger and David Scovill had prepared a set of progressive primers which took the readers through to fluency. These were distributed to the hundreds who wanted to learn to read. At one time, there were 750 on the roll.... Twice a week Scovill and Dillinger tested scores of readers before graduating them to the next primer. Hundreds of retarded Mulias learned to read with fluency despite the warnings of medical men that the Mission could not expect to run a normal school in the district of cretins. (Horne 1973:176)

From Ilaga in the west, through Ilu, Mulia, Karubaga and Bokondini to Kelila in the east, many thousands of Western Dani adults and young people learned to read and write their own language in a remarkably short time and many hundreds of these taught others also. This huge scale literacy work has continued, with Missions combining to produce improved primers and reading materials. For example, at the end of 1972, the Bokondini area missionary, David Jenkins, reported that that area had over 30 literacy centres, with over 120 literacy teachers, and a regular programme of refresher courses and in-service training. In the Karubaga area in the first half of 1973 there were 24 literacy schools staffed with indigenous teachers, and one American, Phyllis Masters, supervising the programme and regularly visiting the schools. In the Central Dani, where a different group of dialects was spoken, there was no mass movement, and the literacy work has proceeded steadily but without the phenomenal growth and enthusiasm exhibited in the Western Dani.

7.2.5.5. READING MATERIALS

The motivation behind this mass pursuit of literacy was to desire to be able to read for themselves what God's Word said. The missionaries, therefore, made Bible translation a top priority. From the outset,

inter-mission linguistic conferences were held regularly and attended by two or three delegates from each society in the Dani-speaking dialects. A common orthography, agreed upon by these conferences, standardised the Dani literature. As knowledge of the language increased, portions of Scripture were designated to members of each society for translation.
(Horne 1973:117)

Power reports, 'Most of the New Testament has been printed for the Dani people; many of the Old Testament stories are in print.' A hygiene book, a Bible atlas, a Bible picture book, a book of ethics, and a set of Dani stories are also printed in the Asian Pacific Christian Mission-Unevangelised Fields Mission area and each individual mission has provided reading material according to local reader interest and demand. A newspaper in the Dani language was being printed and circulated in the early years of the literacy programme, but when the Indonesian Government came to power, this was discontinued so as not to conflict in any way with Government policy.

7.2.5.6. CONCLUSION

That this literacy programme has achieved its aims is undeniable in that scores of Dani leaders, having read for themselves God's message and having attended vernacular Bible Schools, have sought to apply the teaching to their own community life and have gone out, of their own accord, to take the message to the other tribal areas beyond their perimeters. This is also true, on a more moderate scale, of the other Highland language groups. However, in the writer's view, there is a slight question mark regarding the future. There is now no vernacular literacy in the primary schools. The children are being taught in Indonesian and by Indonesian teachers. Will they themselves make the transfer to their own vernaculars so as to be familiar with the Scriptures so precious to their parents? Or will they remain literate in Indonesian only? If they do, will this lead to a superficial holding of Christian truths and a split between the adults and the new generation? These are some of the current questions. The answers lie in the future.

7.2.5. VERNACULAR LITERACY IN IRIAN JAYA

N O T E S

1. Tabled in the minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Missions Fellowship, Jayapura, December 1962.
2. Editor's Note: This figure appears to be vastly overestimated. The number of Ikari (Ekagi, Kapauku) speakers is believed to be not more than 65,000.

J. RULE

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PART 7.3.

LANGUAGE POLICY

7.3.1. THE CHURCHES AND LANGUAGE POLICY¹

A.K. Neuendorf and A.J. Taylor

7.3.1.1. INTRODUCTION

In Papua New Guinea there are many different churches² and among them there have been a number of different approaches to language questions. Some have always been active in using vernaculars; others have mostly used one or more of the three main *lingue franche* - English, Pidgin, and Hiri Motu; others have used particular vernaculars as *lingue franche* for at least some areas of their work.³ There are a number of reasons as to why the approaches differ, in particular the size of the church and the extent of its work and the number of languages which are in the church's area and how closely they are related. Within a church there have sometimes been differing approaches and some churches have changed their policy over the years. The churches' main concern has been to communicate their message to the people, initially with a view to converting them to Christianity and then to build up their Christian faith. In this regard, decisions have had to be made regarding which languages the church workers would learn and use for evangelism and which languages the people would be made literate in so that they could read the Christian literature produced by each church and so that some of them could enter that church's training institutions.

Prior to World War II the main missions working in Papua New Guinea were the London Missionary Society, the Methodists, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Anglicans, and Seventh Day Adventists. The London Missionary Society began work in 1872 and extended along the south coast of Papua. Most of the missionaries were Polynesians who were both pastors and teachers. They taught vernacular literacy skills in village schools. Faced with the problem of how to work among a large number of languages, the general mission policy was to use all vernaculars in preaching and evangelistic work as far as possible and to use the language spoken

around the main mission stations, such as Kiwai, Namau (Koriki, today called Purari), Orokolo, Toaripi, Motu, Hula (Keapara), and Mailu (Magi), for educational purposes. To varying degrees these languages became *lingue franche* for the mission in their areas. On completion of the course in the village schools, some students went to the boarding-schools at the main mission stations for a few years, where they received more instruction in the vernacular as well as in English. Scripture was translated into these main languages, with New Testaments published before the war in Motu, Toaripi, Namau, and Mailu.⁴ School-books were also published. Some missionaries made linguistic studies, such as Lawes in Motu, Saville in Mailu, and Short in Hula.⁵ Motu became the main *lingua franca* for the mission and it was the language in which Papuan pastor-teachers were trained, though the role of English gradually increased. Motu was in fact used at the main mission stations of Delena and Saroa instead of the Roro and Sinaugoro languages.

7.3.1.2. PRE-WORLD WAR II PERIOD

7.3.1.2.1. METHODIST MISSION

The Methodist Mission began work in the New Guinea Islands area in 1875 in the Duke of York Islands and on the Gazelle Peninsula. They too used pastor-teachers, mostly Fijian, to run village schools which provided basic literacy skills. Both the Duke of York and Kuanua languages were used, and hymn books, catechisms, and Bible translations were published in both. However, Kuanua was chosen as the mission *lingua franca* and it was used in evangelism and education as the work spread into some parts of New Britain outside the Tolai area and into New Ireland. However, it was not enthusiastically received in all areas and some work was done in at least two languages on New Ireland, Omo (Tigak) and Patpatar, including some Bible translation.

Methodist work was started in the islands of what is now the Milne Bay Province in 1891. Dobu was the first place settled and the Dobuan language was the first one which the missionaries learnt. As a simple form of it was already known to speakers of other languages in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands through trade it was chosen for use as a *lingua franca* by the mission. However, the mission recognised that Dobuan was not well known in all parts of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and that it was much less known outside that area, indeed unknown over a wide area. So, while much literature was produced in Dobuan, some was also produced in Tubetube, Bwaldoga, Kiriwina, Tavana (Keherara), and Panaeati (Misima).

7.3.1.2.2. ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION

In this period up to World War II the main Roman Catholic work was in an area involving the western part of the Central Province and the eastern part of the Gulf Province, the New Guinea Islands, and the Sepik and western part of the Madang Province. The work on the south coast was begun by the Sacred Heart Mission in 1885 in what is now the Kairuku District and spread into the Gailala area and the Gulf Province. Not a large number of languages were involved and the work of the mission was carried out in almost all of them. So, for example, school and religious publications appeared in the Roro, Mekeo, Nara (Pokau), and Kuni languages of the Kairuku District. Grammars and dictionaries were prepared in them also, but unfortunately very little has been published. In the New Guinea Islands, the Sacred Heart Mission began work on the Gazelle Peninsula among the Tolai people and while it used the Kuanua language (for which it used the name Gunantuna) among them, it did not use it as a lingua franca as the Methodists did. A number of vernaculars were used in New Britain and New Ireland and in the Bougainville area where the Marist Mission Society operated, and a variety of religious literature was translated into them. Some linguistic studies were done also.⁶ The large number of languages in the Admiralty Islands for the small population meant that the church used mostly Pidgin there. In the Sepik and Madang areas, the Catholic Mission of the Divine Word was also faced with a large number of languages. For a time an attempt was made to use Boiken as a lingua franca for part of the area but this was not successful. So for most of the period vernaculars were used in church wherever possible and in some schools. The constitution of the Society of the Divine Word states quite strongly that the missionaries should learn the languages of the people among whom they are working (Z'graggen, personal communication). Some linguistic studies were undertaken, but unfortunately much of the material collected from the Madang Province was destroyed during World War II (Z'graggen 1971:3f). Pidgin increasingly became a candidate for use as the main lingua franca and in 1930 an official decision was made to adopt it. The use of English in schools increased as the Administration began to encourage it and to offer some financial support.

7.3.1.2.3. LUTHERAN MISSION

Lutheran mission work began near Finschhafen in 1886 and spread through the Morobe Province and the eastern part of the Madang Province. The Austronesian language Yabem was the language in which the mission first worked and it became the lingua franca in all areas around Huon

Gulf where people spoke Austronesian languages. It became the language of evangelisation and of education. Linguistic studies were made and much religious literature was published as well as school textbooks. However, most languages in the Morobe Province are non-Austronesian, and for work among speakers of these languages the mission chose Kâte, which was the first non-Austronesian language they learnt. As Yabem, Kâte was used in evangelism and education, with various school and church publications and detailed linguistic studies. However, some work was done in vernaculars, including Adzera, Ono, Sio and Zia. In the Madang Province a few vernaculars were used in the earlier days, including Bel (Gedaged), Amele, Nobonob, Bogadjim, and Bongu. The first two of these, Bel, an Austronesian language, and Amele, a non-Austronesian language, were chosen in the 1920s as *lingue franche* just as Yabem and Kâte had been for the Morobe Province. However, the use of Amele as a *lingua franca* was discontinued in 1935 to avoid duplication of effort in places like training institutions and to help unify the church. Lutheran mission policy has been to use vernaculars in the preaching of the Christian message and evangelists were expected to learn the language of the people they worked among. However, the mission did not have the staff or resources to provide Bible translations and school-books in every language. For this reason and the need to have a common language that could be used in training institutions, the *lingue franche* were developed. Freyberg (personal communication) has suggested that Kâte might have been successfully introduced into the Madang area if Bel and Amele had not been chosen as *lingue franche*. However, the work in the Madang and Morobe Provinces was operated by two different Lutheran Mission organisations, the Rhenish Mission Society and the Neuendettelsau Mission Society respectively, and they made separate, different decisions.

7.3.1.2.4. ANGLICAN MISSION

The Anglican Mission commenced in 1891 in the Wedau area of the Milne Bay Province. Faced with the common problem of the number of languages in the area, they chose Wedau as a *lingua franca*. It was used in evangelism, for theological training, and in the schools where it was the language of instruction for the first few years, above which English was used. While Wedau was reasonably understood in the surrounding coastal area, it was not a satisfactory medium for communicating with the speakers of Austronesian languages further afield nor with the speakers of non-Austronesian languages. So some work was done in other vernaculars, including Mukawa in which the whole Bible was published in

1925 (the first Bible in a language of Papua New Guinea), Ubir, and Maisin. Further north in the Northern Province the vernaculars Binandere, Ewa Ge, and Orokaiva were used.

7.3.1.2.5. SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST MISSION

Seventh Day Adventist work began in the Central Province in 1908 and in the New Guinea Islands in the 1930s. Evangelistic work was carried out in the various vernaculars as far as possible. However, the mission had stations over a wide area and the number of missionaries was not large so that considerable use was made of Pidgin and Hiri Motu. Pidgin was used in the training school at Kambubu on New Britain and Hiri Motu in the training school at Mirigeda near Port Moresby.

7.3.1.2.6. SUMMARY OF MISSIONS

To summarise, in the period up to World War II the missions generally made as much use of vernaculars as they were able to. The greatest use was made in the field of evangelism once Papua New Guinean pastors, evangelists, and catechists were trained who could work in their own language areas. However, for education, theological training, and literature it was usually necessary to choose particular languages. In most cases, a vernacular was chosen for use as a lingua franca, though some use was made of Pidgin and English, and to a lesser extent Hiri Motu.

7.3.1.2.7. LITERACY

There were, in fact, extremely active literacy programmes in many areas. However, most majored on the mechanics of reading and paid little attention to comprehension. Practically nothing was done with regard to the production of literature for new literates to read other than Bible passages, catechisms and hymn books. Also there was often too big a jump in reading difficulty between school primers and the Christian literature, a problem which has continued in many languages even up to the present. There was little co-ordination in literacy work. Each area was left on its own to develop its own course with little assistance from outside. As missionaries moved - either transferred to another posting or leaving the country - programmes suffered. In many cases the success or failure of a programme depended very largely on the efforts of one person. It should be noted that while most of the programmes were for children in schools, there were also literacy programmes for adults.

The churches felt quite strongly that people in school should become literate in their own language first, though they did not object to teaching a second language. In at least the earlier part of this period there did not seem to be much need to teach many people English. The usual pattern was for students to spend the first couple of years becoming literate in the vernacular or church lingua franca before going on to study English. Indeed the churches had a very broad-based education programme that took up to 100% of school-age children and older into the vernacular programmes, but a greatly reduced percentage into their English programme.⁷ Quite considerable effort was put into producing primers and readers. These were funded entirely by the churches at the beginning though later a few primers were printed at government cost. Usually it was also mission policy to include some instruction in the methods of teaching vernacular literacy in catechist and pastor training courses. Mostly the catechists and pastors were the school-teachers too.

7.3.1.3. POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD

7.3.1.3.1. GENERAL REMARKS

The period after the war saw a number of changes in the churches' situation. Some had suffered considerable loss of staff and materials. There was now one Australian Administration for both Papua and New Guinea. In the 1950s, language policy in the established churches continued much as before the war. However, there was increasing use of the three main lingue franche, English, Pidgin, and Hiri Motu. English began to be used more in theological training as the students entered colleges and seminaries with a higher level of education. Pidgin was used even more widely than before by the Roman Catholics in the Sepik and Madang areas; by the Lutherans who formed the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (ELCONG) (now ELCPNG) in 1956, which made the need of a common language more apparent; by the Methodists who were using it extensively in New Ireland rather than Kuanua; and by the Seventh Day Adventists who also made more use of Hiri Motu as their work spread. The London Missionary Society also used Hiri Motu more in areas such as the inland of the Rigo District. One reason for this increase in the use of Pidgin and Hiri Motu was that many of the new overseas staff who arrived after the war were often transferred and as a growing number of Papua New Guineans could understand Pidgin or Hiri Motu, these newcomers felt that learning a vernacular was not worth the effort. Nevertheless work continued in a number of vernaculars and was begun in more. For example, Christian literature was produced by the Roman Catholics in the

three languages of the Goilala District, Fuyuge, Tauade, and Kunimaipa (Steinkraus and Pence 1964); the London Missionary Society produced primers in Roro, Gabadi, and Dimuga; and the Methodists on Buka and Bougainville continued to produce material in Petats and Siwai and began work in Teop (Allen and Hurd 1965).

A big event was the growth of work in the Highlands. This had begun before the war but grew rapidly after it. This involved the Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists, as well as a number of new churches. All these five churches used mainly Pidgin in their Highlands work. The Lutherans used Kâte as a lingua franca for a time, but with the closure of the Kâte schools early in the 1960s due to the Administration policy to educate in English, its use was largely given up. However, a number of vernaculars in the Highlands have, for Papua New Guinea, large numbers of speakers and this made it more feasible to use them. So, for example, the Lutherans produced Christian literature in Kuman and Melpa, in both of which the New Testament was translated, and used Melpa in their theological training centre at Ogelbeng in the Western Highlands along with Pidgin and Kâte, Roman Catholics worked in such languages as Enga and Mendi, and the Methodists in Mendi.

7.3.1.3.2. NEW CHURCHES IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Reference was made above to the arrival of a number of new churches in the post-war period. Their policies also varied somewhat. While almost all, if not all, wanted to use the vernaculars in order to communicate the Gospel as effectively as possible, they were generally faced with the same problems as the older churches, i.e. many languages, small number of expatriate staff, limited finance, and the need for some common language for use in training institutions and major church meetings.

The Unevangelised Fields Mission (now known as the Asia Pacific Christian Mission) actually began work just before the war in the Balimo area of the Western Province where it made some use of Gogodala as a lingua franca. As the work spread into much of the inland area of that Province and into the Southern Highlands, use was made of Hiri Motu and of quite a few vernaculars, such as Suki, Aekyom, Yongkom, Zimakani, Foe, Pole, Samberigi, and Huli. Vernacular literacy programmes were run and a good deal of Bible translation done. Training institutions for pastors were run in each of the vernaculars listed above and further training provided at one centre in Hiri Motu.

Among these new and smaller missions the New Tribes Mission, like the Unevangelised Fields Mission, also made considerable use of vernaculars including Hamtai in the Morobe Province, Yagaria in the Eastern Highlands, and Sinasina in the Chimbu Province. Vernacular literacy programmes were run and Christian literature translated.

Some other churches, for example the Christian Missions in Many Lands, Churches of Christ, and South Seas Evangelical Church, which work in areas where many vernaculars are spoken, have used mostly Pidgin, though individual missionaries who were interested in doing so and who were stationed in one place long enough, have used vernaculars. However, these are individual efforts and generally stop if the missionary concerned leaves.

A few churches have worked in areas where there have been only a few languages and so they have been able to use a vernacular in most of their work. The New Guinea Lutheran Mission - Missouri Synod has worked mainly among the large Enga group. They were able to use Enga in evangelism and education, including an adult literacy programme and two training colleges, one for teachers and the other for church workers. Regular language courses were held for expatriate missionaries. A good deal of literature was published. The Baptists working nearby in Kyaka Enga and Sau Enga made a similar use of those languages.⁸

Among those churches which had the resources and manpower, vernacular literacy and literature programmes continued or new ones were initiated. In the 1950s it is estimated that over 50,000 people a year were receiving instruction to become literate in their own language. It was in fact the heyday of the churches' vernacular literacy programmes. Teachers were better prepared. For example, early in the 1960s the Papua Ekalesia (formed from the London Missionary Society) introduced the method of teaching vernacular literacy in its Ruatoka Teachers' College. A similar type of course was also introduced at the Awaba Teachers' College for the Evangelical Alliance, a grouping of many evangelical missions.

7.3.1.3.3. ENGLISH

However, some big changes came when during the 1960s the Australian Administration gave tremendous emphasis to the teaching of English as a national and unifying language. This was part of a plan for universal primary education, which was not achieved. The churches were for the most part forced to forego their vernacular literacy programmes in schools, as the new syllabus for primary schools required that English be taught from the beginning. This was a severe blow to the churches

who were sure that their policy was a good one for the people and for the country. Nevertheless, some churches continued to teach vernacular literacy as a subject in primary schools. Most did not stress it, but some still regarded it very highly, particularly the Lutheran church. The Lutheran school system was severely affected by the Administration decision, as many of their teachers were not able to teach English. They were forced to close a lot of their schools, including nearly all the Yabem ones. However, they continued to operate some of the Kâte schools and they developed their Pidgin literacy course and Pidgin-stream school programme in a very organised way. The village schools provided a four-year course with provision for some students to go on further at some schools. In 1973, over 16,000 children were enrolled, over half being in the Morobe Province. A teachers' college for the Pidgin programme was set up at Rintebe near Goroka and another was set up for the Kâte programme at Heldsbach near Finschhafen. Among others, the Catholic Archdiocese of Madang started a second stream of education, in Pidgin, and the Baptists continued their schools in Kyaka Enga, which provided two years of vernacular education, after which the students went into either English or Pidgin schools.

7.3.1.3.4. ADULT LITERACY

Also in quite a number of places, especially in the Highlands, adult literacy programmes flourished. Some missions, such as the Baptist Mission in the Western Highlands and the Unevangelised Fields Mission in the Southern Highlands appointed missionaries to work full-time on adult vernacular literacy programmes. Teacher education programmes lasting from three months to a year were conducted to train literacy instructors, people who could read and write themselves and were interested in helping others to learn as well. A number of smaller churches in the Sepik Provinces joined together to produce a suitable Pidgin literacy course. After a lot of experimental work and after the material had been tested and revised, the *Kisim Save* series of primers was produced.⁹

Finance was a major problem as the instructors, apart from those who were pastors and catechists, were an addition to the churches' wage bill, and they had to be paid or they could not do the job. There was some slight assistance given in some districts from the Administration-sponsored adult education programme, but this was very little overall. In addition, apart from the Administration's policy favouring English, there was a growing feeling among the people that, as English was the prestige school language that led to good jobs, vernacular literacy was

definitely only second-best. So people were not so interested in attending such classes, and even less interested in having to pay any fees that might be associated with them.

7.3.1.3.5. BIBLE TRANSLATION ACTIVITIES

The effect of the Administration's policy regarding English went beyond the schools. Most young people were not being taught to read or write their own languages. This, coupled with the usual problems in using vernaculars, led churches to make greater use of the three main lingue franche, especially Pidgin. A translation of the New Testament into Pidgin was published in 1969 (The Bible Society in Australia 1969), a project which involved a number of churches and which the Lutheran church in particular encouraged, after which a translation of the Old Testament began, involving an even greater number of churches. A translation of the New Testament into Hiri Motu was also begun. In the field of both Christian and general literature in Pidgin and English, Kristen Pres at Madang has made a considerable contribution, and in the last few years the Christian Publishers' and Booksellers' Association has been operating which facilitates co-ordination in the publishing field.

There has been a good deal of Bible translation done in some of the missionary lingue franche also. This has included the completion of the Bible in Motu, and the near completion of it in Kuanua, Kâte, and Toaripi. Much of the Old Testament has been translated into Yabem and Wedau, as well as revisions of the New Testament, while the New Testament has been completed in Gogodala. However, there has been some decrease in the area of influence of these languages. For example, Motu lost some ground to Hiri Motu, and both Kâte and Kuanua lost ground to Pidgin, while most have lost some ground to English.

Work in vernaculars has continued. For example, translations of the New Testament have been completed or are making good progress in quite a few languages, including Siwai on Bougainville, Adzera and Hamtai in the Morobe Province, Enga, Kyaka Enga, Duna, Sinasina, Huli, Foe, and Angal Heneng in the Highlands, and a new translation into Mailu in the Central Province. As a result of decisions made at the Second Vatican Council, there has been increased Roman Catholic activity in vernaculars, especially in the translation of the liturgy and of passages from the Bible for reading in services.

English became the language of the main theological seminaries. The Christian Leaders' Training College at Banz, which provides training particularly for churches in the Evangelical Alliance, has run special English programmes for those of its students who needed them. In lower

level institutions Pidgin and Hiri Motu have been used, sometimes along with missionary *lingue franche*. Thus the Lutheran seminary at Logaweng near Finschhafen used Pidgin, Kâte, and Yabem, and their seminary at Ogelbeng in the Western Highlands used Pidgin, Melpa, and Kâte. And in some smaller, more local, institutions such as those run by the Unevangelised Fields Mission, the vernacular has continued to be used.

7.3.1.3.6. THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Mention must be made of the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics which began work in Papua New Guinea in 1956. Though not a mission organisation itself, its activities in the fields of literacy and Bible translation have naturally benefited the churches. At the time of the writing of this chapter in 1974, they had teams in about 90 languages (now it is over 100), and in addition they provide valuable technical assistance to literacy and translation programmes run by churches. There is little doubt that the activity of the Summer Institute of Linguistics has been a great encouragement to some churches who were having second thoughts about running vernacular literacy and translation programmes.

7.3.1.4. POST-1970 PERIOD

By the beginning of the 1970s, there was a marked change in the church and in the country as a whole. Localisation was the keynote and in the churches the number of Papua New Guinean leaders increased rapidly, so that their councils and executives began to be dominantly Papua New Guinean. The question of language naturally arose. There was a real emphasis given to Papua New Guinean culture. Church leaders more than ever held the view that Papua New Guineans had to be Christians and live according to the Word of God within their own culture and not as brown-skinned Europeans. And it was argued that to train people to fit into their own culture could best be done within the framework of their own languages. Another important factor in the discussion of language was that only half the school-age population were in schools. Church leaders began to feel that something should definitely be done for the half who missed out. And even of those who completed primary school only one-third were able to go to high school. The churches began to be quite concerned about their responsibilities to these young people also and wondered how to help them. The inadequacies of the English-based programme began to be apparent, as it did not prepare the students for life in their own village community. Another problem was the gap between the Western-educated young people and the older people.

These factors have led to a new emphasis on vernacular literacy and literature, and in Pidgin and Hiri Motu too. This is felt by nearly all, if not all, churches. So, for example, the Anglican church in the Northern Province began a vernacular literacy programme and found an encouraging response, so much so that it has set aside some more funds and plans to produce some teaching aids and textbooks. The Churches of Christ in the Madang Province plans to run adult literacy courses based on a Pidgin course prepared by the Lutheran church. In the Sepik, the South Seas Evangelical Church and the Assembly of God have begun literacy programmes for adults and those who did not attend primary school respectively.¹⁰ The Lutherans are making a major revision of the curriculum for the upper years of their Pidgin and Kâte programme to better meet the demands of the present situation and in 1974 they opened a college in the Western Highlands for training teachers for the upper years.

Thus, at the time of writing, the churches are very interested in the field of vernacular literacy and literature, as well as in Pidgin and Hiri Motu, and many are starting or planning new programmes. However, just how far these go and in what direction will depend largely on the speakers of each language, whether they want these programmes or not, and whether they want their own language or a lingua franca.

7.3.1. THE CHURCHES AND LANGUAGE POLICY

N O T E S

1. We wish to thank the following people for supplying information about the language policy of their churches: Rev. P.G. Freyberg, Rev. Yanadabing Apo and Mr R. Blacklock of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea; Dr W.L. Burce of the New Guinea Lutheran Mission - Missouri Synod; Dr J.A. Z'graggen of the Anthropos Institute for information concerning the policy of the Roman Catholic Church; Pastor L.N. Lock of the Seventh Day Adventist Church; and Rev. S. Arndell and Miss E. Foote of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society.
2. Generally speaking the term 'mission' is used in Papua New Guinea for the overseas organisations which brought Christianity to the country, while 'church' is used when a mission sets up an organisation which is autonomous in Papua New Guinea and run by Papua New Guineans. However, the division is somewhat blurred and in this chapter both terms are used without maintaining a strict distinction.
3. For more information on the policy of the churches regarding Pidgin, see chapters 7.4.2.2., 7.4.2.3. and 7.4.2.4. For discussion of missionary lingue franche see the 13 chapters subsumed under 7.4.5. and for vernacular education see the four chapters of part 7.5.
4. See Dance 1963, British and Foreign Bible Society 1967, and United Bible Societies 1972 for listings of many of the scripture translations done by the churches in Papua New Guinea.
5. See the chapters of part (II) 4.2., and chapters 7.9.8. and 7.9.9. for detailed information regarding linguistic research done by missionaries in Papua New Guinea.

6. See Capell 1962, Allen and Hurd 1963 and 1965, Lithgow and Claassen 1968.
7. Up to World War II practically all education of Papua New Guineans was done by the missions.
8. However, in the Telefolmin area of the West Sepik Province the Baptists did not make much progress with the vernaculars and changed over to Pidgin.
9. These primers were prepared by Walter and Ruth Sim of Christian Missions in Many Lands in conjunction with the editorial committee of the Pidgin Adult Education Course, a project of Literacy Literature New Guinea.
10. These are just some of the programmes and plans which churches have, as indicated in the replies by Mission Education Officers to a questionnaire sent out by Neuendorf.

7.3.1. THE CHURCHES AND LANGUAGE POLICY

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7.3.2. ADMINISTRATION AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

R.K. Johnson

7.3.2.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Historians have tended to draw contrasts between the policies of the German Administration in New Guinea and those of the British and Australian Administrations in Papua, and again between the Papuan Administration and the New Guinean Administration when both were under Australia in the period following 1914. In terms of language policy there was remarkably little difference, in that they all claimed to have the same objective, none of them achieved it, and the only distinguishable difference was that the Papuan Administration, which had few resources, seemed sincerely to wish to carry out its announced policies, while the New Guinean Administration, which had some resources, seemed insincere.

7.3.2.2. NEW GUINEA UNDER GERMAN ADMINISTRATION

Official German policy in New Guinea was the propagation of the German language, and subsidies were paid to missions which taught German in their schools (Meere 1973:28 and 130). (The use of subsidies by government in order to effect its policies will be a recurring theme in this chapter.) The policy was not effectively implemented; there are occasional stories of aged New Guineans who still speak German, but there must be very few and their German must be very strange, for the first German Administration school only opened in 1908, began its German-language programme in full in 1911, and was closed in 1914.

The Annual Report 1901-02 advocated 'the compulsory use of German by all settlers and officials in their dealings with natives' (Ralph 1965:74). In December 1913 a circular letter from the Government set

out educational policy. It carried with it a draft of an educational ordinance which was to have been introduced in 1915 (Meere 1973:31). It emphasised the use of German, and local or approved vernacular languages in schools. In recognising the use of vernacular languages the German Administration was simply facing the realities of the educational situation which was dominated by the missions and was based upon vernacular languages.

It was at one time widely believed by 'uninformed British residents' that the German Administration promoted and even invented the Pidgin language (Reed 1943:271) but this was not so. Both missions and government exhibited that strong prejudice against Melanesian Pidgin which has characterised so many language planners in Papua New Guinea. The Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost wrote in the 1901-02 Annual Report: (Meere 1973:29) 'It might be most desirable and beneficial if it could be suppressed and the sooner the better'. However the missions were less antagonistic towards Pidgin than the administration. The German Imperial Government ordered Governors to discourage its use and Baron von Hesse Wartegg declared that it would be a source of lasting disgrace for the 'world standing' of Germany if Pidgin were not rooted out (Hall 1955:35). The circular already mentioned said:

Great stress should also be laid on the fact that German should be taught instead of Pidgin English for the latter must be eliminated and German gradually introduced in its place in order to bring the natives round to understand German and Germany better and to look at affairs through German eyes. (Rowley 1958:280)

Such was the policy, but in fact, mission education was largely vernacular based and some missions used Pidgin supplemented with German words (Ralph 1965:74). The language had already been established as a lingua franca before the German Administration was established. It was used ever more widely by traders and was gradually adopted for convenience by the German field administration. The German trader-consul at Matupi, F. Hershheim, wrote in 1880:

In New Britain where about seven years before not a native understood a European language, this sort of English is now spoken by everyone, especially by the children; some speak it with considerable fluency. (Reed 1943:272)

H. Cayley-Webster is also recorded by Reed as remarking 'on his astonishment during his earlier visit to the Territory on finding so many natives speaking "English"'. He says: 'They could not have worked for Englishmen since 1886 and yet they still retained their knowledge of the language'. (Reed 1943:272). A number of traders working the New Guinea coast and islands were English-speaking (Reed 1943:276) but it was certainly Pidgin that Cayley-Webster was referring to. Thus Pidgin

was in no way an invention of the German Administration imposed upon the people of New Guinea. On the contrary, the form of the language was already established when the Germans moved in, and the language was successfully imposed by the people upon a reluctant administration.

7.3.2.3. PAPUA UNDER THE BRITISH AND AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATIONS

Language policy in Papua up to 1941 was very similar to that of the German Administration, except that English was the chosen language. In the Annual Report of 1896, Sir William MacGregor, Lt Governor of Papua, called on the missions to teach English (Dickson 1970:16). The Royal Commission of 1906 emphasised the importance of English and recommended that its teaching should be made compulsory in mission schools (Dickson 1970:16). In 1897 education had been made compulsory for at least three days a week for pupils aged five to 14 living within one mile of a school (Mair 1948:47) in order to help the missions to obtain pupils for their schools. In 1907 this regulation was amended to make education compulsory only at schools where English was taught (Legge 1956:177). Field Officers in Papua, as in New Guinea, were pragmatic. The Fijians and New Hebrideans brought into Papua to establish the police force were taught the trade language of the Papuan coast which soon became known as Police Motu. South Sea pastors, particularly from Samoa, also tended to learn Police Motu, and to progress from there to a knowledge of the vernacular. One reason why the missions did not follow government policy was that they could not. Their village teachers were not English-speakers.

Pidgin, a Papuan variety, was not as well established as it had been in New Guinea, otherwise it would no doubt have imposed itself on the administration in Papua as it did in New Guinea. However after 1906, when Australia took over the administration from Britain, Sir Hubert Murray began his consistent opposition to the use of the language. He wanted the language eliminated from Papua and by 1941 he had very largely succeeded. It is the only example before World War II of an official language policy being successfully followed through; ironically so, since Papua New Guinea now has good reason to regret his success. Murray's views on Pidgin were as strongly expressed as those of the German Governor: 'It is a vile gibberish, especially the form of it that prevails in the Mandated Territory ... and should be discouraged'. (Murray 1924:10).

Murray's reasons for supporting English, again like the German arguments for the German language, suggest claims for cultural and even racial qualities inherent in the language which would be acquired by

those natives who learned it. There is evidence for this both in what he says:

The superiority of English to any New Guinea language is so great that it is obviously to the advantage of the native to acquire it as quickly as possible; and if we do not teach it to him we are hardly carrying out the duties of our "sacred trust". (Murray 1924:7),

and in the quotations he uses to support his views. He quotes Dr Marett, an anthropologist of that era:

... whereas it is the duty of the civilised overlords of primitive folk to leave them their old institutions so far as they are not directly prejudiced to their gradual advancement in culture ... yet this consideration hardly applies at all to the native language. If the tongue of an advanced people can be substituted, it is for the good of all concerned. (Murray 1924:9)

In 1912 Murray wrote, 'He [the Papuan] is inferior to the European, and if we wish to avoid trouble, we should never forget this, and should never look upon him as a social or political equal'. (Dickson 1970:17). Dickson considered that this view was modified only slightly throughout Murray's lifetime.

It is interesting to reflect that Murray's long administration of Papua was and is often looked back upon as a golden era in colonialist history. 'He was loved, admired and trusted by every Papuan, white or brown By 1945, the Murray regime had come to be regarded as a golden age'. (Mair 1948:12-13). Clearly this was so only comparatively.

Use of the local languages was regarded by Murray as a temporary expedient, both for Administration Officers and the Papuans themselves. He approved of the idea that Administration Officers should learn native languages while insisting, nevertheless:

as a matter of permanent policy, I am of the opinion that English should be made the common language and not any of the native languages, or any combination of them ... to attempt to preserve the native languages and to give them rank as "official" is in my opinion a step in the wrong direction, and is in effect to sacrifice the future of the race to the convenience of the present moment. (Murray 1924:7-8)

He also quotes Sir Frederick Lugard: 'Government encouragement should not be exerted to stimulate or preserve these native languages'. (Murray 1924:8-9).

It is a mark of the progressive attitudes of the Murray administration for those times that the Government Anthropologist, F.E. Williams, played an important role in shaping policy, particularly in the areas of language and education. Williams summed up the language situation in 1928 when he wrote: 'In our own territory there is no doubt that the missionaries are the linguists; with the vast majority of the other Europeans

knowledge of the native language is beneath contempt'. (Williams 1928:7), and he is quoted by Reed as saying in 1936: 'at present the means of communication are pidgin Motu, pidgin English, telepathy and swearing'. (Reed 1943:269). As with Sir Hubert Murray we find that (on attitudes to race and language at least) the views expressed conflict, to modern ears, with the high reputation he had and to some extent still has. Williams had no doubts about the superiority of both the English language and the English race:

In the first place the ability to speak, and better still to read, the superior tongue will open the gate to far wider fields of experience and knowledge: it will provide for the development - to what limits we cannot foresee - of the intellectual powers which, however hidden at present, we must assume the native to possess. (Williams 1935:30)

Again, as with Murray, the purpose in teaching English seems to have been essentially mystical; it had no practical, economic function. Both men recognised that Papuans lived and would continue to live in villages. Williams said: '... education must have due regard to the society or culture in which the educand is destined to live' (Williams 1935:6) and Murray admitted:

I must confess that I regard agricultural training of natives as a matter of very high importance - higher in fact than primary or technical education, and higher even than the acquisition of the English language. (Dickson 1970:29)

and Williams:

... let him [the educator] not forget that English, for that vast majority of pupils who never reach the higher standards, is THE subject I suggest, then, that our language should not be treated merely as one of the subjects of the curriculum on a par with the others, ... but that it be regarded emphatically as the first and foremost subject, the principal aim of scholastic education AT THE LOWER GRADES. (Williams 1935:29)

(This is a situation where education was limited to primary level schooling.) The inescapable conclusion is that English was taught, less as a means to an end, than as an end in itself.

It is true that Papuans were eager to learn English. Murray was asked at Daru in 1911 that the government should establish schools 'with a schoolmaster who would teach the children to read and write English' (Dickson 1970:16), and the 'Papuan Courier', September 19, 1924, reported

Four little Papuans read the following address to the visiting Australian Governor-General: "We thank the Big King for your visit to us and for sending His White Men to take care of us. We can now live in peace. Your white men protect us, make us good and happy, and teach us to speak English". (Dickson 1970:35)

However, it is certain that Papuans were expecting more concrete benefits from the process than the kind of mental uplift Murray and Williams had in mind. In this they were disappointed. C. Wedgwood described how some school leavers 'used to come into Port Moresby, with their precious certificate encased in a bamboo tube, only to discover with dismay and resentment that no-one wanted to make use of their hard won accomplishment' (Wedgwood 1945a:3-4).

What Sir Hubert Murray might have achieved if he had had sufficient finance to support his policies cannot be known. Between 1913 and 1917 a number of proposals for native taxation were put forward in order to subsidise and thus gain influence over mission education; a prerequisite for the payment of a subsidy was to be the teaching of English (Dickson 1970:19). A system of subsidies was finally instituted, with limited effects, during the 1930s on a scale of payments ranging from 50¢ to \$2.50 per pupil who satisfied the requirements of an examination in English, Arithmetic and Geography. In theory, the 1931 educational syllabus should have been followed by all schools receiving the subsidy, and it was laid down in that syllabus that all instruction must be through the medium of the English language. However, 'no compulsion was laid upon the missions to follow the Government syllabus in any of their schools'. (Wedgwood 1945a:2). Mission policy continued to be basic education through the vernacular. For English teaching the only materials which were available were the five Papuan Readers, one for each grade, which the pupils soon learned by heart (Wedgwood 1945a:5), and the 'Papuan Villager' written in simple English and published between 1929 and 1941 by F.E. Williams. These were distributed free to all mission schools. Of the 'Papuan Villager', Camilla Wedgwood wrote: 'Judging from what I was told, [it] seems to have been of little interest to them'. (Wedgwood 1945a:6). No administration schools were started, and only a small proportion of a tiny budget went on mission education subsidies. There was a maximum of \$500 per school in per capita subsidies, though other subsidies were also made available.

The policy of making English the lingua franca of Papua cannot be said to have failed. In practical terms it was hardly implemented. Meere sums up the situation: 'English was the [official] school language, but only a limited number of Papuans had learnt to speak, read and write it'. (Meere 1973:27). Dickson notes that 20 years after Murray's education policy had been introduced 'nothing higher than fifth grade primary education was supported by the government, and less than 100 pupils annually were successful at this grade'. (Dickson 1970: 29).

7.3.2.4. NEW GUINEA UNDER THE AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATION

It would perhaps be dignifying the actions of the Administration in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea to refer to a language policy. Official policy undoubtedly was the spread of English. This policy was put into practice to the extent that English was taught in administration schools, and to this extent the New Guinea Government implemented its policy more effectively than the Papuan Government, but in New Guinea a very different spirit prevailed. There was no sense of 'sacred trust' or of seeking, however paternalistically, to raise the native from what was seen as a lowly situation. The aim was to 'keep him in his place'. Groves referred to the question of language policy in 1936 as:

one of the many matters confronting education in New Guinea, and one to whose solution the Administration, under expert guidance and in co-operation with the various missionary organisations, must soon give attention. (Groves 1936:18)

He noted that Europeans, apart from missionaries, 'insistently use Pidgin in their dealings with the natives' (Groves 1936:115). Some ex-New Guinea Administration Officers working in Papua after World War II refused to speak to a Papuan in English and insisted on using a Pidgin-speaking interpreter (personal communication from the Rev. Percy Chatterton). In Papua, Sir Hubert Murray almost completely dominated the small and not prosperous expatriate community, but in New Guinea, as Reed notes, '... the Territorial Government is virtually dependent on European enterprise for its proper maintenance'. (Reed 1943:252). The expatriate in New Guinea showed 'definite hostility towards the native being given any education at all' (Reed 1943:189). This hostility can be illustrated by an editorial from the 'Rabaul Times' where pressure had been successfully applied. The editor writes: 'We learn with pleasure that the seven natives who were to be sent to Australia did not go, owing to representations made by the Citizens' Association'. ('Rabaul Times' No.198, February 1, 1929). (This editorial was written at a time when the expatriate population had been alarmed by a general strike in the Rabaul area. However, it is typical of the attitude of the expatriate population that education was seen as being more likely to cause friction than cure it.) Reed noted further:

One inevitably receives the impression that the Government's policy, notwithstanding its limited budget, is shaped on the do-nothing model in response to the attitude of the non-official population (Reed 1943:189),

and this impression was shared by Meere who wrote 'Lack of administration educational progress was due mainly to shortage of money, to public [European] apathy if not antipathy and to administrative procrastination'.

(Meere 1973:51). The prospects for the pupil who had left school were no better than for his counterpart in Papua despite the higher levels of economic and commercial activity. Reed reports a positive preference for non-educated labour in both government and the private sector.

'Governmental reports contain no references to this informalised policy I am certain however, that it exists'. (Reed 1943:213). Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the administration schools were considered to have failed. Groves states that pupils from the first government school were not holding useful positions, nor were they psychologically or socially well-adjusted (Groves 1936:118).

W.C. Groves is an important figure in tracing the changing patterns of language use and language policy in Papua New Guinea, not only because of his book which is an important source of reference and still relevant in its comments and proposals concerning language issues, but also because as the first director of education in the post-war joint administration of Papua and New Guinea, he was one of the few people with relevant pre-war experience. In the years following 1946 he tried to carry through the ideas and proposals which were discussed in *Native Education and Culture-Contact in New Guinea*. He failed, but his ideas are widely respected and many of the 'new' ideas being canvassed at present are similar to his, whether or not they owe a debt to him.

Groves came to New Guinea in 1922 as the first European teacher to work under the then newly established educational organisation. One of the main aims of the government schools was the teaching of English, and the failure of this attempt, as he saw it, had a profound effect upon his views. He wrote:

... with native teachers and in a native environment, it will never be possible to teach English even reasonably well in the village schools, even if it were desired to do so. All experience and reason are against it. When English is widespread in New Guinea villages, they will no longer be New Guinea villages. And a sorry day that indeed will be.
(Groves 1936:116)

Referring to the various solutions by missionaries to the language problem he wrote: 'On the whole their solutions seem to have been satisfactory. None of them, of course, has been foolish enough to attempt to make English the language of instruction'. (Groves 1936:117). However, Groves acknowledged the value of and necessity for English for higher-level studies (Groves 1936:117). He had some reservations about the uses of Pidgin, but believed that it could and should be used as the medium of instruction in village schools where there was no suitable mother tongue. Finally, referring to education in general, but also to language policy with which he was very much concerned, he wrote:

'One thing is certain: that whatever is done, must not be done hurriedly. Every step in the broad plan must be carefully measured and its implications fully considered'. (Groves 1936:169).

As Director of Education he was to find himself caught up in a pressure of events which did not allow for the time he needed, and which forced him eventually to go against every principle he had put forward.

In the early 1920s, the Administration had not yet abnegated responsibility. Government expenditure on native education dropped from £18,000 in 1923 to £5,000 in 1937. The Administration's first school was established in 1922, and soon afterwards Col. John Ainsworth was called upon to report to the Minister for Home and Territories on language policy amongst other things. He was the previous Chief Native Commissioner, Kenya Colony, and his recommendations were consistent with British colonial policy at this time. Ainsworth's report was strongly pro-vernacular. Schools were to be conducted in the vernacular. Administration Officers were to learn the vernacular language of the area in which they served (Ainsworth 1924:129). He deprecated the use of Pidgin which he refers to as 'a form of crude speech' and 'this semi-jargon' and stated that:

... so long as "pidgin" remains in use as at present, effective administration of the native districts must be hampered
.... Unfortunately, in the present circumstances, its use remains a necessity, but in the interests of good administration alone, it should not remain a necessity a day longer than can be helped. (Ainsworth 1924:130)

He approved of the Mission system of adopting a vernacular language for a particular district and suggested that it might be adopted by the government (Ainsworth 1924:132). On the policy of teaching English in government schools, he wrote:

The scholastic side of the work [in the government schools at Malaguna and Rabaul] seems to be largely actuated by the desire and intention to teach a number of boys English, with the idea that they may be useful as interpreters in dealing with the natives in the districts. (Ainsworth 1924:29)

Since Pidgin already supplied this need, the rationale for teaching English seems to have been weak to say the least. No action was taken on his report.

In a burst of activity in 1927, a Mission-Administration conference was called and told of government plans to inspect and subsidise mission schools. Meere writes that the missions were unwilling to co-operate with these plans, which were therefore dropped (Meere 1973:40), but according to Groves, a number of missions introduced English into their school programmes:

in anticipation of definite proposals being made by the government to assist the missions in their secular education work; and it was confidently believed that this assistance would be arranged on the basis of an English-teaching programme. (Groves 1936:117)

However, the Administration did not introduce subsidies whether to give it some control over mission education or to promote the use of English in mission schools. It would probably have proved impracticable in any case, since, according to Reed 'white teaching is at a premium and only 189 of the 3000 mission schools have European instructors' (Reed 1943: 239), and according to Mair there were only 81 missionaries in New Guinea who were native speakers of English, the remainder of the 373 being predominantly German, many of whom never learned to speak English and used Pidgin to speak to other Europeans who did not know their language (Mair 1948:167).

Whatever may or may not have been possible, very little was attempted. Meere remarks:

lack of finance is not the whole reason for the low government expenditure on education, as in most years there was considerably more money available in the Native Education Trust Fund than was spent. (Meere 1973:49),

and Mair,

The history of native education policy in New Guinea has in fact consisted largely of postponement of action pending the results of discussion, conferences and what not. (Mair 1948:170)

Mair also notes the opinion of an educational expert, Miss Dannevig, speaking at the last meeting of the permanent Mandates Commission who said: 'she knew of no territory under mandate in which education progressed so slowly'. (Mair 1948:173).

In spite of the clear differences in intention between the Administration in Papua and that in New Guinea, the one frankly paternalistic, the other exploitative, the results were similar. English was the official language, field administration was carried out through a lingua franca, and education was left in the hands of the missions, whose language policies remained very much their own affair in New Guinea and largely so in Papua.

7.3.2.5. THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA UNDER AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATION

During the war, under the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit, there were some important developments. Radio programmes were broadcast in Police Motu and Pidgin, and receiving sets were provided for natives in forward areas (Mair 1948:196). Secondly, the first government secondary school was opened at Sogeri in 1944 and staffed by army personnel who were ex-teachers (Meere 1973:53).

The war generated a great deal of sympathetic interest for Papua New Guinea in Australia; partly no doubt because it was impossible to ignore the long hard battle which had been fought there, but also because many Australian soldiers owed their lives to Papua New Guineans. As early as August 1945 Camilla Wedgwood produced in response to Government request, the *Suggested Organisation of Native Education in New Guinea* (Wedgwood 1945b). Her views were similar to those of Groves, and on the language question she states specifically that English must be subordinated to vernacular education, though

later, with better trained native teachers it should be possible to begin lessons in English in some of the Village Schools. The general education and intellectual development of the children will not, however, be sacrificed for the sake of gaining an early knowledge of this language. (Wedgwood 1945b:3)

This gave the first indication that Papua New Guinea might come into line with the language policies held in for example Colonial Africa, where experts were generally agreed upon the need for '... the wise educational use of the language in which a pupil has learnt from infancy to name the things he sees, hears and handles ...' (H.M.S.O. 1927), and 'It is surely unquestionable that in a school course of six years, the instruction must be given entirely through the medium of the vernacular'. (H.M.S.O. 1943).

Between 1946 and 1950, A. Capell made a number of visits to the Territory at Groves' invitation as part of the 'broad plan' outlined in 1936. Groves wrote: 'On the basis of this survey, policy with regard to languages will be decided for all localities'. (Proposed Programme for the Five Year Period, July 1948-June 1953. 1948:8). The proposed development of vernacular education which was the purpose of Capell's visit was not to be in opposition to the use of English, in fact Capell recommends: 'The preparation of suitable textbooks for the teaching of English [as against Reading Primers...] is a matter of urgency'. (Capell 1951:Foreword). Surprisingly, since he was the only linguist to adopt this attitude, Capell was against any use of Pidgin in education.

The very first necessity is that Pidgin should be abolished at the earliest possible date. It has had certain practical advantages, but it can never be the vehicle of education. (Capell 1951:Foreword)

In the 'Proposed Programme of the Department of Education for the Five-Year Period July, 1948-June, 1953', provision was made for the payment of grants-in-aid to mission schools which were teaching through a vernacular and it was noted that vernacular schooling would remain in the hands of the missions 'during the period of the plan'. (Proposed Programme ... 1948:2). The need for education officers to be able to

speak the language of the community they served was stressed and it was noted that in order to effect this, 'continuous and widespread movement of staff is to be avoided'. (Proposed Programme ... 1948:8). In adult education the department advised that:

adult education, if carried out, will have to be fully vernacular So far as the dissemination of mass information by such technical departments as Health and Agriculture is concerned, it may, in fact, be necessary to use Pidgin or Police Motu, though in many cases vernaculars will be both practicable and more effective. (Proposed Programme ... 1948:9)

A Special Services Division had been established with sections for broadcasting, art, publications and languages in 1946. Following Sir Hubert Murray's example, Groves appointed a government anthropologist to the Education Department. On broadcasting it was noted:

The languages of broadcasting are vernaculars, Police Motu, Pidgin and English. Local experience has shown that vernacular broadcasts are, at present, the most effective; and that English, even in extremely simple form and in the limited field of fairly advanced school pupils, is of little use.

However, it was noted that the standard of vernacular broadcasts was generally poor because of the low level of education of those who did the translation into the vernacular. This situation was to be remedied (Proposed Programme ... 1948:9). The proposed programme did not favour the use of either Pidgin or Police Motu.

The Department's view is that the extension of the use of these marginal languages is not to be encouraged, since they are not considered to be adequate educational media, and since in the case of Pidgin, its spread may provide a positive impediment to the wide adoption and spread of real English ... it will be the Department's aim that both should disappear in due course. (Proposed Programme ... 1948:20)

English was to remain the ultimate objective, but removed now to some indefinite time in the future.

While the ultimate use of English is considered to be the only solution to the problem of the linguistic diversity in the Territory, it is recognised that the achievement of this will, in the majority of localities, be extremely remote. It is not, therefore, intended to permit a present lack of balance in educational plans by concentrating on the universal, high-speed teaching of English, and since the vernacular is the medium of instruction in most village schools, vernaculars will, for some time, remain the most important educational media for most people. (Proposed Programme ... 1948:8)

Groves' policies received the support of the post-war Australian Labor Government and of the first post-war Administrator, Col. J.K. Murray, but when the Liberal Government came to power in December 1949 the situation changed rapidly. In the Territory of New Guinea Report 1950-51 the stated aim of universal literacy still meant vernacular

literacy (Meere 1973:60). However, by the early 1960s the situation was to have changed completely and the use of vernacular languages on school premises was not only frowned upon, but in some schools had become a punishable offence. K.R. McKinnon the last expatriate Director of Education considered that post-war vernacular education was a failure and suggested reasons:

Apart from the fact that standards of general education of teachers were low and supervision of the school system infrequent, the most important reason seems to be that there were very few vernaculars in written form and even for those there was little reading additional to segments of the Bible. The number of people competent to prepare learning material in the vernacular well enough for this task was particularly small since the number of missionaries who learned the vernacular well enough for this task was smaller than has been generally realised and since the vernacular was never used as a tool of advanced education for indigenous students. (McKinnon 1971:8)

However, it might be more appropriate to say that Groves' policies were never effectively tried out. One reason for this may have been Groves' apparent lack of administrative ability, but it should be taken into account that he was working in a period in Papua New Guinea's development which Sir Paul Hasluck has described as follows: 'I found much that inspired me and much that made me feel humble. Quite frankly, however, I was appalled at the state of the Territory Public Service'. (Hasluck 1958:115). Earlier Hasluck had said:

Whatever may be said about the wisdom and effectiveness of the Administration of Papua and New Guinea since I became Minister, I would say with complete confidence that one of the substantial and lasting achievements has been the building of sounder foundations for a better public service. (Hasluck 1955:114)

These foundations were to support for the first time, a vigorously pursued language policy in Papua and New Guinea in the next few years.

Groves survived, with some credit, a departmental investigation by the Commonwealth Government in 1953, but there were other reasons why his policies were progressively reversed, until by the time of his retirement in 1958, the educational system in Papua and New Guinea was almost the opposite of the one he had set out to achieve. There were many reasons for the movement towards English as the sole medium of instruction in schools; one was that Papua New Guineans were generally disillusioned by the practical benefits obtained from mission vernacular education, and believed that 'real' education was only to be obtained through English, in fact that 'real' education was the ability to read and write English (Wedgwood 1945b:2). Another reason was that those who were against the adoption of English tended to be dismissed

as sharing the attitudes, no longer acceptable, of the pre-war New Guinean expatriates who wanted the 'natives' kept in their place. None of these reasons might have been important if it had not been for the change in world attitudes which was taking place at this time. Groves could and did point to the extensive literature on the advantages of vernacular education. He was instrumental in the production by T.A. Dietz of a document which reviewed this literature exhaustively and came to the conclusion 'The medium of instruction to be the vernacular or Pidgin for the first four years, absolutely'. (Dietz 1955:26). The UNESCO 1953 monograph (UNESCO 1953) had also given the strongest statement up to that time of the importance educationally, psychologically and sociologically of education through the mother tongue. The decision to change language policy to English was not taken therefore in ignorance of current advice, it came about because pedagogical, psychological and sociological criteria were no longer being given primary consideration. The new criteria were political, economic and logistic. There was determination in Australia that, at last, there should be tangible evidence of development in Papua and New Guinea, and there was pressure from the United Nations to ensure that this determination did not flag. The problems which a programme of vernacular education faced were enormous, and vernacular education would not in any case lead to the economic goals which were now being pursued for Papua and New Guinea.

This change in both attitude and criteria did not apply only to Papua and New Guinea, it was a world-wide phenomenon. The dependencies of the now crumbling colonial empires were to be hurried, willingly enough for the most part, into the technological era and towards an increasingly inevitable independence. William E. Bull in his review of the UNESCO monograph makes these new criteria and attitudes quite explicit.

The Committee, rather obviously, strongly believes that what is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically should be the prime point of departure in planning for universal education. This proposition appears, however, to be somewhat unrealistic. What is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically may not be best for the adult socially, economically or politically and, what is even more significant, what is best for the child and the adult may not be best or even possible for the society which, through its collective efforts, provides the individual with the advantages he cannot personally attain. (Bull 1955:528)

The assumptions underlying the monograph are said to be

hopelessly unattainable when expressed in terms of the economics of a modern education ... and endangers the elaboration of a long-range program compatible with the needs and the potentials of modern society. (Bull 1955:532)

A great deal of faith was being placed in the ability of language engineering to generate economic progress, for the adoption of English was a prerequisite for the changes which it was hoped education would bring.

Sir Paul Hasluck at least had some doubts, admitting that he wondered what the effect of their education would be on pupils' emotional life and on their relationships with the others 'who are to form the society in which he is to live', but he continues:

Perhaps we should not get too worried about it. We certainly do not want to reduce ourselves to the state to which child psychology has brought parents in our own society, for it would be no good if, besides having troublesome children, we have a neurotic trustee power. (Hasluck 1958:100)

Others had no doubts at all. J.T. Gunther, then Assistant Administrator and later first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea said bluntly:

There is no education until the people have a knowledge of English Teach them English, English and more English; this is what they want. (Gunther 1958:58)

... only Christianity can replace the myriad philosophies, legends, pagan practices and supernatural fears that 510 tongues have engendered. It is only by removal of these 510 tongues and the acceptance of a common language that the end of many unnatural behaviours can be achieved. (Gunther 1958:59)

His views on Pidgin and Police Motu were equally condemnatory: 'At this stage I am denying as languages those bastard creations known as "Pidgin English" and "Police Motu"' (Gunther 1958:46). Many Papua New Guineans shared these attitudes. Mr Akau'undo spoke as follows in giving evidence to the Commission on Higher Education:

Perhaps you will laugh at me because I speak Pidgin, and because I cannot read and write. But in a short while I will die and Pidgin will die with me. My children will be able to speak English. (Johnson, F.C. 1973:1)

There was opposition from Canberra to evening classes run by the Department of Education to teach the local *lingue franche* to expatriates 'on the grounds that teaching such languages militated against proficiency in English'. (Dietz 1973:3). Groves' successor as Director of Education, G.T. Roscoe, immediately began planning for the mass production of materials and aids to improve the teaching of English (Meere 1973:64) while disbanding the literacy and linguistics section of the Special Services Division.

Groves had pioneered a scheme of publishing manuscripts for vernacular primers and readers prepared by the Department in Pidgin and Police Motu. All of this was cancelled ... even the Pidgin and Police Motu primers in press. (Dietz 1973:3)

The position of Government Anthropologist was also abolished.

The most improbable opponent of Pidgin to enter the lists however was the United Nations Trusteeship Council Mission to New Guinea of 1953 which called for Pidgin to be abolished on four main grounds:

1. That the use of Pidgin is undemocratic and colonialistic;
2. That Pidgin is a 'corruption' of English;
3. That it 'may do great harm to native psychology';
4. That it could easily be replaced by standard English, by fiat and overnight (Hall 1955:103)

This brought a spirited response from Robert A. Hall with the book *Hands Off Pidgin English!* Hasluck dismissed the demand as 'just another indication of the unreality which often characterised Trusteeship Council resolutions'. (Hall 1955:13, 14). Hall suggests that the Department of Education discontinued Pidgin as a medium of instruction and that various missions did likewise as a result of this 'blast' (Hall 1955:103). However, in view of Hasluck's comment, and changes which were already in progress in government thinking on the language question this seems unlikely. In fact a standardised orthography was published by the Department of Education in 1956 ('The Standard Neo-Melanesian [Pidgin] Orthography' 1956). The Introduction, written by W.C. Groves is as informative about the 'climate of the times' as it is about the value and uses of the orthography. Groves wrote: 'In 1955, the Minister for Territories approved the use of Pidgin in the Territory' (this was necessary because of the Education Ordinance 1954, see below), with the proviso

that the purpose of this approval is to further the aim of teaching all children in controlled areas to read and write English; that Pidgin is to be used only as a medium of instruction and then only in schools in areas where it is in general use; that the production of primers, readers and text-books in Pidgin is not to be allowed to prejudice or limit the production and distribution of similar material in English for use in all phases of school work. (The Standard Neo-Melanesian [Pidgin] Orthography 1956, Foreword)

He also noted the Minister's approval for:

1. The selection of a regional form of Pidgin to be adopted as the standard form for the territory; (the Madang area was chosen)
2. the adoption of a linguistically sound standardised orthography;
3. the preparation for publication of school primers, readers and text books. (The Standard Neo-Melanesian [Pidgin] Orthography 1956)

In the Introduction section, the writer T.A. Dietz who was largely responsible for its production, wrote circumspectly regarding the aims of the orthography and said in hoping that it would be widely used,

'It has a very large part to play in education, both in schools and out, particularly in the teaching of English'. (The Standard Neo-Melanesian [Pidgin] Orthography 1956). It might be noted here that no Pidgin was used officially in schools after 1959.

The Australian Government did not change its basic position on language policy after 1955. 'The basic policy statement on education was issued by the then Minister for Territories in February 1955' (Department of Education, Territory of Papua New Guinea Programme of Development 1966-1971:1). This policy statement stressed universal literacy with English as the common language (Hasluck 1955). Neither was this policy challenged by the spokesman for the Australian Opposition Labor Party. Mr Kim Beazley, speaking in 1968, recommended in fact that this policy should be pursued even more vigorously.

I believe, realistically, we must campaign massively for English as a unifying language. I do not ignore Pidgin as a lingua franca, but English must be the unifying language of Government and Education I believe this means a trebling of our present educational expenditure.
(Beazley 1968:117)

In the years preceding independence the Australian Government considered that any decisions on language policy should be taken by a government elected by the people of Papua New Guinea. The Education Ordinance of 1954 cleared the way for the implementation of the policy that English and English only should be the medium of education. It made the Administration responsible for the control and direction of secular education, required that all schools conducted by other agencies be 'registered' or 'recognised' and authorised the making of grants to such agencies. The extension of English as the lingua franca and the attainment of universal literacy were to be the main and related aims. At first sight this was a continuation of previous uses of subsidies to direct schools towards a particular policy, but this time the stick was to be applied as well as the carrot: schools which were not granted the category 'registered' or 'recognised' would be illegal, and by the end of the '50s the missions had come into line with government policy, for the most part reluctantly and with vociferous opposition which has been maintained in some cases up to the present. However, with soaring educational costs and governmental willingness to subsidise teacher-training and the salaries of qualified teachers (Meere 1973:478), the missions had little alternative but to abandon what had been until then the widespread policy of using Pidgin and vernacular languages as the media of education.

By the end of the '50s, the inadequacies had become all too apparent in both the materials for teaching English as a second language, and the teachers, most of whom had necessarily received only primary education themselves. The problem of materials was tackled vigorously. The Department of Education produced some materials but no curriculum centres were established as was done in parts of Africa. The main effort was made by officers of the Department in collaboration with Australian publishing houses. F.C. Johnson produced the *Minenda Series* with Jacaranda Press, and later a group of writers working in Papua New Guinea combined to produce the *Pacific Series* with Oxford University Press. The materials were designed so that the teacher had the maximum assistance and the minimum of responsibility. The syllabuses produced by the Department of Education gave further guidance. Teachers' colleges based their training courses on these materials and on very little else, and a considerable amount of in-service teacher training was carried out. From 1956 there was an increasing emphasis in the School Curriculum on English. There were no further broadcasts in vernacular languages from the Educational Services Division (Meere 1973: 478), and up to half of educational broadcasting time was devoted to supplementing the teaching of English (Tokome 1973:2). There can be no doubt that the standard as well as the amount of English teaching went up considerably during this period. Without this improvement in quality it might have proved more difficult to expand the education system at secondary and tertiary levels, as was done during the '60s, thus providing the resources of educated manpower which enabled Papua New Guinea to achieve a smooth transition to independence in the '70s. Nevertheless, by the late '60s there was a growing sense of uneasiness: uneasiness about the language courses themselves, but more importantly, uneasiness that the great gamble that an economic miracle would result from the new policy was not going to pay off.

The professional uneasiness of language teachers was expressed by David Lewis:

There is a widespread feeling that we have gone about as far as we can go in teaching English in this country using the methods we are using in the context of our dependence in the primary schools on teachers whose mother tongue is not English. Though significant innovations might be possible in techniques, the method and the type of syllabus we are using, have no viable substitute. This opinion is held despite serious misgivings felt about the psychological assumptions underlying present methods and genuine doubts entertained about their efficiency. (Lewis 1970:10)

These misgivings had also caused F.C. Johnson to re-think the rationale for second-language learning (Johnson, F.C. 1973), and to design a new

set of teaching and learning materials (J.I.L.A.P. (Jacaranda Individualized Language Arts Programme) 1973).

The second feeling of uneasiness, that the gamble had not worked, was world-wide. Primary education through English was found to provide an adequate medium of communication for those who went on to a higher level of education, but those whose education ceased at the end of primary school, the great majority, had no jobs to go to and lacked the skills necessary to create jobs for themselves. They feel necessarily that the English they have acquired so painfully, and in most cases so inadequately, must have some justification. In the village situation it has none, and since the largest city in Papua New Guinea has a population of only approximately 70,000, the 'village situation' applies to more than 90% of the population. Increasing numbers of people were coming to the conclusion that English had proved at this level, at best useless, and at worst had alienated the child from the environment in which he would spend his life. The aim of universal primary education was tacitly dropped, and budget figures now indicate that there will be difficulty in supporting the present 50% enrolment in the primary system as the population increases. Many Papua New Guineans still see English as the road to advancement for their children, which it is, since it is a prerequisite for entry into higher levels of education and employment, but this section of the economy accounts for only some 10% of the working population, and increasingly, members of the community are expressing their disquiet at the fate of the primary school leaver who cannot find a place in this sector. There has been little indication of active hostility to English, as has happened in some other ex-colonies, but English is no longer considered sacrosanct as the following example illustrates: A Local Government Councillor addressing the Madang District Education Board was reported by the Rev. A. Schuster at a University forum in 1972 as asking:

Education for what? When our children come home they are good for nothing; they have even lost the skill of garden work; they don't know enough English and are not literate in Pidgin either.

The problems caused by the use of English, or of other second languages, have received a great deal of world-wide attention in the last eight to ten years. Many countries which adopted English as the medium of instruction, for example Malaysia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Tanzania have abandoned that policy completely, for primary education at least. Other countries have reintroduced or are reintroducing vernacular education in the lower grades, for example Zambia, Kenya, Ethiopia and a number of West African countries, and

publishing enthusiastic reports of the improvement in the classroom atmosphere and children's learning ability. Notice is being taken of the successful bilingual education schemes undertaken in Russia, and in many South American countries. The language rights of minority groups are being given consideration as never before; e.g. the French Canadians, American Indians and other minority groups in America, and the Aborigines in Australia. A recent UNESCO publication discussing the historic role of the 1953 monograph recommended only one change, that where the original had suggested 'that the promotion of mother tongue impedes national unity' the revised version should stress that 'National Unity and cultural and linguistic pluralism are not necessarily in fundamental opposition to one another'. (UNESCO 1972a:9). Another UNESCO paper reasserts the original criteria for determining language policy:

We must question the wisdom of defining educational development as the attainment of quantitative or economic goals ... economic frames of reference ... are too restricted to account for the social, cultural and linguistic dimensions of education.... It has become necessary to revise accepted notions of educational advancement and ask some fundamental questions such as: "Growth for what?", "in whose terms?" and "by which means?". (UNESCO 1972b:1)

Very much the same questions that were asked by the Local Government Councillor from Madang.

7.3.2.6. PAPUA NEW GUINEA: THE PRESENT SITUATION

In spite of much discussion and several proposals for change (below) Papua New Guinea has as yet done nothing to change the course which was set in the mid-1950s. On the contrary, that policy has recently been reaffirmed. Papua New Guinea was one of the first countries to adopt a policy of English as the sole medium of instruction, and it invested a great deal more time, effort and money in the policy than did most others. At its height, the policy was carried to extremes, as the following mild recommendation illustrates: K.R. McKinnon wrote in 1963

It could be that where children have opportunities to relax occasionally and use their own vernacular, their attitude to learning English will improve - they may even do better in English. I for one would like day secondary schools to try this theory. (McKinnon 1963:51)

The ban on the use of any language other than English was generally imposed at this time not only in the classroom but in the school grounds as well. These excesses have been toned down, if not eliminated, and from the late '60s onwards some positive encouragement has been given to teachers to use vernacular languages or a lingua franca, though this

was done either to promote more effective learning of English or under the heading of cultural activities. As Director of Education, McKinnon consistently brought forward the language question for discussion, and even claimed that the Papua New Guinean education system was in fact bilingual:

Current language policy in education is better stated as a policy of bilingualism. The curriculum for schools specifically states that vernaculars may be used and taught in schools initially. The restrictions are professionally defensible ones for there is insistence that there be an organised vernacular syllabus, suitable material from which to learn reading, and teachers suitably competent in the particular vernacular. (McKinnon 1971:8)

However, since no resources had ever been directed towards the development of such syllabuses or materials, the claim represents rather a reaction to the uneasiness mentioned above than an actual change in policy. McKinnon seemed to recognise that change must come, but felt that success might not have been far away if the old policy could have been maintained:

Establishment of English as a common language could only be expected to take place gradually over several generations. The first signs of success of the policy are now evident in the second generation children reaching the upper levels of primary schools and high schools. Given a little more time, the increasingly wide use of English would have reached the point where its growth and spread became at least in part self-sustaining and the job of teaching English considerably easier. (McKinnon 1971:9)

In the next few years there were a number of indications that a change in language policy was imminent. In his speech at the official opening of the Teachers' Association Conference in May 1973, the then Minister for Education, Mr Olewale, called for a multi-language system in Papua New Guinea's schools. 'We can express our thoughts and feelings better in our own language' but the importance of English for higher education and links abroad was also stressed. 'Obviously we will have to rely on learning several languages, but what we have to decide is which languages and the priority to be given to each one of them'.

In reply to a question in the House of Assembly from Mr Naipuri Maina on the use of Pidgin or Motu courses in the primary school syllabus, Mr Olewale replied: 'Mr Speaker, the present policy of the Government is for all the teaching in schools to be carried out in English. This is a policy which is being looked into at the moment...'. (House of Assembly Debates 1973a). The first Papua New Guinean Director of Education, Mr Tololo, has made no direct statement, but his views have been reported as follows:

He questions the value of teaching English at primary level where children's interests could be better served by learning Pidgin, Motu, and a local language. He does not underestimate the importance of English, but feels it should be introduced at a later stage.

The first document published to promote discussion on the future of education in an independent Papua New Guinea was the *Report of the Five Year Education Plan Committee* (Department of Education 1974).

The major aim expressed in the committee's report was that the school system should be community-orientated, and to this end, the school curriculum should be revised 'to make sure that what is being attempted at school is relevant to the life the student will have to live when he leaves school' (Department of Education 1974:1). Since 'at least 80 percent of Papua New Guinea's population will continue to live in the rural areas for quite a long time yet' (Department of Education 1974:1), education at primary level was seen as essentially education for life in a village community. (Primary schools have since been renamed 'community schools'.) Language policy was seen as a key element in the implementation of such an aim, which is in many ways the antithesis of the previous policy in which lower levels of education were seen primarily as a preparation for higher levels in spite of the large numbers of primary school leavers for whom there were no secondary school places (Johnson, R.K. 1970).

Key elements in the proposed language policy were as follows:

6.2. The language policy in P.N.G. schools must conform to the general diversity of the society, its people and their languages.

6.3. The medium of instruction from Grades 1 to 4 will be the functional language of the community in which the school serves.

6.4. Although English will be taught as a subject in the lower grades, it will become the medium of instruction in all schools as from Grade 5. (Both Melanesian Pidgin and Hiri Motu must be used when and wherever necessary).

6.5. Wherever possible vernaculars including Melanesian Pidgin and Hiri Motu will continue to be encouraged at all levels of the national education system.

6.6. English will remain the language of high school and tertiary education.

6.7. During the life of this plan, the Department of Education will draw up possible strategies for the implementation of the language policy. (Department of Education 1974:38)

The *Report of the Five Year Education Plan Committee* was widely discussed, and while its intention of making education more relevant to the needs of the community, in particular the rural community, was generally approved, it was also felt to be too radical a departure from the established system, and to give insufficient emphasis to the national role of education, its role as the agent of change and development, and

to the role of primary level education as a preparation for secondary and subsequent levels of study. The *1975 Education Plan* (Department of Education 1975) stated its overall aim in relation to the community as follows: 'The objective, in brief, is to integrate the local community into the school and the school into the local and national community. The key is creative participation'. (Department of Education 1975:16).

This was to be achieved by equipping

... the child with basic knowledge, concepts and skills which will be developed as he matures, whether he proceeds to secondary education or not. These should enable him to learn to think of himself in relation to the tradition and values of his society, and to fit into the changing local and national community in ways that are socially useful and personally satisfying. (ibid.:13)

The plan also stated the need for a new approach to learning if these aims were to be achieved: '... a successful community school ... requires what for many teachers is a wholly new style of education - one which goes beyond rote-learning to questioning and child-centred discovery'. (ibid.:17)

This style of learning was seen as the antithesis of educational practice which '... imparts inert ideas or turns a child against his culture ...' (ibid.:15)

Language policy was still regarded as crucial to the proposed re-orientation of the education system. The *1975 Education Plan* reaffirmed the need to recognise and accommodate the linguistic complexity of Papua New Guinea society:

If primary education is to achieve its complex aims, not only must the variety of spoken languages be recognised, but the locally differing status and function of the vernaculars and the lingua franca [*sic*] - English, Hiri Motu and Melanesian Pidgin - must be accommodated. (ibid.:59)

However, the policy as stated in the *1975 Education Plan* is more cautious and less radical, or perhaps less prescriptive than the previous planning document. Policy is to be 'flexible', 'the selection of the language of instruction will initially be the responsibility of the community through the Board of Management of each school' (ibid.:59). But the Board of Management must submit its decision to the District Education Board and the Department of Education for approval, which will be subject to the availability of a suitable teaching programme and teachers who can carry it through (ibid.:59,60).

In practice this meant that there would be little change in the medium of instruction in schools since only limited resources were to be allocated at this stage to the development of teaching programmes or

the in-service training of teachers which would enable schools to satisfy these requirements.

As is noted in the *1975 Education Plan*, the University of Papua New Guinea, in collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, established a Diploma in Language and Education intended for curriculum advisors and developers who would work in Teachers Colleges or in the field towards setting up the conditions under which the new language policy could be implemented. Also in collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Port Moresby Teachers College instituted a programme to prepare primary level teachers to prepare materials and teach literacy in vernacular languages and/or the *lingue franche*, and it was intended that similar courses should be mounted at other teacher training colleges. The Department of Education itself planned to review language policies adopted at the primary level during the second half of the Plan period, to determine whether or not to set up a special language unit within the Department, and if so, at what cost (*ibid.*:61).

At secondary level, English would continue to be the medium of instruction, and it was envisaged that ultimately '... Melanesian Pidgin and Hiri Motu will become examinable subjects of the High School Curriculum' (*ibid.*:60-1), though not during the period of the plan.

Finally, the plan notes the implications of the proposed language policy for teacher-training institutions, particularly at the primary level and the need for extensive reorientation of that training (*ibid.*: 62-3).

Thus the *1975 Education Plan*, if tentative in relation to the implementation of its policy, offered a positive and consistent pointer towards future developments. The aim of education in Papua New Guinea was to be the integration of the school with the society it served, not passively, but actively or creatively as an agent of development within the community and as a link between the local and the national community. This overall policy was to be effectively supported by the language policy: the schools would be integrated into the local community by means of the use of the language of the community, while English was to provide the medium by which new ideas and contacts could be established. The tentative nature of the procedures for implementation, compared for example with the *Report of the Five Year Education Plan Committee* discussed earlier, may be ascribed to three reasons: firstly many officers in the Department of Education had doubts about the feasibility of a vernacular education programme in a country with over 700 languages, and there were fears that the introduction of vernacular education might lead to a serious drop in standards throughout the education system;

secondly, some officers in the Department of Education, by no means all expatriates, believed that Papua New Guinean languages were not capable of serving effectively as the media of education; thirdly, as was stated earlier, many Papua New Guineans have come to believe, understandably in view of past policies, that formal education means learning English, and as a result there could have been considered resistance in the local communities to the proposed changes.

In the event, neither the challenges and problems of the new policy, nor its potential for a new and more relevant approach to educational development in Papua New Guinea could be tested. When the *1975 Education Plan* was submitted to government for approval, the decision handed down was that the plan should be accepted as presented with the exception of the language policy. This was rejected totally and the Department of Education was instructed that the medium of education would be English and only English.

The current (November, 1976) position regarding language policy in schools is stated in the September 1976 issue of the Papua New Guinea Gazette in official notices numbers 46/76 and 47/76. (These notices are given in full as an appendix to this chapter.)

The Ministerial Policy Statement (46/76) states the conditions under which vernacular languages may be introduced into schools and colleges: 'A governing body of a school or college, if it wishes, may introduce a study of a language of Papua New Guinea into the curriculum' (Department of Education 1976:215), but this would be subject to approval by the Provincial Education Board 'after careful consideration' and would be 'in addition to the other studies required by the syllabus, in time normally regarded as student time or elective time, or in Cultural Activities time as part of a balanced cultural activities programme'. Further,

The school governing body and/or the local community will have to be responsible for the provision and maintenance of the necessary resources essential to teach the language effectively. The essential resources include - teaching materials, trained teachers and money for teachers' salaries and for teaching equipment and materials. (ibid.:215)

Secretary's Instruction (47/76) on the 'Language of Instruction and Teaching in Schools and Colleges' is equally explicit:

The National Executive Council has decided that the language of instruction in all community schools, provincial high schools, national high schools, teachers' colleges, technical colleges and vocational centres in the national education system will continue to be done in English. It is the duty of Provincial Superintendents and their professional staff and teachers in each province to ensure that this decision is implemented. (Department of Education 1976:215)

A prerequisite for approval of any vernacular language programme in a school is the availability of a suitably trained teacher (see above). In the Secretary's Instruction it is specifically stated: 'Student teachers will not be taught how to teach such languages'. (Department of Education 1976:216).

Vernacular education programmes already being conducted in teachers colleges were discontinued as soon as the policy decision was made known, projected programmes were cancelled, and no more students were financed by the Department of Education for the University of Papua New Guinea's Diploma in Language and Education.

This, along with the other constraints effectively means that there will be no officially sanctioned vernacular education in schools in spite of the fact that the great majority of Papua New Guinean children know no English when they enter a classroom for the first time, and will use none in their village communities when their schooling is completed.

The possibility of any real integration between the life of the school and the life of the community, a prime aim of the *1975 Education Plan*, would seem to be eliminated by this change in the language policy associated with the plan (Johnson, R.K., forthcoming). The present policy, English only, is unlikely to be challenged during the period of the present plan, but given the steady movement of opinion over the past ten years towards the introduction of some form of vernacular education, and the increasing acceptance of the irrelevance of English in the lives and for the purposes of most Papua New Guineans it seems highly probable that the issue will be raised again and that the present policy will be subjected to even stronger challenges. Meanwhile it is to be regretted that the present policy prevents exploratory studies into different approaches to the use of vernacular languages, since such studies will be of crucial importance if a future change to vernacular education is to be implemented effectively.

At tertiary level, the *Report of the Committee of Enquiry into University Development* (1974) was as insistent as the *Report of the Five Year Education Plan Committee* (Department of Education 1974) quoted above, on the value of languages other than English in the educational process.

If the elite are to be 'in touch' with the public, a first requirement is a common language. It is impossible at present to teach everybody the language of civil servants and other leaders. Therefore, the leaders should learn the language of the people, and this should be an integral part of their education. (Report of the Committee of Enquiry into University Development 1974:36)

Recommendation No.32 of the report was that '... all new undergraduates enrolled from 1975 onwards be able to speak and write both Pidgin and Hiri Motu before graduation'. (ibid.:36).

Further the report suggests that: 'For more senior classes, both Melanesian Pidgin and Hiri Motu should be used as the media of oral instruction when and wherever possible'. (ibid.:36), and to facilitate this suggestion, Recommendation No.27 was that 'all foreign staff ... (should be encouraged to) ... learn either Pidgin or Hiri Motu ... and that facilities be provided for them to do so' (ibid.:112).

Language courses in Pidgin and Hiri Motu have been established under the auspices of the Language Department at the University of Papua New Guinea, but these do not form part of the degree structure. The Pidgin and Hiri Motu courses have been attended primarily by expatriate members of staff, and some academics have experimented with the use of Pidgin in tutorial groups, often reporting considerable success, particularly in relation to students' willingness to participate in discussion. However, staff turnover of expatriate staff is fairly rapid, and few attain a level of proficiency in either language which would enable them to perform adequately in such a group. Few Papua New Guineans are at present teaching at either university, and little progress therefore has been achieved towards implementing the recommendations of the report. Nor does it seem for the present that there is much pressure for their implementation from students or from staff.

Thus, both in the government Department of Education, and at the universities, there have been radical proposals with regard to language policy, but in neither case have these proposals been implemented in spite of the fact that they initially generated a great deal of interest and support. It may well be that at this stage in the country's development, there is a considerable psychological need to assert what is seen as the best policy, particularly where that policy is different from the previous colonial policy, but once that psychological need has been satisfied there is some reluctance to undertake the often far-reaching organisational restructuring which the implementation of the proposals would require.

One further factor which should be discussed and which will inevitably affect future considerations of language policy is the remarkable increase in status which Pidgin has achieved in the last few years. People no longer apologise for speaking it; it is the language most commonly used in the House of Assembly, the nation's parliament; a flourishing Pidgin literature is growing up, with plays, poetry and short stories. Some agricultural and other vocational courses are again being conducted

through the medium of Pidgin; and adult literacy materials, and the quantity of adult educational materials available (e.g. those produced by the Departments of Information and Extension Services, and Agriculture Stock and Fisheries)¹ continues to grow; at least two Pidgin newspapers are published regularly. The possibility of using Pidgin in adult education (necessarily a badly neglected field under the present policy) is a very real one and departments other than education are increasingly recognising the role that Pidgin (and to a lesser extent Hiri Motu) can play and does play in extension work, and its use in schools was being seriously considered until the recent policy decision.

A conference held at the University of Papua New Guinea in September 1973 had the task of deciding what role the University could play in Pidgin studies, and the role Pidgin might play in facilitating greater contact between the University and the community at large. The suggestion that Pidgin would be the natural choice for the national language has often been made, most recently by Professor T.E. Dutton of the University of Papua New Guinea in his inaugural address (Dutton 1976), which led to a lengthy and spirited correspondence in the press (McDonald 1976). However, the national language issue is an extremely sensitive one, as illustrated by the fact that in 1971 the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea could find no 'official' figure who was prepared to speak on the subject.

In reply to a question on this issue in the House of Assembly, Mr Somare, the Chief Minister, replied:

The question of a national language is one that will need to be considered by Cabinet and by the House of Assembly before any action is taken. My own personal opinion is that English would probably be the official language for education and administration while Pidgin and Hiri Motu [the name 'Police Motu' has been dropped; Hiri Motu refers to the origins of the language in the Hiri trading expeditions along the Papuan coast] could be the official languages for other purposes. (House of Assembly Debates 1973b)

The development recently of a separatist movement in Papua makes the issue even more sensitive. Dr J. Guise, then the Deputy Chief Minister, was reported in the English-language daily newspaper warning that 'The use of Police Motu had been rubbished for too long and that if this continued there could be trouble'. (*Post-Courier*, May 26, 1971). There are then grounds for the fear that any decisions in favour of Pidgin could provoke a reaction in non-Pidgin-speaking areas, and particularly in Papua.

There are therefore a number of reasons for the present hiatus in policy with regard to language. The period during which power was being transferred from Australia to Papua New Guinea has not been an easy one

for taking new initiatives which would involve major changes in the administrative structure. Not unnaturally Australia was anxious to hand over the going concern which had been built up over a number of years and at some cost; the Papua New Guinean administration, in the process of taking over, wished to take a firm grasp on what existed before attempting far-reaching changes. Nevertheless, the decision to retain English as the medium of education, and therefore by implication as the medium of administration and commerce at all levels is a surprising one given the changes in the climate of opinion over the past ten years as outlined above. Given the present political emphasis on decentralisation and the establishment of regional government, it seems inevitable that more and more of the daily business of the nation will be conducted in languages other than English, and that pressure will continue to mount against the exclusive use of English throughout the education system.

7.3.2.7. SUMMARY

In the language policies pursued in Papua New Guinea, the colonial language was the dominant choice of the colonial powers throughout the history of the Territories with the exception of the brief post-World War II period when vernacular languages received some emphasis. The main instrument of this policy was the use of government subsidies in the education system, and this was largely ineffective until the last 15 to 20 years, when legislation was passed to back up a financial control of education which, by this time, was almost complete.

Another theme of this study has been the development of Pidgin, so often despised but successfully imposing itself upon the reluctant German Administration, and the apathetic administration of the Mandated Territory. It may yet emerge as the national language. English is secure as the language of higher education, international contact, and probably of national administration. At regional levels vernacular languages show no signs of dying out as was predicted, and may be expected to grow stronger as literacy and community education materials are developed, as seems inevitable in spite of the recent policy decisions. It has been noted however that the records of local government councils are usually kept in a lingua franca even when discussion has been in the mother tongue (Wurm 1969:102). Hiri Motu seems not to be spreading while the use of Pidgin is gradually increasing amongst Motu-speakers. Its future is uncertain, but if it becomes established as the rallying point for the Free Papua Movement, its effect on Papua New Guinea's future could be profound.

It is estimated that there are over 700 vernacular languages in Papua New Guinea. Even those who are most convinced of the need for vernacular education admit the enormity of the problem. A number of mission groups and in particular the Summer Institute of Linguistics, are working to establish orthographies for the various languages. A recent estimate suggested that:

... approximately 200 languages representing 80% of the population already have an orthography. Many of these orthographies are satisfactory, but quite a few are still only experimental ... there are still about 150 medium-sized languages (1,000-10,000 speakers) that do not yet have an orthography. (Healey 1975:56)

S.A. Wurm, while admitting that 'the practical difficulties are quite staggering' (Wurm 1966:137-8), nevertheless argues that the production of primers and teaching materials in a multiplicity of languages need be neither impracticable nor prohibitively expensive, given the ability of a native speaker to type, and given modern cheap offset processes (Wurm 1966:137-8). Others argue that community education does not require literacy as a prerequisite and that oral education through the vernacular could be organised on a national scale on the basis of teacher-training centres which operated through English and/or the *lingue franche*. However, these are options for the future. A joint language survey in relation to areas where literacy work has been carried out has been conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Educational Research Unit of the University of Papua New Guinea. The aims of the survey are as follows: (1) to identify the numbers of speakers of the various first languages and their dialects; (2) to identify the areas and frequency of language use by bilinguals; (3) to establish which languages have orthographies; the types of orthography used and their adequacy; which languages have a literature and the nature of that literature; the details of literacy programmes, the number of literates, their motivation for acquiring literacy and the uses to which literacy is put (chapters 7.2.1. and 7.2.3. in this volume, also Kemelfield forthcoming). This survey should provide valuable information for future language planning if the Ministry of Education maintains its commitment to the eventual introduction of vernacular education shown in the two versions of the education plan discussed above, despite the recent reversal of policy moves in this direction.

One final sobering thought emerges for language planners: the two stories of effective language engineering in Papua New Guinea are the partly incidental elimination of Pidgin from Papua in the period between the world wars, and the imposition of English as the sole medium of instruction in the education system of Papua New Guinea in the past 20

years. It seems likely that the country may pay dearly for the success of both, though the importance of the colonial education policy in producing the élite which has led Papua New Guinea to independence should not be undervalued. Pidgin, the real success story amongst the languages of Papua New Guinea, was condemned outright by almost every language planner who was consulted or who offered an opinion on the subject until very recently. It flourishes in spite of them.

N O T E

1. Now the Office of Information, and the Department of Primary Industry.

R.K. JOHNSON

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APPENDIX

The following official notices are taken from the *Papua New Guinea Education Gazette*, vol.10, no.11, September 1976:215-16. These notices state the current position of the Department of Education with regard to language policy.

46/76 - LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Ministerial Policy Statement No.MPS2

File: EC2-5-22

GG1-5-2

The language of instruction in all schools and colleges of the national education system is English.

Teachers may use a language other than English in Grades 1 and 2 (years 1 and 2 of community schools) only if this is considered necessary to communicate an English concept more effectively to the pupils.

- (a) A governing body of a school or college, if it wishes, may introduce the study of a language of Papua New Guinea into the curriculum. This must be approved by the Provincial Education Board after careful consideration.
- (b) The introduction of a language of Papua New Guinea into a school would be in addition to the other studies required by the syllabus, in time normally regarded as student time or elective time, or in Cultural Activities time as part of a balanced cultural activities programme.
- (c) The school governing body and/or the local community will have to be responsible for the provision and maintenance of the necessary resources essential to teach the language effectively. Introduction or teaching of a language of Papua New Guinea in such institutions will have to be on a self-help basis. The essential resources include - teaching materials,

trained teachers and money for teachers' salaries and for teaching equipment and materials. The Department of Education will not be able to provide such resources. This policy is to be effective immediately.

47/76 - LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AND TEACHING IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Secretary's Instruction 6/76

File: EC 2-5-22

CM 2-4-2

The National Executive Council has decided that the language of instruction in all community schools, provincial high schools, national high schools, teachers' colleges, technical colleges and vocational centres in the national education system will continue to be done in English. It is the duty of Provincial Superintendents and their professional staff and teachers in each province to ensure that this decision is implemented.

However teachers in Grades 1 and 2 may use a language of Papua New Guinea when it is considered necessary to explain a difficult idea to the pupils. This should only occur occasionally. In vocational centres, it would be permissible to use a language more appropriate than English in certain circumstances.

Examples:

- (a) A class of vocational centre trainees with little or no understanding of the English language.
- (b) A certain teacher might explain particular ideas better, trying to get the trainees to understand by using Pidgin, Motu or the local vernacular instead of English in which he is not fluent or confident.

A school governing body or the local community may have their pupils taught to read and write their own vernacular or a language such as Pidgin or Motu. The teaching and learning of a vernacular, Pidgin or Motu will be in addition to the other studies required by the syllabus, in time normally regarded as student time or elective time, or in Cultural Activities time as part of a balanced cultural activities programme. The responsibility for all staff and materials cost for such vernacular or language programmes will have to be carried by that school board or that local community.

Before a school or college can begin such language programmes it must first of all seek the approval of the Provincial Education Board. The school governing body must carefully investigate all the costs to be involved before seeking the approval of the PEB because financial

support for this kind of programme will not come from the Department of Education.

The PEB is strongly advised to consider very carefully all applications and it must be clearly demonstrated to the Board that the essential resources for a successful vernacular programme for such a school are available before the Board approves any application.

A college governing body may allow their students to learn a vernacular or other language. The teaching and learning of such a language will be in addition to the other studies required by the curriculum, in time normally regarded as student time or elective time. The responsibility for all staff and materials costs for such a language programme will have to be carried by the governing body. Student teachers will not be taught how to teach such languages.

This Instruction, that all teachers teach their students in English only, does not apply to persons or guest speakers who are invited by the school on specific topics. The visitor or invited speaker should use the vernacular or language he can best communicate in and which all the students understand well.

This Instruction is effective immediately.

7.3.3. THE CURRENT ROLE OF MISSIONS AND CHURCHES IN IRIAN JAYA

H. Myron Bromley

7.3.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Missions and churches, committed by definition to communication, have been centrally involved with the analysis and use of vernacular languages and with the teaching and spread of the national language in Irian Jaya. In an earlier day the van Hasselts, Fr Drabbe and Professor Held produced some of the most valuable grammars of local languages, while at the same time evangelists from Ambon and other islands were extending the range of familiarity with Indonesian, then called 'Malay'. Those historic contributions are reviewed elsewhere (see for instance (I) 2.1.2.), and our attention can profitably be turned to the very much greater volume of work currently being done by Christian organisations working in this province of Indonesia. In one recent year a mission press produced nearly five and a half million pages of literature, including over four million pages in vernacular languages, half a million pages in Indonesian, and eight thousand copies of volume four of an intensive course in Indonesian for speakers of Western Dani.¹ During the past 15 years two major quadri-lingual dictionaries and two of the three linguistic dissertations on Irian Jaya languages have been written by missionaries, 30,000 highlanders have been taught to read their own languages in mission and church sponsored literacy programmes, and hundreds of church leaders have been given advanced training in Indonesian.² This survey of current work does not profess to be complete, particularly for the work of Roman Catholic missionaries, but does include most of the vernacular language work of Protestant missions and churches. The organisations referred to in this survey are listed in Table I. The discussion is arranged primarily by language families and/or regions.

TABLE 1
Christian Organisations Working in Irian Jaya

Name of Organisation	Areas/Languages	Abbreviation
Missions of the Missions Fellowship:		
Australian Baptist Missionary Society	North Balim: Western Dani	ABMS
Asia Pacific Christian Mission	Bokondini-Kelila, Wolo-Ilugwa, Koba'ma, Bernhard Camp: Western Dani, Upper Grand Valley Dani	APCM
Christian and Missionary Alliance	Paniai-Tigi etc.; Kemandoga-Dugindoga, Beoga, Ilaga, Sinak, Grand Valley, Pasema, valleys south of ranges from Balim to limits of Ekagi, Western Lakes Plain, Jayapura area: Ekagi, Moni, Woda, Damal, Western Dani, Grand Valley Dani, South Ngalik, Nduga, Turu, Dou, Indonesian	CAMA
Regions Beyond Missionary Union	Swart valley; Heluk-Seng-Kwik valleys; Erok valley (Korapun); Kamur, Kawem (inland from Casuarina coast); Lakes Plain; Sentani (Bible School, Regions Press): Western Dani, Yali, Kim-Yal (Goliath family); Sawi, Kayagar, Lakes Plain lan- guages, Indonesian	RBMU

TABLE I (cont'd)

Name of Organisation	Areas/Languages	Abbreviation
The Evangelical Alliance Mission	Bird's Head (highlands of eastern half, Manokwari); Amar, Sumapero, Ayam, Miaro, Jawsikor, Saman, Senggo, Nohon (south coast): Manikion, Meyah, Moskono, Hatam; Mimika, Sempan, Asmat, Citak, Awyu, Bipim, Indonesian	TEAM
Unevangelised Fields Mission	Yamo (Nogolo) valley; Kiwirok; Nalca; Ok Bap, Bime; eastern Lakes Plain - Weeri; Sentani (Bible School): Western Dani; Ngalum (Ok); Kim-Yal, Ketimban (Goliath); Kwiyon; Indonesian	UFM
Affiliated with the Missions Fellowship:		
Netherlands Reformed Congregations	Pass valley; Nipsan, Landa: Yali, Kim-Yal or related languages (Goliath)	NRC
Zending Gereformeerde Kerken	Upper Digul, Mappi: Wambon and other Awyu languages, Citak (Kaünak), primarily Indonesian	ZGK
Roman Catholic Missions:		
Roman Catholic Mission (Franciscan)*	Paniai-Tage-Tigi; Kemandoga; Dugindoga; Ilaga; Akimuga; Kokonau; Grand Valley;	RC-OFM
*My information on the Roman Catholic mission organisations and work on the Seventh Day Adventist mission and work is incomplete.		

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

Name of Organisation	Areas/Languages	Abbreviation
	Ok Sibill; Ok Bap; Waris; Jayapura and elsewhere: Ekagi, Moni, Damal (Amung); Mimika (Kamoro); Grand Valley Dani; Ngalum; Ketimban; others Indonesian	
Roman Catholic Mission (Sacred Heart)	Merauke: Marind, Muyu, Awyu, Yaqai areas, Pirimapun	RC-MSc
Roman Catholic Mission (Crosier Fathers)	Asmat area: Asmat	RC-OSC
Seventh Day Adventist Missions: Seventh Day Adventist Mission*	Jayapura, Tor, other areas: Indonesian, Tor	SDA
National church organisations:		
Gereja Kristen Alkitab	TEAM Mission areas (q.v.)	GKA
Gereja Baptis Irian Jaya	ABMS Mission area (q.v.)	GBIJ
Gereja Injili Irian Jaya	APCM, RBMU, UFM areas (q.v.)	GIIJ
Gereja Kristen Injili	North coast, Bird's Head, Lakes Plain, Angguruk, Apelapsili, Wamena, Kurima (with fraternal European co-workers from Rhenish Mission Society): Indonesian, Yali, Biak and others	GKI
*My information on the Roman Catholic mission organisations and work and on the Seventh Day Adventist mission and work is incomplete.		

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

Name of Organisation	Area/Language	Abbreviation
Gereja Pantekosta di Indonesia	Biak, Serui, Jayapura and other centres: Indonesian	GPI
Gereja Protestan Maluku	Merauke and other south coast centres: Indonesian	GPM
Kemah Injil Gereja Masehi Indonesia	CAMA mission area (q.v.), also upper Tor	KINGMI
Service organisations:		
Indonesian Bible Society (Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia)	serving all churches and missions	LAI
United Bible Societies	serving all major Bible Societies, including LAI	UBS
Summer Institute of Linguistics	Sarmi, Tor (other areas and languages to be entered), serving the government and missions and churches by linguistic and translation work in vernacular languages	SIL
Missionary Aviation Fellowship	serving practically all the Protestant organisations listed above by air transport and communication	MAF
Associated Mission Aviation	serving the Catholic organisations by air transportation	AMA

7.3.3.2. THE EKAGI-WODA-MONI FAMILY

The linguistic relationships of this family have been recently described by the Larsons [CAMA] (1972) (see also (I) 2.6.2.2.10.1.).

7.3.3.2.1. EKAGI (EKARI, KAPAUKU, ME MANA; TAPIRO, JABI, SIMORI)

This language is spoken by an estimated 100,000 persons living around Lakes Paniai, Tage and Tigi and in adjacent valleys.³ Marion Doble [CAMA] has been at work in this language since 1948. She received graduate training in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics and worked in the field with that organisation in Mexico with Eunice Pike before coming to Irian Jaya, and during one furlough did further graduate work at Cornell University. Her major linguistic publications are a quadri-lingual (Ekagi-Indonesian-Dutch-English) dictionary (Doble 1960) and a series of essays on Ekagi grammar (Doble 1962). She has recently revised an unpublished set of lessons in Ekagi for English-speaking missionaries. She prepared in 1958 a series of five vernacular primers and also an adult primer in the Laubach type format. Materials for early readers include four booklets on the Story of Jesus, published by the Christian Literature Crusade, Sydney, and a cartoon style story of Jesus published in 1971 by the Christian Witness Press in Hong Kong. Her translation work includes an abridgement of *Pilgrim's Progress* (in 1958), the entire New Testament (published in 1963, reprinted in 1971) and Genesis (in 1971). In progress are translations of 60 psalms and other selections from the Old Testament. The Bible translations are all published by the Indonesian Bible Society. The Christian and Missionary Alliance opened a vernacular language Bible School in the Kapauku area shortly after the second World War, and this has now become an Indonesian language Bible School serving all CAMA/KINGMI areas. There is in addition a vernacular language Bible School in Ekagi.

Roman Catholic missionaries have also made significant contributions to the study of Ekagi, including Drabbe's early work, Steltenpool's grammar and especially his quadri-lingual dictionary (1969), which is considerably larger than Doble's earlier work. More recently Fr Andringa has independently translated New Testament portions utilised in the Catholic liturgy, but these have not been published.

7.3.3.2.2. MONI (MIGANI)

This language is spoken by perhaps 20,000 residents of the Kemandoga and Dugindoga valleys north of the central range and several valleys

opposite these south of the range. William and Grace Cutts [CAMA] began work on this language in the late 1940s. Gordon and Mildred Larson did their first linguistic work in Irian Jaya on Moni and published an article on their preliminary investigations (Larson, G. and M. 1958). They also prepared mimeographed language lessons for English-speaking missionaries (Larson G. and M. 1955a) and a 2,000 word Moni-Indonesian (then called Malay)-English dictionary (Larson, G. and M. 1955c). Mr and Mrs Cutts have prepared primers and other literacy materials, and Mr Cutts, who trained at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has completed a translation of the New Testament. An extensive revision of the Gospel of John is currently being completed for submission to the Indonesian Bible Society for publication. A vernacular language Bible school is training church leaders and pastors.

Roman Catholic interest in Moni is also longstanding, from the time of Fr Drabbe, and Fr P.A.M. van der Stap has spent a period of time in linguistic analysis in the Moni area.

7.3.3.2.3. WODA (WODANI, WOLANI)

This language is spoken by perhaps 3,000 residents of the Mbiandoga and adjacent valleys, and was investigated in early studies by Gordon Larson [CAMA]. Very recently this ethnic group, long resistant to change, has welcomed evangelists, and Paul Burkhart [CAMA], trained at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has begun an active programme of language analysis and Bible translation.

7.3.3.3. THE DAMAL FAMILY

7.3.3.3.1. DAMAL (UHUNDUNI, ENGGIPULU, AMUNG, LOMA)

This language, constituting a separate family(-level isolate), is spoken by perhaps 12,000 residents of the Ilaga and Beoga and adjacent valleys north of the central range and several valleys immediately south of the Jaya (Carstenz) peaks. John Ellenberger [CAMA] has been engaged in language analysis and Bible translation in Damal. Trained at the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Hartford Seminary Foundation, he holds the M.A. in linguistics from the latter institution. He has prepared unpublished lesson materials for English-speaking missionaries, including a verb guide, and a series of ten published primers to teach Damal-speakers to read. One of the primers is devoted to teaching the marks used in certain contexts to distinguish four phonemic tones. More than 800 Damal-speakers have learned to read through this programme. A four-year Bible school for training church leaders and pastors is

conducted in Damal, but Indonesian is taught. Now most of the New Testament has been translated into Damal with the Gospel of John and the Epistle to the Romans published by the CAMA, and the Gospel of Luke published by the Indonesian Bible Society in a diglot edition with Damal at the top of the page and the new Indonesian translation at the bottom of the page as an aid to Damals learning or deepening their knowledge of the national language.

The Roman Catholic mission has long had many adherents in the Amung valleys south of the range and the resettlement project at Akimuga, where Fr P.A.M. van der Stap spent a period of time in analysis of Damal.

7.3.3.4. THE DEM FAMILY

7.3.3.4.1. DEM (LEM)

The Dem language again constitutes a separate language family (or family-level isolate), even though it is spoken by perhaps only 2,000 people in the upper Rouffaer valley system; most of these Dem-speakers are bilingual or polylingual with Wano, Western Dani and/or Damal. Basic phonological investigation has been done by John Ellenberger, and recently a Dem-speaker with Bible school education in Indonesian [KINGMI] has begun translation of Scripture selections.

7.3.3.5. THE GREATER DANI FAMILY

The greater Dani language family is the largest of the language families in highlands Irian Jaya. The relationships within this group and with other families have been outlined by Bromley [CAMA] (1967, also 1973).

7.3.3.5.1. WESTERN DANI (LAANY)

Western Dani probably has the most speakers of any language in this family; the number is estimated at 100,000,⁴ and the range of the language is from the upper part of Grand Valley and the Bokondini-Kelila area on the Hablifuri headwaters westward through the North Balim, Swart, Yamo, Sinak, and Ilaga valleys, where Western Dani-speakers comprise all or most of the population, to the Beoga, Dugindoga and upper Kemandoga valleys, where they are present as a significant and increasing minority. Beginning about 1958 in the Ilaga valley this ethnic group has almost everywhere broken from their ancestral faith and eagerly sought, received and spread Christian instruction. Strongly motivated by a desire to read the Christian Scriptures as the charter for their new way of life, an estimated 25,000 Western Dani-speakers have learned

to read their own language, the majority of these in mission and church sponsored literacy courses. With the rapid spread of primary education, which is government subsidised and church related, most new readers are now coming from this Indonesian language programme, but easily shift this skill to reading also in the vernacular language, since the vernacular orthographies have been designed to facilitate this kind of transfer in either direction. Conversely many older young people and adults who were too old to be included in the elementary schools have learned Indonesian by transferring their reading skill gained in their own language. This transfer has been guided by an intensive course in Indonesian for Western Dani-speakers, a set of four small volumes prepared by David Scovill [UFM].

Most of the New Testament has now been translated into Western Dani, and the Gospels and Acts have been completely revised and published by the Indonesian Bible Society. This programme of language analysis, literacy instruction and scripture translation has from the beginning involved close co-operation among the five missions working in the area, ABMS in the North Balim, APCM in the Bokondini-Kelilla area, CAMA in the Ilaga, Sinak and upper Grand Valley, RBMU in the Swart or Toli valley system, and UFM in the Yamo or Nogolo valley. An inter-mission Dani linguistic committee was formed in the 1950s to co-ordinate analysis and translation. This committee has made decisions on orthography, terminology and translation programmes, including the establishment of a translation committee for joint revision of scriptures for publication. The Western Dani themselves have had a leading role in evangelism and literacy from the beginning of the Christian movement, and are now assuming an increasingly important share of the work of translation, not only as informants but also as co-translators and key members of the translation committee.

Within the framework special recognition should be given to the current principal translators. Menno Heyblom [APCM], trained at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, is the principal translator of Matthew and I Corinthians and an Old Testament story book covering the Exodus period. Gordon F. Larson [CAMA] has trained at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, holds an M.A. in anthropology and linguistics from the University of Michigan and has completed everything but the dissertation in a Ph.D. programme at that university. Besides the published general article and articles on Moni already noted, the Larsons have done a great deal of work on a Western Dani-Indonesian-English dictionary, which is not yet complete, and Gordon Larson has written a number of still unpublished technical linguistic papers (see bibliography below).

The Larsons prepared two series of primers which supplement each other for use in Western Dani literacy programmes. Gordon Larson is the principal translator, with Pilis Kuluwa and other nationals as associates, of the Gospel of Mark, Acts and Romans.

David Scovill [UFM] trained at the Summer Institute of Linguistics and translators' institutes sponsored by the United Bible Societies, has made a major contribution in the development of the most complete Western Dani learning materials for missionaries, about 250 pages, as well as the four-volume course published by Regions Press to teach Indonesian to Western Dani-speakers. He has also prepared the primers and led in the organisation of a very successful literacy programme in the Yamo valley and prepared extensive materials for use in a four-year Western Dani Bible school programme. He is the principal translator (with Ari Asso and other national associates) of Luke and John and has also translated Galatians, I Thessalonians, I and II Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, I, II and III John and four books of Old Testament stories covering the period of Genesis and the period from Joshua through Kings and Chronicles. Other major contributors to the Western Dani translation programme have included John Dekker and David Martin of RBMU, and several Baptist missionaries, most recently R. Bensley, have served as translation committee members.

To train church leaders and pastors, four vernacular language four-year Bible schools arose in the Western Dani area, at Mulia [UFM-APCM], Karubaga [RBMU], Pit-Tiom-Magi [ABMS] and Pyramid [CAMA]. A volume of material has been developed for these programmes, including in each case courses in the Indonesian language.

7.3.3.5.2. GRAND VALLEY DANI (BALIM)

The range of this language extends from the Pyramid post in upper Grand Valley to the Samenage valley in the Balim gorge. The area is served by APCM in the tributary Wolo-Iluga valley and adjacent areas, by CAMA throughout Grand Valley and the south-west side of the gorge, by GKI in Wamena and Kurima, and by the Roman Catholic mission in central Grand Valley. Fr P.A.M. van der Stap [RC-OFM], besides Dani lessons for his missionary colleagues, has published his dissertation, *Outline of Dani Morphology* (1966) as a major contribution to Dani linguistics. Currently Fr R. Camps is interested in Bible translation and has produced a catechists' guide in the mid-valley dialect of Jiwika. In the CAMA areas there has been intensive work in vernacular literacy and translation of the Scriptures, but because of widespread resistance to change in Grand Valley the number of literates is much smaller than in

the Western Dani areas. Also, because of the much greater problem of dialect difference in Grand Valley, as compared with Western Dani, eight separate sets of primers have been developed to fit the shifting phonological systems through the valley. An upper Grand Valley translation of Mark's Gospel was made in 1962 (Bromley), and a literacy programme was set up by the CAMA staff at Pyramid. That translation is now obsolete in orthography and otherwise out of date. A new translation in the Wosiala dialect by Deloris Sunda working with Gerson Wandikmbo is progressing; the Gospel of Mark is ready to be checked. Shirley Maxey has done an able job of translating the Gospel of Mark in the Tulem dialect of mid-Grand Valley, and Donovan Anderson has translated some Epistles and portions of Acts in several mid-valley sub-dialects.

In lower Grand Valley, where the CAMA began work in 1954, there has been more extensive translation. For literacy students there are separate sets of primers for the Hetigima and Tangma sub-dialects, but more experienced readers are able to understand material in either sub-dialect with minimal difficulty. The Gospel of John, translated by R.B. Karcesky, is available in a mimeographed edition in the Hetigima sub-dialect, and in the Tangma sub-dialect the Gospel of Mark has been published by the Indonesian Bible Society, Acts is now in a mimeographed edition and has been submitted for Bible Society publication, and Romans, I and II Corinthians and I, II Peter and Jude are in mimeographed editions. These translations have been done by the writer, Myron Bromley [CAMA], working closely with Sygehvno Hesegeg and more recently Junus Aso, as well as others. Technical studies include an M.A. thesis on the phonology of the Hetigima dialect in comparison with other Grand Valley dialects (Bromley 1961), and a Ph.D. dissertation on the grammar of Lower Grand Valley Dani in discourse perspective (Bromley 1972).

The Grand Valley area is now also served by a vernacular Bible school at Hetigima [CAMA], shorter term catechists' course at Jiwika [RC-OFM], and an evangelists' course in the Kurima area [GKI].

7.3.3.5.3. YALI (NORTH NGALIK)

Yali is the largest of the languages in the 'outer U' of the Dani family, spoken by perhaps 30,000 residents of valleys tributary to the Hablifuri and Balim rivers east and south-east of Grand Valley. This area is served by GKI (the church which is the fruit of Dutch reformed missions) in the central area, by NRC in the Pass or Landik valley area, by RBMU in the Heluk, Seng and Kwik valleys, and at the extremes by APCM at the post Koba'ma on the upper Hablifuri, and by CAMA in Pasema on the

south-west side of the Balim gorge. There is a current and spreading response to the Christian message through most of these areas, and both literacy and Scripture translation are increasing. Siegfried Zöllner of the Rhenish mission, working with GKI, has done careful linguistic analysis of the Angguruk dialect; his work is summarised in two mimeographed grammar studies. Now in Germany to complete a doctoral programme and write a dissertation on Yali religion, he has, during his work in Angguruk, translated and revised the Gospel of Mark for publication as well as translating some Epistles and Old Testament stories. He spearheaded the construction of a series of cross-dialect primers to be used throughout the area, but at the moment dialect differences appear to be too great for cross-dialect reading by new literates. Meanwhile successful literacy programmes have been set up in the various dialect areas. In the Ninia-Heluk valley area, there was an early translation of Mark's Gospel by S. Dale, and more recently B. de Leeuw [RBMU] has translated the Gospel and Epistles of John. In the Pass valley area, Ch. Fahner [NRC] has translated the entire New Testament and revised the Gospel of Mark for Bible Society publication. Mr Fahner has completed the 'doctorandus' or master's degree programme in linguistics at Leiden and is currently completing a doctoral programme, including a dissertation on Yali grammar.

7.3.3.5.4. SOUTH NGALIK (PAIGAGE)

This language is spoken by perhaps 5,000 residents of the valleys on the southern flank of the ranges immediately west of the Balim and in some pockets in the Balim gorge. Phonemic analysis and preparatory work on primers was done by the writer, and Shirley Maxey [CAMA] went on to produce the primers, with other literacy materials, organise the literacy programme and translate the Gospels of Mark and John, I Corinthians and Acts.

7.3.3.5.5. NDUKA (NDAUWA)

This language is spoken by perhaps 10,000 people, more than half of them living in valleys on the southern flank of the ranges to the east and west of Mapnduma, and the rest scattered in enclaves in the Sinak, Dugindoga and adjacent valleys as well as on the western side of Grand Valley. Mary Owen [CAMA], trained in linguistics at Wheaton College and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has done linguistic analysis in this language and prepared learning materials for missionaries and a series of six primers. The literacy programme she has organised has been highly successful, with 2,000 readers in the vernacular. She has

translated all of the New Testament except Hebrews, and one Gospel has now been published by the Indonesian Bible Society in diglot format with Indonesian. A vernacular language Bible school is training pastors and church leaders for this group.

7.3.3.6. THE GOLIATH FAMILY

There are an estimated 50,000 speakers of languages of this family, although the language boundaries and intra-family relationships are still not clear. The westernmost speakers live in the Obagak and Hosarek valleys near Angguruk, and the easternmost speakers live in the Ok Bi valley, easternmost of the tributaries of the A or Marijke River, north of the range, and in a few villages in the upper Ok Cop, north of Ok Sibil, south of the range. This area is served by GKI in the Hosarek or Usageek valley, and by NRC in Nipsan, the next valley east, and in Landa, on the south side of the ranges about half-way between the Balim and Ok Sibil; RBMU serves the Erok valley at Korapun, the westernmost population of this family on the south side of the range, and UFM is expanding its area to cover the whole area north of the ranges between Nalca on the west and Ok Bap on the east. The Roman Catholic mission is also working in the eastern area, where Fr P.A.M. van der Stap is currently stationed.

The language spoken at Nalca and that spoken at Korapun have been grouped by some UFM missionaries as Kim-Yal, but Murray and Joan Rule, visiting UFM linguists who have done careful analysis of the phonology of the language at Nalca and prepared a 75-page pedagogical grammar, prefer the local area name 'Hmanggonā' for that language, which is clearly tonal with two contrastive tonemes. The Rules also investigated the language at Ok Bap, which is currently being called 'Ketimban'. The name 'Kupel' is also current for the easternmost language of this family.

7.3.3.7. THE OK FAMILY

The UFM is also working in Ngalum, a Highlands Ok language, at their Kiwirok post. Grammatical and phonological analysis had been done in preliminary fashion, but recently the Rules have intensively studied the language, and John Ellenberger acting as UBS translations advisor has more briefly investigated the phonology of this tone language. William Faye has done the most recent translation work, including the Old Testament books of Ruth and Daniel, and these have been published by the Bible Society. The Roman Catholic mission is also working in Ngalum.

The ZGK is working in areas where some lowlands Ok languages are spoken, but primarily in Indonesian rather than the vernacular languages.

7.3.3.8. THE AWYU FAMILY

7.3.3.8.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARK

Early work by Fr Drabbe in these languages is well known, and the Roman Catholic mission continues to work in the area. The ZGK mission is working in areas where several languages of this family are spoken, but their work is largely in the national language, Indonesian, although they have shown interest in work in Wanggom, one of the Awyu vernaculars. TEAM has one station in Awyu country at Nohon, where Edward Jackson several years ago was making good progress in language analysis. He had to leave the field, but TEAM has again resumed work in this language.

7.3.3.8.2. SAWI (SAWUJ)

Sawi, an Awyu language spoken on the Kronkel River, has been analysed by Don Richardson [RBMU], who trained at the Summer Institute of Linguistics. There has been a large response to the Christian message in the Sawi area, and Richardson has nearly completed translating the New Testament. The number of readers in the vernacular is only about 50, but for a south coast group this is not negligible. The Roman Catholic mission also works in this area.

7.3.3.9. THE KAYAGAR FAMILY

The Roman Catholic mission is working in the area where the languages comprising the Kayagar family are spoken. RBMU is working in what they call 'Kayagar' and Voorhoeve, who established the family, calls 'Kajgir' (Voorhoeve 1971:79). Some Scripture selections and Bible stories have been translated, and there are a few readers in the vernacular.

7.3.3.10. THE ASMAT-MIMIKA FAMILY

7.3.3.10.1. ASMAT

Roman Catholic work in Asmat and Mimika is well known from Drabbe's time. In Ayam Calvin Roesler [TEAM] has done careful phonological analysis, the results of which are described in his M.A. thesis at Hartford Seminary Foundation (Roesler 1972). Roesler describes that dialect as tonal (which contrasts with Voorhoeve's 1965 description of the Flamingo Bay dialect). The TEAM adult literacy programme foundered on the Asmat food-gathering schedule, whereby groups do not remain in

their main villages for long periods, but the translation programme has continued and the products are being read by literates coming out of the primary school system. The books of Mark, Acts, I, II Timothy, Titus, I, II and III John, Luke, Romans, and I, II Corinthians have been translated. A second TEAM translation programme has been centred in the rather different Saman dialect of Asmat near the Casuarina coast.

7.3.3.10.2. CITAK (TJITAK, TJITJAK, KAÜ, KAÜNAK)

The Roman Catholic mission has worked in this area in the past, along the Wildeman River, but currently the area is served by TEAM at Senggo and ZGK at Tiau. This language is closely related to Asmat. Currently Margaret Stringer [TEAM] is doing phonological and grammatical analysis and preparing literacy materials.

7.3.3.10.3. MIMIKA (KAMORO)

Besides the early and continuing Roman Catholic work in Mimika which is spoken on the south coast in the territory including Kokonau, TEAM is carrying on a limited literacy and translation programme in Amar. A story of the life of Christ has recently been mimeographed.

7.3.3.11. BIRD'S HEAD LANGUAGES

TEAM missionaries are working in Meyah (Mansibaber), Hattam (Atam) and Manikion (Mantion, Sougb). Dan Lunow [TEAM] has completed an M.A. programme in linguistics at the University of Minnesota except for his thesis, which he plans to write on Manikion. The Gospel of Mark was earlier translated by Henry Bock; more recently Dan Lunow and Pat Fillmore have collaborated on Acts. The writer and Gordon Larson, as UBS honorary translation advisers, have worked with Lunow on the phonology of Manikion, which is clearly tonal, with three contrastive tonemes. In Meyah there are only Bible stories translated, and in Hattam portions of each of the four Gospels and all of Acts, genesis and Galatians have been translated. GKI is also working in areas where these three languages are spoken and has recently shown interest in vernacular translation in Hattam and Meyah as well as Meybrat (Ayamaru) and Tehit (Teminabuan).

7.3.3.12. NORTH COAST LANGUAGES

The earlier work of the van Hasselts and later of Kamma in Biak-Numfor is referred to in the listing in the Appendix by Kamma. Now the GKI church, planted by Dutch Reformed missionaries, is expressing interest in further vernacular translation in Biak as well as in Waropen,

where Held worked, and some other north coastal languages. The Pentecostal GPI has also expressed interest in vernacular translation in Tobati, spoken in Jayapura harbour, and some languages of Yapen, including Mantembu (Yava). The Summer Institute of Linguistics has begun work at Sarmi.

7.3.3.13. LAKES PLAIN AND TOR LANGUAGES

For many years the GKI has had evangelists scattered at points along the Mamberamo and Idenburg Rivers and working primarily in Indonesian. Recently the highlands churches, particularly the Western Dani churches, have reached northward in evangelistic outreach into this area, and missions serving those churches have followed, until now there are airstrips from Turumo [CAMA] and Werl [UFM] in the western Rouffaer area, to Hulu Atas [UFM] on the upper Idenburg on a line south of Genyem, to Burumeso [RBMU] on the Mamberamo just below the first rapids. These airstrips, some 16 of them now serviceable and others under construction, have been built under direction of GKI, CAMA, UFM, APCM and especially RBMU, which has rapidly expanded in the area during the last five years. Most of the work is being done by highlands evangelists learning the vernacular languages of the area, and there has been no intensive programme of linguistic analysis or translation as yet. Recently the author was invited by RBMU to visit a number of these strips under the auspices of UBS, and 13 wordlists were recorded. These have been made available to C.L. Voorhoeve of the Australian National University, who describes his assessment of the Lakes Plain and Tor language relationships in (I) 2.6.2.2.11.1. Most of these languages are clearly related to the Tor languages as reported by the earlier work of SDA anthropologist Oosterwal. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has now begun work in the Tor area and has established a base in the Gautier mountains area just west of the Mamberamo and beginning to work in the Lakes Plain languages.

7.3.3.14. INDONESIAN

Work in vernacular languages by no means implies any lack of interest in the spread of the national language. On the contrary, the missions and churches in Irian Jaya all have links with one or another of the educational foundations which carry on primary and secondary education under government direction and with government subsidy, and this education is exclusively in Indonesian. For advanced training of church leaders and pastors most of these organisations have Indonesian-language Bible and theological schools. To upgrade the level of Indonesian of

sixth grade graduates and others who plan to enter Indonesian Bible schools, at least one mission (CAMA) has set up three-year preparatory schools. Besides these formal programmes, there have been diglot publications of Scripture and courses like Scovill's programmed books to teach Indonesian to Western Dani-speakers, all designed to make learning Indonesian easier for those who already can read their own languages. It facilitates all these programmes, that shortly before the change of political sovereignty the orthography of Western Dani and several other languages has been deliberately changed to conform as closely as possible to Indonesian spelling.

7.3.3.15. OTHER CHRISTIAN AGENCIES

7.3.3.15.1. REGIONS PRESS

A major contribution to the literacy and translation programmes of the Protestant missions has been made by the offset press operated by RBMU at Sentani. In 1972 this press printed 5.3 million pages, including more than four million in vernacular languages and half a million in Indonesian.

7.3.3.15.2. *INDONESIAN BIBLE SOCIETY (LEMBAGA ALKITAB INDONESIA) AND THE UNITED BIBLE SOCIETIES*

The interest of the Bible Society in Irian Jaya languages is not new, for it was the Netherlands Bible Society which sponsored Professor Held's research on Waropen culture and language before World War II. The Bible Society presently responsible for this area, the Indonesian Bible Society, has in recent years published Scriptures, as noted above, in Ekagi, Damal, Nduga, Lower Grand Valley Dani, Western Dani, Yali, Ngalum and will be publishing also in Moni. Beginning in 1969, the UBS translations department, working with LAI, organised closer contact with Irian Jaya translators by appointing three honorary translation advisors, John Ellenberger, Gordon Larson and the writer. A translators' library was set up with a supply of scholarly commentaries and important books on translation. Three translators' institutes have been held in Irian Jaya, one in 1972 for missionary translators, the second in May 1974, and the third in March 1976, for national translators and potential translators.

7.3.3.15.3. *THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS*

The role in Irian Jaya of the Summer Institute of Linguistics which has begun work near Sarmi on the north coast and in the Tor area, is described in chapter 7.9.7. in this volume.

7.3.3. THE CURRENT ROLE OF MISSIONS AND CHURCHES IN IRIAN JAYA

N O T E S

1. Annual report of Regions Press for 1972.
2. The dissertations are van der Stap [RC-OFM] (1966) (see Table I for an explanation of the abbreviations), and Bromley [CAMA] (1972), both on Grand Valley Dani, and the dictionaries are by Marion Doble [CAMA] (1960) and J. Steltenpool [RC-OFM] (1969), both for Ekagi (Kapauku).
3. Estimates have varied from 35,000 (Doble 1960:v) to 65,000 (le Roux 1950:661) to the current figure, cited by church leaders.
4. There are 45,000 baptised adult (i.e. 12 to 15 years or older) Western Dani-speakers. Allowing for the unbaptised minority of adults and the infants and children, 100,000 seems a reasonable and conservative estimate. Accurate census figures are available for only some parts of the area.

APPENDIX

Published and unpublished materials on and in Irian Jaya languages, collected and prepared by missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church since 1855. Compiled by F.C. Kamma.

I Grammars, Dictionaries, Vocabularies:

1. 1858 Ottow, C.W. 'Woordenlijst (vocabulary) der te Doreh en omstreken gesproken wordende Myfoorsche (Noemfoors, Mafoors, Nufoors etc.) taal'. Verzameld door Ottow. Gepubliceerd in *Nieuw-Guinea in 1858*. Amsterdam: Fred. Muller, 1862:201-33.
2. 1863 Van Hasselt, J.L. *Allereerste beginselen der Papoesch-Mefoorsche taal*. BijdrTLV 10.
3. 1876 Van Hasselt, J.L. *Beknopte spraakkunst der Noefoorsche taal*. 35 pag. Utrecht.
4. 1876 Van Hasselt, J.L. *Hollandsch-Noefoorsch en Noefoorsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*. Utrecht. 2e druk, 1893.
5. 1902 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. 'Gebruik van vermomde taal door de Numfooren'. TBG 45:276.
6. 1902 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. 'Ncg iets over vermomde taal bij de Nufooren'. TBG 45:557 ev.
7. 1905 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. *Spraakkunst der Nufoorsche taal*. 62 pag. Den Haag.
8. 1947 Van Hasselt J.L. en F.J.F. *Noemfoorsch Woordenboek*. 312 pag. Amsterdam: de Bussy.
9. 1958 Mofu, B. Verklarend Biaks Woordenboek (glossary). Manuscript en foto-copie daarvan. Archief F.C.K. (alles in het Biaks, enkele 1000 den woorden).
10. 1891 Bink, G.L. 'Lijstje van telwoorden en eenige zelfstandige naamwoorden, in Wandammen opgeteekend'. TBG 34:62-71.

11. 1915 Van Balen, J.A. 'Woordenlijst Wandammens (Windèssi) achter Windèsi-sche verhalen'. *BijdrTLV* 70:441-554.
12. 1902 Bink, G.L. 'Lijst van woorden opgeteekend uit de mond der Karau Jotafa (Jotefa-baai), bewoners der Humboldts-baai'. *TBG* 45:59-90.
13. 1902 Bink, G.L. 'Eenige woorden uit de taal van de bewoners van het meer Santani'. *TBG* 45:90-3.
14. 1941 Kamma, F.C. en B.W. Wagunu Woordenlijst van de Moi-taal (vaste wal Sorong. Manuscript c.a. 1100 woorden). F.C.K.
15. Anceaux, J.C. en Kamma, F.C. Grammatika van het Biaks-Numfoors. in bewerking (in preparation) + schetsen.

II Translations:

16. 1857 Geissler, J.G. *Vraagboekje van Wester in het Numfoors.*
(1867?)
17. 1858 Geissler, J.G. *Bijbelsche Geschiedenissen van S.L. Zahn*
(1868?) *in het Numfoors.*
18. 1870 Geissler, J.G. *Verhalen uit Gods Woord, vertaald uit het Nederlands in het Noefoorsch.* (2nd edition 1880). 269 pag. Utrecht.
19. 1871 Geissler, J.G. *Het Evangelie van Markus.* Utrecht.
20. 1875 Rinnooij, N. *Mozes eerste boek, genaamd Genesis.* Utrecht. Numfoors.
21. 1878 Van Hasselt, J.L. *Evangelie van Lukas.* Utrecht. Numfoors.
22. 1879(?) Van Hasselt, J.L. *Evangelie van Mattheus.* Utrecht. Numfoors.
23. 1881 Van Hasselt, J.L. en W.L. Jens *Evangelie van Johannes.* Utrecht. Numfoors.
24. 1883 Jens, W.L. *Handelingen der Apostelen (Numf.).* Utrecht.
25. ? Jens, W.L. en J.L. van Hasselt *Nieuwe vertaling van het Markus-Evangelie.* Utrecht. Numfoors.
26. z.j. Van Hasselt, J.L. *Vertaling in het Noemfoorsch van de 252 (Bijbelse) Verhalen.* Utrecht.
27. z.j. Bink, G.L. *Richteren en de boeken van Samuel, Numfoors.* Utrecht.

28. 1911 Van Balen, J.A. *Bijbelsch leesboek in het Windessisch*. Utrecht.
 29. z.j. Van Hasselt, F.J.F. *Goeroe ma Murid (vraagboekje)*. Utrecht. Numfoors.
 30. 1933 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. *Fafaja ro Refo bekwar ia*. Oud Testamentische verhaaleh. Numfoors. Amsterdam.
 31. 1933 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. *Fafaja ro Jesoes Kristoes Manseren Kobedi*. (Translation of Dr Westphall's *Jezus van Nazareth*). Numfoors. Amsterdam.
 32. 1932 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. *Manseren Jesoes Rasoe! Bjesia Fararur Sena*. (Acts of the Apostles). Numfoors. Amsterdam.
 33. 1932 Hartweg, F.W. *Anganginem bebjé, isoine: Manseren Jesus fararur bjedi imnis Mattheus i fas i*. Neurnberg. Biaks. (A very good translation from Greek into the Korido dialect of the Biak language. This publication has been taken out of circulation after objections had been raised against it at the Conference of Missionaries).
 34. 1932-33 Hartweg, F.W. 'Das Lied von Manseren Mangundi-(Biaks-Duits)'. ZES 23:46-58.
 35. 1935 Hartweg, F.W. 'Biakkische Lieder und Gesänge'. *Neue Algem. Missions-Zeitschrift* 12:344-51, 390-400.
 36. 1908 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. 'Nufoorsche fabelen en vertellingen'. (texts, myths). *BijdrTLV* 61:477-588.
 37. 1915 Van Balen, J.A. 'Windesi'sche verhalen, -(myths)'. *BijdrTLV* 70:441-554.
 38. 1942 Held, G.J. 'Grammatica van het Waropensch'. VBG 77:155.
 39. 1942 Held, G.J. 'Woordenlijst van het Waropensch'. VBG 77.
 40. 1956 Held, G.J. *Waropensch teksten, Geelvink Baai N. Nieuw Guinea*. Waropensch-Nederlands. Den Haag.
- III Song-books, Hymns, Psalms:
41. z.j. Ottow, C.W. *Een tiental liederen (Dow)*. w.s. manuscript.
 42. 1871 Geissler, J.G. *Psalmen en Gezangen in de Noefoorsche taal*. Utrecht. (Andaij, Johanna-Zendings Pers.).
 43. 1875 Rinnooij, N. *Eenige psalmen en gezangen in de Papoesche taal*. (Noefoorsch dialect). Utrecht.

44. 1900 Hasselt, W.C. Mundt. *Soerat Doja f̄aro Roem Farkoor ma f̄aro Roemsi*. Johanna-Zendings Pers Andaij. 156 pag.
45. 1926 Van Hasselt, F.J.F. *Masmur ma Do Numfor*. 105 pag. Leiden.
46. z.j. Van Balen, J.A. *Masmur ma Rano (Windessisch)*. Utrecht. Michaux.
47. 1949 Kate, R.G. *Masmur ma Do*. gestencilde no.45. Korido.
48. z.j. Kijne, I.S. *Do Samfur-Kerstliedren, Biaks-Numfoors*.
49. 1937 Kamma, F.C. *Galoewak-Kristen*. (Moi-taal). 20 Psalmen en gezangen. Typescript.
50. 1962 Romainum, F.J.S. en F.C. Kamma *Masmur ma Dow Kristen*. (100 Psalms and Hymns, *Njanjian Rohani*), a typed manuscript, almost completed. Work on the translation has come to a halt. Since the members of the E.C.K. are widely scattered, and embrace many non-indigenes, it appeared to be more practical to teach the *Masmur dan Njanjian Rohani* in the Indonesian language than in the Biak language. Translations of the Gospel of St Mark which were being prepared by a number of mission teachers (Guru's) remained unfinished for the same reason. The manuscripts have been sent to Biak).

H.M. BROMLEY

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- 1958c Verb and Hierarchical Structure in Moni Narrative. Manuscript.
- 1964a A Generative Study of the Internal Structure of Western Dani Verbs. Manuscript.
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n.d.b *Syntax der Angguruk Sprache*. Mimeographed.

PART 7.4.

LINGUE FRANCHE

7.4.1. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

7.4.1.1. THE HISTORY OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

Peter Mühlhäusler

7.4.1.1.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

New Guinea Pidgin is a young language, most of its development having occurred in the last hundred years. One would therefore expect sufficient documentation to be available on the history of Pidgin. This, however, is not the case. Although we are fairly well informed about Pidgin's linguistic and non-linguistic developments since the turn of the century, the first decades of its existence lie in the dark. Pidgin was a despised language for many years and therefore drew remarkably little attention from scholars although in recent years much has been written on the history of Pidgin. However, the theories about the origin and early developments of Pidgin are only insufficiently supported by facts. Only a joint effort of linguists, sociologists, and historians will solve this problem.

In discussing the history of New Guinea Pidgin it is necessary to distinguish between its linguistic and social development on one hand and the question of its origin on the other. Whereas the question of its origin has drawn considerable attention, less work has been done on its subsequent development. The question of the origin of Pidgin has been emphasised because of its relevance to the dispute about the origin of pidgin languages in general. New Guinea Pidgin is seen as yet another test case for a number of linguistic theories. Moreover, apart from the question of its genetic affiliation, there is also the argument about its status as a mixed language.

7.4.1.1.2. THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

In recent years a number of theories about the origin of pidgin languages have been proposed and various theoretical frameworks, developed by leading pidginists, have been applied to New Guinea Pidgin. It has become obvious, however, that at least in the case of this pidgin the existing theories fail to account for all the facts known.

The four main theories about the origin of pidgins are the following:

- i) relexification theory
- ii) theories that assert that Pidgin is basically English
- iii) theories that stress the mixed character of the language
- iv) hybridisation theories that stress the complexity of linguistic developments.

7.4.1.1.2.1. RELEXIFICATION THEORY

Relexification theory in its strongest form claims that all pidgins possess identical grammars which can be traced back to an early Portuguese Pidgin. The differences between individual pidgins are said to be mainly lexical. Pidgins change their lexical affiliation but not their grammar. Relexification theory attempts to explain not only the linguistic similarities but also the historical relationships of pidgin languages. In its strongest form it is not applicable to the majority of pidgins and a direct relationship of New Guinea Pidgin with Chinese Pidgin English and Macao Pidgin Portuguese has never been claimed. A weaker claim can be found in Laycock (1970a:ix). Laycock proposes that New Guinea Pidgin is at least partly related to other pidgins spoken in the Pacific area.

There are certainly many similarities between Pidgin and, for example, Bichelamar. These similarities can be interpreted as an indication of historical relationships. Structural differences, on the other hand, can be explained in terms of subsequent linguistic developments. This is more realistic than the assumption that the grammars of pidgins do not change. An appraisal of relexification theory and its relevance to New Guinea Pidgin can be found in Hall 1975.

7.4.1.1.2.2. THEORIES PROPOSING A CLOSE STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PIDGIN AND ENGLISH

The basically English structure of New Guinea Pidgin has been claimed by Hall at various times (e.g. Hall 1961:414; 1966:115). Hall wants to exclude substratum influences as relatively minor factors in the development of Pidgin and tries to show that all English-based pidgins have

their origin in a 17th century 'Proto Pidgin English' which in its turn is closely related to 17th century English.

The hypothesis of the essentially English origin of New Guinea Pidgin has been examined by Hooley (1962), who compares a number of syntactic transformations in Pidgin and Standard English to conclude that 'the results of the study would seem to indicate that Hall is right in his contention that Neomelanesian is much more closely related to English structurally than is generally conceded' (Hooley 1962:127). However, Hooley's analysis is open to a number of criticisms, some of which have been discussed by Turner (1966:206ff.). Until much more is known about Pidgin grammar, the validity of such claims cannot be established.

7.4.1.1.2.3. MIXED LANGUAGE THEORY

Hall's view is contrasted by yet another view that claims that the grammar of New Guinea Pidgin is basically Melanesian and that only the lexicon is preponderantly English. This opinion is particularly strong among non-English pidginists. Many examples of this view can be found in works on Pidgin written by German missionaries. The most extreme example is Borchardt 1930, a Pidgin grammar based entirely on Bley's grammar of Kuanua. A similar view has been expressed by Salisbury (1967) who proposes that New Guinea Pidgin was 'naturalized and converted into a variety of Pidgin Tolai between 1885 and 1921' (Salisbury 1967:48). However, Salisbury fails to provide convincing linguistic data to support his views.

7.4.1.1.2.4. HYBRIDISATION THEORIES

Recent developments in the theory of pidgin languages are characterised by a considerable refinement of the earlier models. At the same time, key-cause or single-cause theories such as the ones just discussed have been replaced by more complex integrated models which take into account a number of diverse causes and their interrelationships. The relative importance of each of the causes has to be established for every individual pidgin. A good example of a more complex explanation of the origin of New Guinea Pidgin is Wurm's modified version of Whinnom's hybridisation theory (Wurm 1971).

7.4.1.1.3. EVALUATION OF THE THEORIES OF ORIGIN

7.4.1.1.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Theories stand and fall with factual evidence that either confirms or disconfirms them. In the case of New Guinea Pidgin, this factual

evidence is insufficient to allow a judgement at this stage. However, I will outline what sort of factual evidence is available and how it can affect the evaluation of the various theories of origin. This evidence falls into three categories:

- i) linguistic evidence
- ii) extralinguistic, mainly historical, evidence
- iii) comparison with other pidgins

7.4.1.1.3.2. LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

In order to establish relationships between Pidgin and other languages, we need fairly complete grammatical descriptions of all the languages involved and a set of contrastive grammars that would reveal differences and similarities. Although a number of grammars of New Guinea Pidgin are available, none of them can be said to be even nearly complete and in many instances the model of description used suggests a closer similarity with European languages than is actually present. One must re-examine how far such similarities are just suggested by grammatical terminology and in what cases they are genuine. Such re-examination is particularly necessary in the case of those theories that propose a close relationship between English and Pidgin grammar. An examination of the minor rules of grammar may reveal a number of far-reaching differences. The writer himself, for instance, has found that in two areas of Pidgin grammar, the functional shift of word bases and reduplication, the grammars of English and Pidgin are fundamentally different, (Mühlhäusler 1975a, 1975c, 1976b), although more studies are needed to establish the full extent of these differences.

Grammatical descriptions of Pidgin before 1900 are rare and found scattered in travel accounts and letters. One is struck by the amount of grammatical variation found in these early documents. This suggests that the ancestor of present-day New Guinea Pidgin was not a unified 'Proto Pidgin English' but a number of varieties of pidginised English, some influenced by other Pidgin English varieties, some little more than broken English. This is confirmed by extralinguistic evidence concerning communication difficulties in these early varieties and their resulting limited usefulness.

Grammatical descriptions and dictionaries have appeared in increasing numbers since the turn of the century. Many of them have never appeared in print and are difficult to come by. Unfortunately, the description of other Pacific pidgins, such as Solomon Islands Pidgin and Bichelamar, is less complete and comparison therefore difficult.

7.4.1.1.3.3. EXTRALINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Few people have written about New Guinea without making at least some remarks about Pidgin. Although we have few statements by professional linguists we still have a fair amount of more general information about the role of Pidgin since the beginnings of German colonisation. Again, however, the period before 1880 lies in the dark.

Two facts emerge from these early observations, namely that Pidgin was extremely limited in its vocabulary and its use, and secondly, that the number of Pidgin-speakers was very low, Pidgin not being used in inter-tribal communication.

There has been much speculation about the role of various forces in the development of early Pidgin. Whereas most earlier writers stress the importance of whalers and traders, more recently the influence of blackbirding and the Queensland sugar plantations has been put forward as an important factor. The importance of the Queensland plantations for the development of Pidgin has been discussed by various authors, for instance, by Hall (1955:33ff.), Salisbury (1967), and Laycock (1970b:105ff.). It appears that although New Guinea Pidgin is not a direct offspring of Queensland plantation pidgin, the two pidgins are interrelated to some degree.

What we need in order to clarify this problem is more research into population movements, shipping, and trading in the period before 1900. It would also help to know more about other *lingue franche* and about language policies at that time. The writer has found evidence that both Chinese Pidgin English and Bazaar Malay were used in German New Guinea between Germans and their Chinese and Malay labourers respectively. There are also indications that there was an effort to relexify Pidgin English with words of German origin. It is difficult to assess the importance of these factors but it is quite conceivable that they played a role in the development of New Guinea Pidgin.

The author has recently found evidence permitting him to propose that Samoan Plantation Pidgin, spoken by indentured labourers from the northern New Britain area, has played a fundamental role in the establishment of New Guinea Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1976a, 1978).

7.4.1.1.3.4. COMPARISON WITH OTHER PIDGINS

Pidgin languages can be distinguished from other languages on the basis of two main criteria, namely that they have no native speakers and that they are reduced in grammar and vocabulary. Such languages show certain similarities even if they are historically unrelated.

Recent preoccupation of linguists with universals of grammar has led many pidginists to believe that some of these similarities can be explained in terms of language-independent universals of simplification. It is important to separate such universal tendencies from the idiosyncratic grammatical properties found in a particular pidgin language. Whereas, for example, the absence of inflection can hardly be an indication of the historical relationship of two pidgins, the presence of a transitivity marker in two pidgins is a strong indication thereof.

Several models of the social conditions under which pidgins develop have been proposed in recent years and some articles in Hymes 1971 provide good examples of such models. They could be profitably applied to New Guinea Pidgin. If it is true, for example, that stable pidgins do not develop unless the pidgin is used among speakers of at least three different languages, this would explain why there was no stabilised pidgin in New Guinea before the Germans created the social conditions under which a stabilised pidgin could develop.

So far the findings of theoretical pidgin studies have not been sufficiently used in the study of New Guinea Pidgin. However, this will certainly be done in the future considering the ever increasing interest in this language. It will, however, be difficult to come to more satisfactory answers about the origin of Pidgin unless more facts are known about its early history.

7.4.1.1.4. THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

7.4.1.1.4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this section I will attempt to characterise the patterns of linguistic growth that have emerged over the last hundred years. The main emphasis will be on the growth of the Pidgin lexicon.

Pidgin languages differ from other languages not only synchronically but also diachronically. There is something about their history that distinguishes them from ordinary languages. The linguistic structure of a pidgin can be said to reflect its use. The smaller the number of situations in which a pidgin is used the less developed is its grammar and lexicon. New Guinea Pidgin typically reflects the growth of a trade jargon into a fully-fledged language. The growth of a pidgin is not only quantitative. I shall try to show how the very quality of grammatical rules has changed with its external growth. To do this it is necessary to distinguish between the following stages in the development of New Guinea Pidgin:

- 1) jargon pidgin
- ii) incipient stabilisation
- iii) nativisation
- iv) creolisation
- v) depidginisation and decreolisation

Although these five stages are seen as being in historical sequence we can also observe a similar sequence along the dimension of geographical isolation. This has been discussed elsewhere in this volume (in 7.4.1.4.3.) and will not be taken into consideration here. The five stages are of course abstractions and only serve as a frame of reference within a continuous development.

7.4.1.1.4.2. JARGON PIDGIN

The term jargon refers to the unstable varieties of broken English which, it can be assumed, were to be found in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago before the arrival of the Germans. The linguistic material available suggests a great amount of variation from place to place. One-word sentences and very short sentences were the items commonly recorded. A large amount of extralinguistic information was necessary to supplement the insufficient verbal information. In spite of this, communication beyond the most rudimentary topics was not possible.

The size of the vocabulary was small; estimates range from 200 to 500 lexical items. More important, it appears that the lexicon was an unorganised list of words. We find confusion of parts of speech rather than systematic functional shift, *ad hoc* circumlocutions rather than rule-governed compounding. One of the main properties of a real pidgin, stabilisation, was absent in these early varieties. A documentation of Pidgin spoken before the turn of the century can be found in Churchill (1911) and Schuchardt (1881). Stabilisation of Pidgin began in the 1890s superseding the inadequate jargon varieties (Mühlhäusler 1975, 1978).

7.4.1.1.4.3. INCIPIENT STABILISATION

The German government began to exercise full control over New Guinea in 1899 when the first governor was appointed. With this, conditions were created in which it was possible for the indigenous population to communicate across tribal boundaries. This, together with the plantation system, can be said to constitute the main factor accounting for the stabilisation of Pidgin. A more detailed discussion can be found in Salisbury (1967). It is important that at this crucial

point in Pidgin's development, its original target language, English, was withdrawn. Therefore, new grammatical constructions and vocabulary had to come from sources other than English. The vocabulary was supplemented by words from Tolai and German. These loans still account for 10% and 4% respectively of the Pidgin vocabulary. In grammar, German influence is negligible whereas Tolai influences are said to be considerable. It has not yet been established how much of the newly stabilised grammar is due to independent internal growth of the language. A number of Pidgin constructions which are neither Tolai nor English may have to be explained in this way. During the stage of incipient stabilisation, Pidgin was heavily dependent on external sources (Mühlhäusler 1975b).

7.4.1.1.4.4. NATIVISATION

This stage is characterised by the independence of Pidgin from external influences. In the last years of German rule in New Guinea, Pidgin was spoken by a great number of people from diverse language backgrounds. The relative importance of a single substratum language - Tolai under whose influence Pidgin became stabilised - started to decline with the continued geographical spread of Pidgin. The growth of both grammar and lexis in the years following World War I resulted mainly from internal developments of the language. The Pidgin grammar that developed at this stage is still the standard grammar in rural areas of New Guinea. Limited access to English favoured the development of a sophisticated system of word formation which provided new terms for new fields of discourse. Standard grammars of Pidgin are Hall (1943) and Mihalic (1971).

7.4.1.1.4.5. CREOLISATION

Creolised Pidgin is Pidgin spoken as the first language by a new generation of speakers. It is favoured by high social and regional mobility as well as urbanisation. These conditions could not be found before the 1950s and even today the number of speakers of creolised Pidgin is very low.

Though not fundamentally different from non-creolised Pidgin, it shows a number of traits not found in other varieties of the language. A detailed theoretical discussion of creolisation can be found in Labov 1971. Several case studies of creolised Pidgin have been made by Sankoff (1975a) and Sankoff and Laberge (1973). The writer has recorded creolised Pidgin on Manus Island and in the Madang and East Sepik Provinces.

The general properties of creolised Pidgin are that the existing rules of Pidgin are supplemented by a small number of new rules. In many cases only the scope of old rules is widened to cover a wider range of lexical items. Creolised Pidgin is found in various places and the solutions to certain grammatical inadequacies may differ greatly. For instance, the relative construction found by the writer on Manus Island differs greatly from the one used in the Lae area as described by Sankoff (1975b). Creolised Pidgin among children appears to be more divergent from standard Pidgin than that of older speakers. The fact that speakers of creolised Pidgin have to communicate with speakers of ordinary Pidgin prevents the development of radical differences. This, however, may change if the numbers of speakers of creolised Pidgin increase.

7.4.1.1.4.6. DEPIDGINISATION AND DECREOLISATION

The development of English-medium primary schools since the 1950s has led to the re-introduction of English as an important target language of Pidgin. This has led to a rapid breakdown of parts of the established grammar. The variety which I have described in chapter 7.4.1.4.3. as Urban Pidgin is similar to jargon Pidgin in its instability. Both lexicon and grammar vary from speaker to speaker. However, intelligibility does not depend on the extralinguistic context but on the speaker/hearer's knowledge of English. A discussion of the linguistic implications of the mixing of Pidgin and English is found in Bickerton 1975 and I will therefore not discuss this point further.

7.4.1.1.4.7. ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF PIDGIN

More general remarks about the linguistic history of pidgin languages have been made by Hall who has developed a 'life-cycle' model to account for the growth and decline of pidgins. It appears that the internal growth of pidgins is dependent on favourable external conditions. New Guinea Pidgin has maintained a steady rate of linguistic growth because of its continued usefulness as a lingua franca in an ever increasing number of fields of communication.

No historical grammar of Pidgin has been written so far. Such a grammar could provide a clear picture of the interplay of internal and external forces in the development of the Pidgin grammar and lexicon.

7.4.1.1.5. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

This has been discussed in chapters 7.4.1.4.2. and 7.4.1.4.3. in this volume and will therefore not be further dealt with here.

7.4.1.1.6. CONCLUSION

Our knowledge of the history of New Guinea Pidgin is restricted partly because of the lack of data and partly because of the absence of satisfactory models of the growth of pidgins. I have tried to show what data are needed to gain a better picture of its development and I have sketched a model for the linguistic growth of Pidgin. Collaboration between linguists, sociologists, and historians is needed to give an adequate description of the historical development of New Guinea Pidgin.

7.4.1.1. THE HISTORY OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

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7.4.1.2. THE NATURE OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

S.A. Wurm

7.4.1.2.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

New Guinea Pidgin, Pidgin, or Melanesian Pidgin as it is sometimes referred to - with the term Neo-Melanesian coined by Hall (e.g. 1955) and formerly employed by Mihalic (1957) and others no longer used - occupies a special position amongst the English-based pidgin languages of the world. It is the most important lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, spoken and understood by over 1,000,000 people, with this number rapidly increasing, and in many areas is used more than the local languages - but nevertheless the extent of its creolisation is astonishingly small, though also rapidly on the increase. At most only a few tens of thousands of Papua New Guineans are thought to be speakers of creolised Pidgin, and the actual figure may be lower than assumed. In spite of this fact, Pidgin shows the characteristics of a fully developed creole language: a comparatively rich vocabulary and quite complex grammar, great flexibility of expression with highly developed and versatile idiomatic usages, a considerable range of possibilities of word-formation and the creation of new lexical items through processes inherent in the language itself, and the adequacy of the language for the expression of all aspects of Papua New Guinean life in its present transitory stage between the traditionally indigenous and the westernised.

The reasons for this situation are in part historical and in part the result of the immense multilingualism prevailing in Papua New Guinea which results in Pidgin being used very frequently and extensively and in a great variety of situations.

The history of Pidgin has been discussed by Mühlhäusler in 7.4.1.1. in this volume - suffice it to say that, in contrast to most other English-based Pidgin languages in the world, Pidgin has, since the turn of the century and perhaps even earlier, been a predominantly inter-indigenous lingua franca rather than a European-to-indigene one, and owes its elaborate development, richness and adequacy for the expression of indigenous concerns to this fact. The language has evolved to its present level, and spread over a wide area, to a large extent without Europeans playing more than a marginal and indirect role in this.

Apart from being more elaborate than other non-creolised English-based Pidgin languages, Pidgin differs in another important respect from them: only around 75%-85% of its vocabulary is derived from the superstrate language, English - about 10%-15% is derived from local languages, mostly the Tolai language of New Britain, and 5%-10% is from German, Portuguese, Malay and other sources.

It has been argued on the basis of a syntactic approach (e.g. Hooley 1963) that Pidgin is essentially comparable to English in its structure. However, if the same procedures were applied to an Austronesian language of Melanesia, e.g. Tolai, the results would probably demonstrate the essential comparability of such languages to English on the syntactic level as well, and Pidgin is, in several features of its structure, closer to Austronesian languages than to English, though differing in some points of its structure from Austronesian languages as well. Recent studies carried out by Mühlhäusler (1974, 1975, 1976, 1978) under the auspices of the Australian National University show Pidgin to be quite substantially different from English in some basic characteristics of its grammatical structure, and prove that claims concerning the basically English character of the language are unjustified and in error.

7.4.1.2.2. SOME BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGIN

The salient characteristics of Pidgin structure have been sketchily described in this section in a simple form which, it is hoped, will be intelligible to non-linguists: many of the potential users of this book may be expected to have had no linguistic training, and references to English patterns have therefore been resorted to in the description. The type of Pidgin described is Rural Pidgin (of the Highlands variety) (see chapter 7.4.1.4.3. for a discussion of Rural Pidgin versus Urban Pidgin), with a minimum of the English contact influence which has affected even Rural Pidgin in the last few years.

7.4.1.2.2.1. PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

The phonology of Rural Pidgin is unlike that of English: its phoneme inventory is simpler than that of English, and at least one phoneme occurs regularly which is absent from English, i.e. an alveolar or retroflex flap. The phonetic qualities of the consonant allophones are largely un-English and reminiscent of those of Papuan and Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea. In particular, voiceless stops are unaspirated, apical consonants have a dental, not alveolar articulation, and fricative allophones of stop consonants are found. Labial fricatives are mostly bilabial, not labio-dental. The Pidgin vowel phonemes are few in number, and their allophonic distribution is largely determined by the structure of the syllable in which they occur. The secondary, i.e. contact, influence of English manifests itself strongly in this particular area of Pidgin phonology, and the number of distinct vowel phonemes, and the nature of their allophones, in the idiolectal Pidgin spoken by a given Papua New Guinean is in direct proportion to the amount of English influence to which he has been exposed.

The basic phoneme chart of Rural Pidgin is as follows:

p	t	k
b	d	g
		ŋg
m	n	ŋ
(β, φ)	s	h
	ʃ~ʎ	
w	y	

β and φ are rare and Pidgin words derived from English words containing v and f usually have b and p, e.g. paia = *fire*.

The distribution of consonant phonemes differs from English in several respects. For instance, no voiced stops appear word-finally, e.g. dok = *dog*, also paip = *five*.

The basic vowel phonemes are i, e, a, o, u, with open and closed allophones appearing in closed and open syllables respectively, e.g. dok [dɔk] = *dog*, go [go] = *go away*, rot [ʔɔt] = *road*. In most Pidgin idiolects, there are however exceptions to this (see above).

The vowels are all very short, and in Rural Pidgin, vowel length is not phonemic, though vowel lengthening functions as an indicator of emphasis and of certain attitudes on the part of the speaker. A considerable range of diphthongs is present.

Stress reflects English stress patterns only to a very limited extent, if at all, and the general tendency is for it to fall on the first

syllable of a word. Stress manifests itself through loudness and its placement plays an important part in the intonation patterns. The difference of emphasis on stressed and unstressed syllables is very small.

Pidgin words derived from English words with initial consonant clusters contain shwa vowels between the members of the clusters - this constitutes a special predictable type of juncture, e.g. strong [sətʰɪʃɔŋ] = *strength*.

Pidgin intonation differs from English intonation in several respects, especially in the presence of two distinct types of emphatic intonation contours (Wurm 1978).

7.4.1.2.2.2. GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

7.4.1.2.2.2.1. Bases

A very important feature of Pidgin is the presence of many bases which can be used in more than one grammatical function. This process itself is found in many languages including English, but in Pidgin it is used to a very much greater extent than in most other languages. The multi-functional possibilities of Pidgin bases are quite fundamental to the grammar of Pidgin, and the problem is a very complicated one because many Pidgin bases show limitations in the range of functions in which they can appear. The rules of multi-functionality in Pidgin are mostly quite different from those met with in English and constitute independent developments which helps to demonstrate the basically un-English character of the language.

Examples (Wurm 1971):

a) strong ± suffixes can function as a noun ('*strength*'), attributive adjective ('*strong*'), adverb ('*strongly*'), intransitive verb ('*to be strong*') and transitive verb ('*strengthen*').

b) kros ± suffixes can function as a noun ('*anger*'), adverb ('*annoyedly*'), intransitive verb ('*to be annoyed*'), and transitive verb ('*to scold*'), but not as an attributive adjective.

c) lapun can function as a noun ('*old man*'), attributive adjective ('*old*'), and intransitive verb ('*to be old*'), but not as an adverb or a transitive verb.

d) save can function only as a noun ('*knowledge*') and a transitive verb ('*to know something*'); etc.

7.4.1.2.2.2.2. Nouns

Bases functioning as nouns are morphologically invariable. Noun-functioning bases can have an always stressed base, functioning as a noun or as an intransitive verb, added to them, with these added bases denoting a characteristic, the origin or the purpose of what is expressed by the first noun-functioning base, e.g. haus stón = *stone house*, rum slíp = *bedroom*.

Bilong appears between bases to express possession and some other relations, e.g. dok bilong man = *the man's dog*, plang bilong pait = *a fighting shield*.

7.4.1.2.2.2.3. Personal Pronouns

In personal pronouns, four numbers (singular, dual, trial, plural) are obligatorily indicated, and in the first person non-singular forms, inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished, e.g. yumi = *we all* (incl.), mipela = *we all* (excl.).

TABLE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1st person		2nd person		3rd person
sg. mi	<i>I</i>	yu	<i>you (one)</i>	em	<i>he, she, it</i>
du. yumitupela	<i>we two</i> (incl.)	yutupela	<i>you two</i>	(em) tupela	<i>they two</i>
mitupela	<i>we two</i> (excl.)				
tr. yumitripela	<i>we three</i> (incl.)	yutripela	<i>you three</i>	(em) tripela	<i>they three</i>
mitripela	<i>we three</i> (excl.)				
pl. yumi	<i>we</i> (all) (incl.)	yupela	<i>you</i> (all)	(em) ol	<i>they</i>
mipela	<i>we</i> (all) (excl.)				

Emphatic and reflexive pronouns are formed with the help of the postponed particle yet which is derived from the Tolai particle yat whose function is identical with that of the Pidgin particle (for a description of Tolai (Kuanua) see chapter 7.4.5.5.).

7.4.1.2.2.2.4. Adjectives

Bases functioning as adjectives in Pidgin belong to five classes according to whether they precede the noun which they determine as attributive adjuncts, are or are not, provided with the suffix -pela and keep it or drop it when they appear as predicates, and whether they can be used attributively and predicatively, or only predicatively (Mihalic 1971, Wurm 1971).

The appearance of adjectives of different classes preceding or following the nouns which they determine attributively is a typical feature

of the Austronesian Tolai which shows this phenomenon uniquely amongst New Guinea Austronesian languages (Capell 1969). It may well have entered Pidgin from this source.

Class 1: Adjectives precede nouns as attributes and have -pela both in attributive and predicative function: bikpela haus = *big house*, haus i bikpela = *the house is big*.

Class 2: Adjectives precede nouns as attributes and have -pela only in attributive function: stretpela pos = *straight post*, pos i stret = *the post is straight*.

Class 3: Adjectives precede nouns as attributes and do not have -pela: lapun meri = *old woman*, meri i lapun = *the woman is old*.

Class 4: Adjectives follow nouns as attributes and do not have -pela: graun klia = *cleared ground*, graun i klia = *the ground is cleared*.

Class 5: Adjectives which can only be used in predicative function though their English equivalents are attributive adjectives: ston i hevi = *heavy stone* (or *the stone is heavy*).

Pidgin has a very large range of fine gradations of degrees of quality as denoted by adjectives.

7.4.1.2.2.2.5. Predicate Marker

An important feature of Pidgin grammar is constituted by the functions of the so-called predicate marker *i* which in itself constitutes another characteristic of Pidgin which is reminiscent of Tolai. Wurm (1971) described the complex rules governing its appearance and functions under 12 headings, some of them with several sub-headings. It may be mentioned that this particular feature of Pidgin grammar has become very unstable in recent years and is disappearing from the language.

In essence, *i* appears before a verb-functioning base or a non-verbal predicate (e.g. in equational statements) if the subject is in the third person, e.g. man i toktok = *the man talks*, diwai i yal = *the tree is a casuarina*. However, there are numerous restrictions to this rule, and it also appears in a large range of other situations. It would go beyond the scope of this section to give a discussion of the numerous possibilities.

7.4.1.2.2.2.6. Verbs

7.4.1.2.2.2.6.1. General Remarks

Pidgin verb-functioning bases can only be inflected for transitivity which again parallels a typical Austronesian characteristic. Transitivity is generally marked through the addition of the suffix *-im*. Tenses, aspects, negation, and the direction of action towards, or away from, the speaker or focal point of the action (which is another feature in which Pidgin resembles Austronesian languages) are denoted by bases functioning as auxiliary verbs, particles or adverbs.

The person is indicated by the obligatorily preposed personal pronouns. The interrogative is indicated by intonation and interrogative words, and the reply to a negative question is in the affirmative to denote the negative, i.e. *kiap i no stap? = is the patrol officer not in?*, *yesa! = (yes) = no!*

Imperative forms are characterised by special intonation contours, and a number of bases functioning as auxiliaries and particles play a part in them. In some dialects of Pidgin, especially in Highlands Pidgin, a distinction is (or at least used to be) made between immediate and deferred imperatives.

7.4.1.2.2.2.6.2. Transitivity

With regard to intransitivity and transitivity and the processes observable which mark these functions, verb functioning bases in Pidgin can be assigned to six main classes, with several sub-classes (Wurm 1971, Mihalic 1971).

Class 1: Verbs which never take a direct object (though their English equivalents may do so) function only intransitively and never appear with *-im* added to them: *mi stori long yu = I tell you a story*, *yumi wokabaut = let's walk*.

Class 2: Verbs which can take a direct object and function transitively, but never appear with *-im* added to them: *em i kaikai taro = he eats taro* (*kaikai = eat*, but *kaikaiim = bite*).

Class 3: Verbs which can take a direct object, function only transitively and never occur without *-im*: *mi sapim naip = I sharpen the knife*.

Class 4: Verbs of this class appear in two forms, one with and one without *-im*.

Subclass 4a: All verbs without *-im* function intransitively or reflexively, those with *-im* function transitively: *duwa i op pinis = the door fell open*, *mi opim duwa pinis = I opened the door*.

Subclass 4b: Verbs without -im function a) intransitively, or b) transitively with the transitivity being incomplete, i.e. the action is aimed at an object, but is not carried through to its conclusion - in such cases, long is usually placed between the verb and the object. With -im, the verbs function transitively, with the action aimed at an object carried through to its conclusion, for instance:

<i>lain = to stand in line, be lined up</i>	<i>lain long = to learn something (specific, without necessarily fully acquiring the knowledge or skill aimed for); to learn about</i>	<i>lainim = to line up (people or things); to put in order; to arrange; to learn something specific (expecting to fully acquire the knowledge or skill aimed for); to teach someone something specific (expecting that the person taught will fully acquire the knowledge or skill taught)</i>
<i>singaut = to call out, shout (as an action)</i>	<i>singaut long = to call, shout for someone or something (without necessarily succeeding in bringing him, or it, close to the person calling)</i>	<i>singautim = to call, shout for someone or something (succeeding in bringing him or it close to the person calling)</i>

Example: *ol man i lain = the men stand in line, mipela i lain long wokim haus (i stap) = we learn to build a house (trying to acquire the skill), mi lainim dispela stori (i stap) = I learn this story (fully familiarising myself with it).*

Class 5: Verbs in this class also appear in two forms, one with and one without -im. However, in contrast to the verbs belonging to Class 4, all the verbs of Class 5, both the verbs with and without -im, function transitively.

Subclass 5a: This subclass contains both verbs without, and with -im. Those verbs belonging to Subclass 5a which have no -im added to them signal a general, diffuse and incomplete transitivity which is understood even if no object is overtly included in the clause, because it is semantically inherent in the nature of these verbs which indicate actions requiring an object to be meaningful. Verbs of this Subclass 5a appear in this general transitive function without -im, and often with no overtly indicated object following them, and with -im added to them and a noun or pronoun object placed after them (or understood, if not overtly

expressed) in a specific, definite transitive function referring to a particular object. At the same time, the focus is on the action with verbs without -im, and on the object on those with -im suffixed to them. So, for instance, *liptimap* = *to heave, do the action of heaving* (which inherently requires an object to be heaved at, but it need not be mentioned), but *liptimapim* = *to lift something specific*. For instance:

<i>bringimap</i> = <i>to start, be the initiator of, something in a contributory fashion</i>	<i>bringimapim</i> = <i>to start, be the initiator of, something exclusively</i>
<i>liptimap</i> = <i>to heave, carry out the action of heaving or lifting</i>	<i>liptimapim</i> = <i>to lift something</i>
<i>pulimap</i> = <i>to pour, carry out the action of pouring, filling in</i>	<i>pulimapim</i> = <i>to pour (into something); to draw (water)</i>
<i>rait</i> = <i>to write (as an action)</i>	<i>raitim</i> = <i>to write something</i>

Examples: *em i bringimap dispela pasin (i stap)* = *he was one of those who contributed to introducing this custom*, *papa bilong mi i bringimapim dispela pasin* = *my father introduced this custom*; *ol i pulimap wara long mambu (i stap)* = *they are carrying out the action of pouring water into bamboo tubes*, *ol meri i pulimapim wara* = *the women draw water (to the point of filling the containers)*.

Subclass 5b: The verbs belonging to Subclass 5b appear without -im added to them in much the same meaning and function as the comparable verbs of Subclass 5a, except that such verbs belonging to Subclass 5b are almost never followed by an overtly indicated object (i.e. noun or pronoun).

At the same time, verbs of Subclass 5b can appear without the suffix -im, but with *long* interposed between them and an object following them. They can also appear with -im suffixed to them, and an overt object directly following them, or the object being understood only. The difference in meaning between the verbs without -im, but *long* following them, and those with -im is comparable to one facet of that observed with similar verbs belonging to Subclass 4b: the transitivity indicated by verbs without -im, but *long* placed after them, is incomplete, i.e. the action is understood as being aimed at an object, without necessarily reaching the point of being carried out in full and achieving a complete result. At the same time, verbs with -im denote a transitivity which is complete, i.e. the action directed towards an object is carried through entirely with full results, e.g. *wet long wait for* (i.e. the person expected may not arrive), *wetim* = *await* (in the sense that the expected person will definitely arrive).

Some verbs of Subclass 5b are:

bikmaus = <i>to shout</i> (transitively)	bikmaus long = <i>to shout at some- one (without him necessarily taking much notice)</i>	bikmausim = <i>to shout at someone (with him taking notice)</i>
siut = <i>to shoot</i> (transitively)	siut long = <i>to shoot at some- thing or someone (without success)</i>	siutim = <i>to shoot some- thing or someone</i>
smel = <i>to smell, sniff</i> (transitively)	smel long = <i>to sniff at</i>	smelim = <i>to smell some- thing, notice its smell</i>
smok = <i>to smoke</i> (transitively)	smok long = <i>to smoke at (a ciga- rette, pipe, etc.) (while the burning of the tobacco con- tinues)</i>	smokim = <i>to smoke (a cigarette, pipe, etc.) (finishing it off)</i>
wet = <i>to wait</i> (transitively)	wet long = <i>to wait for some- one (who may not come)</i>	wetim = <i>to await some- one (who is definitely expected to arrive)</i>

Examples: em i smok long brus (i stap) = *he is smoking away at a native leaf tobacco cigarette*, em i smokim brus i stap = *he is smoking a native leaf tobacco cigarette to the end*, em i smok (i stap) = *he is smoking (transitively)*; dok i smel long diwai (i stap) = *the dog is sniffing at the tree*, mi smelim smok bilong paia = *I smell smoke*.

Class 6: A few verbs which function intransitively when they appear without -im added to them, function in the same form transitively with a different meaning. At the same time, they can also appear in a transitive function with -im added to them.

Verbs which are found in the three functions outlined above constitute Subclass 6a. For instance:

kuk = <i>to be defeated; to lose (a game)</i>	kuk = <i>to cook (transitively)</i>	kukim = <i>to cook something, burn something; to defeat</i>
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Examples: yupela i kuk pinis = *you (all) have lost (the game), you are defeated*; meri i kuk i stap = *the woman is cooking (transitively)*; em i kukim kaikai = *he cooks food*.

Some verbs show the functions outlined above for Subclass 6a, and in addition, appear in a transitive function without -im added to them, but with long interposed between them and the object. The meaning of this transitive form is the same as that indicated by comparable verbs of Subclass 5b. Verbs showing the four functions listed above constitute Subclass 6b. For instance:

giaman = <i>to err, be mistaken</i>	giaman = <i>to lie, de- ceive (transitively)</i>	giaman long = <i>to deceive, lie to somebody (without succeeding in de- ceiving him), to fake something</i>	giamanim = <i>to deceive, trick someone (suc- cessfully)</i>
skrap = <i>to itch</i>	skrap = <i>to scratch</i>	skrap long = <i>to scratch away at something (un- successfully, i.e. not leaving a mark, not al- leviating itch, etc.)</i>	skrapim = <i>to scratch something (success- fully)</i>

Examples: em i giaman = *he is wrong, or: he is lying*; em i giaman long yumi *he is trying to deceive us (but we shall not be taken in)*; em i giamanim mi pinis = *he has deceived me*.

7.4.1.2.2.2.6.3. Aspect and Tense

With verb-functioning bases in Pidgin, the indication of aspect, i.e. the nature of an action, is more important than the indication of tense, and usually obligatory, whereas the marking of tense with the verb itself is often optional if adverbs in the sentence or the context clearly denote the time of action.

The indication of both aspect and tense is through bases functioning as auxiliary verbs, particles or adverbs, and separate aspect and tense markers appear frequently in a verb complex.

7.4.1.2.2.2.6.3.1. Aspects (and Direction)

1) No Overt Aspect Marker: Continuing Actions Nearing Their End

em i kaikai = *he is (was, will be) eating* (at the point of time referred to, it is irrelevant when he started eating in relation to that time, and whether or not the action was performed at the same level of intensity for its duration during the time referred to, but the action is not a lasting one, and no emphasis is laid on its habituality or otherwise, or on other characteristics of the action).

2) Verb + i stap or stap + Verb: Continuous Actions

em i kaikai i stap = *he is (was, will be) eating continuously, goes on eating* (the action started a while ago, continues at the same level of intensity, and is not expected to end soon).

There is a difference in meaning between verb + *i* stap and stap + verb: with the latter, the focus is on the action denoted by the verb, whereas with the former, the focus is on the continuous nature of the action, e.g. *em i stap toktok* = *he is TALKING*, i.e. *TALKING is what he is doing*, *em i toktok i stap* = *he is talking*, i.e. *his action of talking is CONTINUOUS*.

3) Verb + pinis: Completed Actions

mi kaikai pinis = *I have (had, will have) eaten*; *mi siutim pisin pinis* = *I have (had, will have) shot the bird*.

4) Verb + nau: Action Just Started (and continuing, or its result will continue)

em i kaikai nau = *he has just started (will start) eating (and will go on doing so)*; *em i kisim pis nau* = *he has just caught a fish (and will continue having it)*.

5) Verb + yet: Actions Still Continuing

man i kaikai yet = *the man is still eating*.

6) Verb + gen: Repeated Actions

em i kaikai gen = *he eats (ate, will eat) again*.

7) Verb + nating: Purposeless Action

em i kaikai nating = *he eats (ate, will eat) for no reason (i.e. without being hungry)*.

8) save + Verb: Habitual Actions

biakbokis i save kaikai banana = *flying foxes habitually eat bananas*.

9) kirap + Verb: Beginning Actions

em i kirap wokim haus = *he began (is beginning, will begin) to build a house*.

This form is (or was) mainly encountered in Highlands Pidgin.

10) Repetition of the Verb: Intensity and Long Duration of the Action

Two types of repetition occur:

a) the verb, together with any aspect markers that may follow it, and *i* before it if this is part of the particular verb form, is repeated twice or several times, each time with a falling intonation, lengthening of the last vowel, and a rather long pause following each repetition. This indicates that the action referred to is (was, will be) dragging on wearily, and usually implies that not much result is (was, will be) forthcoming from it, e.g. *olo i katim i staaap*,¹ *katim i staaap*, *katim i staaap*, *diwai i no pundaun yet i stap* = *they went on hacking*

¹The three a's are meant to indicate lengthening of the vowel.

away, (but) the tree was still not falling down (and this situation was going on like this).

b) The verb alone is repeated very rapidly a considerable number of times (usually about five or six times) with the intonation and loudness rising throughout the repetition, and *i* appearing before the last repetition which is followed by a pause before the sentence is continued. This indicates that the action referred to is (was, will be) carried out with increasing intensity and determination, with the eventual goal in view, e.g. *mi ron ron ron ron ron i ron* - (or also: *mi ron i ron i ron i ron i ron* -) *wara i kamap* = *I was running and running hard* - and a river loomed up; *olo i pait pait pait pait i pait* - *birua i kuk pinis* = *they were fighting and fighting* - (eventually) the enemy was overcome.

11) Verb + *i go*, *i kam*: Actions Directed Away From or Towards Speaker; (*i go*) Actions Going On and Continuing for a Long Time

Verbs implying any sort of motion are often followed by *i go* or *i kam* which indicates the direction of the action either towards or away from the speaker or focal point of the situation referred to in the clause. The use of these direction markers is (or was) particularly prevalent in Highlands Pidgin, and the shifting of the focus of action in narrative style, with consequent reversal of the 'polarity' of directional reference, is a matter of great complexity.

Examples: *em i ronewe i go pinis* = *he ran away* (away from the focal point of the situation referred to); *em i ronewe i kam pinis* = *he ran away* (towards the focal point of the situation); *bringim tispela kago i go long haus*, or: *bringim i go kago long haus* = *take the goods to the house* (away from the speaker); *bringim kago i go nisaet long haus na bungim i kam (pinis) klostu long duwa* = *take the goods into the house* (away from the speaker) and (with shifting of the focus of the situation to the house) *heap them up close to the door*.

i go is also used to indicate continuous action even if no movement is implied. The difference between *i stap* (see above 2)) and *i go* is that the latter denotes actions which are expected to continue at equal intensity level for a considerable time after the time referred to in the clause, whereas in the case of *i stap*, indefiniteness concerning the duration of the action after that time is implied.

Examples: *olo i toktok i go* = *they go on talking (and will continue to do so for a long time)*; *mipela i kaikai i go* = *we go on eating (and will go on doing so for a considerable time)*.

12) Verb + *tasol*: Restricting the Emphasis on the Action

em i kaikai tasol = *he does nothing but eating, i.e. he only EATS*.

Several Aspect Markers With One Verb

In many instances, more than one aspect marker appears with a verb and the aspectual situation indicated by them can be of great complexity.

Examples: *em i kaikai gen i stap* = *he is eating again*, *em i singaut long ol pinis nau i stap* = *he has just finished calling to them, and the resulting situation (i.e. silence) is now in progress*.

7.4.1.2.2.2.6.3.2. Tenses

The often optional tense markers are as follows:

1) bin + Verb: General Past

ol i bin toktok = *they had a talk*.

2) bai Immediately Preceding or Following the Subject: Indefinite Future

bai ol i wokim haus = *sometime in the future they will build a house*.

3) ken i + Verb: Definite Future

botol i ken i bruk = *the bottle will (certainly) break*.

This form is (or was) predominantly used in Highlands Pidgin.

4) laik + Verb: Near Future

mi laik gipim yutupela brus = *I shall soon give you two (some) tobacco*.

5) klosap i + Verb: Very Near Future

dispela lapun klosap i dai = *this old man will die very soon*.

6) nau Immediately Preceding the Subject: Immediate Future

nau kanu i kapsait = *the canoe is about to overturn*.

Several Tense Markers With One Verb

It is not uncommon for several tense markers to accompany the same verb, denoting quite complex tense situations; e.g. *bai ol tispela man klosap i pait* = *at some indefinite point of time these men will be in a position where they will fight very soon*.

Combinations of tense and aspect markers with one verb can constitute references to very complicated tense and aspectual situations; e.g.

bai tispela man klosap i kisim sik pinis nau = *at some indefinite point of time in the future this man will be just about to face the situation in which he will have just started to fully contract an illness, i.e.*

i kisim sik pinis = *he has completed contracting an illness* + *nau* = (the above situation) has just started, *bai + tispela man* = places what is mentioned above into the indefinite future with reference to this man, *klosap* = this places the future event into a point of time where the happenings mentioned are about to take place.

7.4.1.2.2.6.4. *Other Verb Forms*

In addition to the forms mentioned in 7.4.1.2.2.6.3.1.-2., a number of other verb forms are found in Pidgin which denote circumstances such as permission (ken + Verb); ability (inap + i + Verb); competence (save pasin bilong + Verb; or gat save bilong + Verb); necessity, coercion and obligation (mas + Verb); desire, wish (laik + i + Verb); causation (mekim ± i + Verb); tolerating (larim ± i + Verb); attempt (traim + Verb, or Verb + Object + i + traim, or Verb + traim), and applicative or benefactive relations (bilong + noun or pronoun denoting the beneficiary).

7.4.1.2.2.7. *Sentences With Two or More Clauses*7.4.1.2.2.7.1. *General Remarks*

The nature of Pidgin sentences consisting of two or more clauses, coordinate or one of them subordinate to or dependent on the other, tends to reflect characteristics of indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea. As in those languages, there is a considerable range of possibilities in the formal indication of the connection between two clauses to denote the quite varied degrees of closeness of the relationship between the actions and situations referred to by two successive clauses. A set of examples of two-clause sentences in which the subject of both verbs is the same, will be given for illustration:

a) mi sanap na mi singaut = *I stood up and shouted*. If two actions referred to by two successive clauses constitute two independent actions which accidentally coincide in some way (i.e. are performed at the same place, under the same circumstances, etc.), this is usually expressed by na = *and* and the repetition of the subject marker. The exact meaning of the above sentence is therefore: '*he stood up, and (without his standing up having any connection with it) he shouted*'.

b) mi sanap na singaut = *I stood up and shouted*. Two actions which are closely connected in one being carried out as background to another, but which still constitute two clearly separated performances, are expressed by na without repetition of the subject marker in the second clause. If the subject is not in the first or second person singular, greater or less closeness of the two actions is expressed by the omission or otherwise of the particle i in the second clause, e.g. em i sanap na singaut indicates a more intimate connection between the two actions than em i sanap na i singaut.

c) *mi sanap i singaut = I stood up shouting.* Two actions which together constitute a close-knit set of activities, are performed either simultaneously or in immediate succession, and of which, under the given circumstances, neither would be performed without the other because neither of them constitutes an activity clearly separated from the other, are expressed by placing *i* between the two clauses. The subject is not repeated, and *na* does not appear.

d) *mi sanap singaut = I stood up to shout.* If the performance of an action creates a situation in which the second action can be performed, this is expressed by omitting all links between the two clauses. The subject marker is not repeated in the second clause. This construction is only met with after *go = to go away*, *kam = to come*, verbs derived from these such as *kamap = to come down*, *goap = to go up*, etc., *stap = to stay, to stop, remain*, *sanap = to stand up*, *sindaun = to sit down* and other verbs denoting postures such as *nildaun = to kneel down*, *slip = to lie down*, etc., *ron = to run*, verbs derived from it such as *ronewe = to run away*, and is sometimes also heard after *bung = to come together, to gather*; e.g. *em i go lukim = he went to see it*; *em i ron siutim pisin = he ran to shoot the bird* (this concept would usually be rendered by *em i ron i go* (or: *i kam*) *siutim pisin*, indicating direction away from (or towards) the focal point of the situation described); etc.

e) *mi sanap long singaut = I STOOD UP, in order to shout.* If an action is performed for the purpose of performing another but the stress is on the first action, this is expressed by placing *long* between the two clauses, without repetition of the subject (or of *i* if it occurs in the first clause).

f) *mi sanap bilong singaut = I stood up in order TO SHOUT.* If an action is performed for the purpose of performing another, and the stress is on the second action, this is expressed by placing *bilong* between the two clauses, without repetition of the subject (or of *i* if it occurs in the first clause).

g) *mi sanap, orait, mi singaut = I stood up. Then I shouted.* If the performing of an action brings a set of events to a close, and a new set of events starts with the next action, this is expressed by placing *orait* between the two clauses, and inserting a pause both before and after it. The subject marker is repeated in the second clause. This construction is very common in narrative style, and is not often met with in sentences quite as short as the illustrative example given above.

h) *mi sanap, olsem na, mi singaut = I stood up. Having stood up, I shouted (i.e. I stood up. (Having done) thus just then, I shouted).*

If the performing of an action brings a set of events to a close, and in referring to the starting action of a new set of events, the speaker wishes to refer back to the last action of the previous set, this is expressed by placing *olsem na* between the two clauses, and inserting a pause both before and after it. The subject marker is repeated in the second clause. This construction is also very common in narrative style, and a very characteristic feature of Pidgin.

1) *mi sanap, orait na, mi singaut = I stood up. Then I SHOUTED!*

If performing of an action brings a set of events to a close, and a new set of events starts with the next action, while at the same time, considerable stress is placed on the first action of this next set, this is expressed by placing *orait na* between the two clauses, and inserting a pause before and after it. The subject marker is repeated in the second clause.

7.4.1.2.2.7.2. Subordinate or Dependent Clauses

In Pidgin, subordinate clauses appear frequently without subordinating conjunctions, and their functions within the sentence are indicated by their positions, and/or by the context.

This applies especially to relative clauses, temporal clauses, causal clauses, and conditional clauses. Relative clauses follow the clause to which they are subordinate, whereas time clauses and conditional clauses precede them. In contrast to English, the preferred position of causal clauses is before the clause to which they are subordinate, e.g. *mi kaikai planti kaukau pinis (orait, or: olsem) mi no hanggiri = I am not hungry because I have eaten much sweet potato (lit. I have eaten much sweet potato (so) I am not hungry).*

A brief discussion of some of the characteristics of Pidgin relative clauses will be given below, omitting complications caused by ditransitive (i.e. double-object) verbs, the position of adverbs in the clauses, and some other factors:

Relative clauses in Pidgin differ from the main clauses which they follow in either having no overt subject, or in having the subject of the main clause - or its object if the relative clause determines that one and not its subject - taken up in them by *em*. The end of the relative clause is often marked by a pause, and its last syllable has a high-pitched intonation. The continuation of the main clause after it has the ordinary intonation of a non-subordinate clause and it is mostly introduced by *em* (if its subject is in the singular) or by *ol* (if its subject is in the plural), unless the verb of the main clause

is go = *to go away*, kam = *to come*, or stap = *to be, to stay*. With these verbs, em and ol are only used if emphasis is placed on the subject of the main clause. Examples: meri i wokim dispela bilum i stap we = *where is the woman who made this netbag?* (Note: even if no pause is inserted after bilum in speaking, both the syllable -lum of bilum and the i following it have high-pitched intonation because the i coincides with the beginning of the falling intonation contour of a sentence-final clause. On the other hand, in a sentence dispela bilum i stap we = *where is this netbag?* the syllable -lum or bilum has the highest intonation pitch because it carries the sentence stress, and the i following it has a lower pitch.) Man i kam kamap aste abinun, em i papa bilong mi = *the man who came last night is my father*. (Even though em is used to introduce the second part of the main clause em i papa bilong mi, this second part is not likely to be mistaken for a relative clause, because it ends a sentence, and the intonation contour is falling, not ending on a high note); dok i sindaun i stap ananit long haus bilong yu em i kaikaiim pinis lek bilong mi = *the dog which is sitting under your house has bitten my leg*.

The subject of the main clause is usually taken up in the relative clause by em if the relative clause does not follow the subject noun immediately, but is separated from it by adjuncts following the noun subject, e.g. ol dispela man bilong ples bilong yu em (ol)¹ i slip i stap long haus bilong mi, em i wokim nupela banis pinis = *these men from your village who are sleeping in my house, have made a new fence*.

If the relative clause determines the object of the main clause, the object is usually taken up by em at the beginning of it if the relative clause consists of more than an intransitive verb ± an adverbial adjunct, e.g. man i lukim diwai em i gat gutpela kaikai = *the man saw a tree which had good food (i.e. fruits)*. In such relative clauses, the intonation contour is the same as in an ordinary independent clause but it can intonationally be recognised as a relative clause because the preceding main clause ends in a non-sentence-final intonation pattern, with high-pitched intonation on the last syllable. At the same time, the intonational pitch at the beginning of the relative clause em i gat gutpela kaikai starts at a higher level than would be the case with the statement em i gat gutpela kaikai = *he (or: it) has good food*.

However, if a relative clause determining the object of the main clause consists only of an intransitive verb, with or without an adverbial

¹If the relative clause determines a subject which indicates a plurality of human beings, em ol appears often instead of em to refer to it.

adjunct accompanying it, no *em* appears as a rule at the beginning of the clause; i.e. *mi lukim wanpela man i slip long graun (i stap) = I saw a man who was sleeping on the ground.*

To express the concept which, in English, is rendered by relative clauses in which the relative pronoun (whom or which) is itself the object of the relative clause, *em* is placed after the verb of the Pidgin relative clause to denote the object of the latter, and usually no special introductory word begins the clause; i.e. *westap dispela blakpela dok mi lukim em aste (or: westap dispela blakpela dok aste mi lukim em) = where is that black dog which I saw yesterday?*

If special emphasis is placed on the object of the relative clause, *em* appears at the beginning of it as well unless the subject of the relative clause is also *em*, i.e. is the third person, e.g. *westap dispela blakpela dok em mi lukim em aste = where is that black dog WHICH I SAW YESTERDAY?* (Stress and pitch features also enter the picture.)

The concept expressed in English by the relative pronoun being preceded by a preposition is rendered in Pidgin by *em* with a preposition preceding it being placed after the verb of the Pidgin relative clause. For emphasis, *em* may also be placed at the beginning of the relative clause, unless the subject of that clause is *em*; e.g. *mi singautim dok pinis (em) mi save wokabout wantaim em = I called the dog with which I habitually go around.*

Other subordinate or dependent clauses in Pidgin show comparable complications. In particular, quotative clauses denoting indirect discourse and reported speech constitute a complex field in Pidgin whose discussion would go beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that a number of bases functioning as quotative particles are used, and a direct quote preceded by one of these quotative particles is often encountered in situations which, in English, would be expressed by indirect discourse. This leads to complications in the use of the markers denoting action away from, or towards, the speaker or focal point of the action (see 7.4.1.2.2.6.3.1., 11)), e.g. *he told me that I had to draw water* is commonly rendered in Pidgin by *em i tokim mi pinis mi mas pulimapim wara i go* (more commonly: *mi mas pulimapim wara i go, em i tokim mi pinis*); or: *em i tokim mi (or: toktok long mi) pinis i tok: yu mas pulimapim wara i kam.* In the latter sentence, *i tok* functions as one of the quotative particles mentioned above.

7.4.1.2.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

From what has been briefly touched upon in this chapter, it seems clear that the structure of Pidgin differs quite considerably from

English, and that Pidgin has a special nature of its own. It shows agreements with features of other pidgin languages, i.e. its reduced lexicon is supplemented by a set of rules, i.e. increased grammaticalisation, which permits the greatest possible use to be made of its restricted lexical inventory. At the same time, Pidgin is much more elaborate and richer than most other pidgin languages, and in this is fully comparable to a creole language, though the extent of its creolisation is quite minor at this stage. It shows another special characteristic in that a sizable part of its lexicon is not derived from the superstrate language, and its history is unusual in that its elaborate development and spreading over a wide area has been predominantly the result of its use as an inter-indigene, not European-to-indigene, *lingua franca*.

7.4.1.2. THE NATURE OF PIDGIN

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7.4.1.3. ON REGIONAL DIALECTS IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

Peter Mühlhäusler

7.4.1.3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Dialects of a language can be defined as codes of one and the same language which show a certain number of differences when compared with each other. These differences are not so great as to prevent oral communication between speakers from different dialect areas. Dialects are geographically restricted to a part of the area occupied by the language of which they are dialects. This contrasts with the notion of sociolect, a variety of a language whose difference from other varieties is determined by social factors.

Dialects often form a chain or L-complex in which each pair of adjacent dialects is mutually intelligible although the dialects at the opposite ends of the chain may not be mutually intelligible. Such dialect chains may range across language boundaries.

7.4.1.3.2. THE QUESTION OF PIDGIN REGIONAL DIALECTS

The question as to whether there are dialects of New Guinea Pidgin in the sense just given has not been systematically studied and is therefore difficult to answer. Obviously one of the main factors accounting for dialects of languages such as English or German, namely linguistic isolation, is virtually absent in Pidgin. Although Wurm and Laycock are clearly justified in writing grammars of Highlands and Lowlands Pidgin respectively, the nature of the variations found in these two 'dialects' is different from the dialectal variations found in most European languages.

A very important factor to bear in mind is that Pidgin is not the first language for most of its users. This means on the one hand that

one is likely to find a number of substratum influences in any idiolect of Pidgin which reflect the grammatical patterns of the user's first language. However, the degree to which such substratum influences appear in any individual speaker are determined by social rather than geographical factors: his education, membership of a church, profession, sex, age, and many more, which have been discussed in my contribution on sociolects in this volume (chapter 7.4.1.4.3.). This means that one is likely to find many varieties even within a relatively small geographical area such as a village.

On the other hand, the amount of substratum influence is limited by practical considerations since satisfactory communication with speakers from different language backgrounds is possible only as long as one's Pidgin is not too heavily coloured by one's own speech habits. In fact, the high regional mobility of many Pidgin speakers has led to the development of a fairly uniform Pidgin which is spoken everywhere in the country. Substratum influences in this variety are minimal.

It is often very difficult to detect a fluent speaker's regional origin. With poorer speakers of Pidgin this is sometimes possible, especially since certain regionally limited phonetic habits, such as prenasalisation of stops, are carried over into their pronunciation.

In spite of such difficulties, a number of my Pidgin-speaking informants claimed to be able to distinguish between at least three regional dialects of Pidgin: Highlands, Lowlands, and Islands Pidgin. I have not tested these claims but I suspect that even this rough classification would be difficult to make in many cases. There are very few diagnostic words and constructions which point to a certain region, and these are on the way out.

Variations, mainly due to substratum influence, can be found in many parts of grammar. Variation will be most pronounced in phonetics. Syntactic variation is also widespread and at least some syntactic properties may be associated with regional varieties: Highlands Pidgin is characterised by the large number of verbal aspect markers. In contrast to other varieties of Pidgin these aspect markers are virtually obligatory in Highlands Pidgin. The distribution of direct and indirect objects accompanying certain verbs distinguishes Islands Pidgin from the other varieties. However, this variation and, to a greater extent, the choice of lexical items may also be related to other non-geographic factors.

Some decades ago regional differences seem to have been more pronounced. In this connection one can mention the old Pidgin spoken in Papua before it was replaced by Hiri Motu as a result of government

policy. A detailed description showing its close resemblance to Bichelamar, can be found in Landtman 1927:453ff. This Pidgin, spoken on Kiwai Island, is markedly different from Pidgin spoken in the previously German-controlled areas, most notably in that it lacks all influence from Tolai and German which is so characteristic of New Guinea Pidgin.

In the Trust Territory of New Guinea some regional varieties are reported. For instance, Townsend (1968:54) found that the vocabulary spoken in the Aitape area in the West Sepik Province contained a number of Malay words which were not in use elsewhere in the country. However, these words have now disappeared from the Pidgin spoken around Aitape and are only remembered by a few old Pidgin-speakers.

A look at some of the older wordlists of Pidgin such as Brenninkmeyer 1925, Borchardt 1930, and Kutscher 1940 shows that many local words were used in the Pidgin spoken on Manus, New Ireland, and especially Rabaul. Again, most of these words are either obsolete or have become accepted in the 'standard' vocabulary of Pidgin used in all parts of Papua New Guinea.

To base a word geography on these scattered examples seems impossible. Unfortunately no reliable data are available on regional variation on the discourse level, although this may be a promising field; Highlanders, for instance, appear to betray their origin by the way in which their discourse is structured more than by anything else.

7.4.1.3.3. CONCLUSION

Unless a more detailed analysis of the facts reveals some outstanding features of regional dialects we are forced to give a negative answer to the question as to the presence of such dialects in Pidgin.

One of the main reasons for the absence of pronounced regional dialects lies in the nature of Pidgin itself. Thus, it is a means of communication beyond geographic and linguistic boundaries and is used mainly for contacts outside a speaker's first language community. Therefore Pidgin spoken among speakers from different language backgrounds is the result of a compromise. Highly marked grammatical categories have no place in good Pidgin. The high amount of regional mobility which necessitates the use of Pidgin by a large number of speakers from different language backgrounds together with the continuous pressure for intelligibility accounts for the large amount of dialect levelling that has taken place and is still taking place. Pidgin is a social rather than individual solution to the problem of communication and any innovations have to be accepted by a large number of

speakers from various areas before they have a chance of becoming an integral part of Pidgin. In addition to these factors one may adduce the temporal factor, since the time it takes for pronounced dialects to develop is greater than the age of Pidgin.

The time at which Pidgin came into being coincides with the emergence of modern mass media. The printed word spread by the missions and government and the spoken word transmitted over a number of radio stations helped to eliminate deviant forms and had a further levelling effect on Pidgin.

Provided there are no drastic changes in the social and political patterns of Papua New Guinea it is unlikely that new dialects will develop.

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7.4.1.4. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN AND SOCIETY

7.4.1.4.1. CRITICISMS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS PIDGIN

S.A. Wurm

7.4.1.4.1.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The history and development of New Guinea Pidgin, also called Melanesian Pidgin, or simply Pidgin, has been described in 7.4.1.1., and aspects of policies and views relating to Pidgin in several other chapters such as 7.3.1., 7.3.2., 7.4.1.4.2., 7.4.1.4.5., 7.8.0. and elsewhere. As has been mentioned in several places in those chapters, the attitudes towards Pidgin on the part of Europeans both inside and outside Papua New Guinea - especially of those whose mother tongue is English - has been largely negative and disdainful until quite recently, though there have been some notable exceptions.

The causes of these attitudes have been varied and can be subsumed under several headings - in essence, they have to a lesser extent and more so in earlier days than in recent years stemmed 1) from the general view that the indigenes were inferior to Europeans and that their language must therefore also be of an inferior brand, and 2) from the nature of Pidgin itself which has been looked upon by many as a most detestable form of human speech, and not really as a language, but only as a hideous distortion and a totally debased form of English.

It is interesting to note that there have rarely, if ever, been comparable situations in the world in which a language has been maligned quite so much as Pidgin, and at the same time been found so useful and in fact, quite indispensable. It is no exaggeration at all to say that without Pidgin, Papua New Guinea would never have come anywhere near the level of development which it has reached today in the course of a comparatively very short time.

It has been mentioned above that the exponents of the negative attitudes towards Pidgin have been generally Europeans. It is true that a number of Papua New Guinean indigenes also take a rather dim view of Pidgin, but with the great majority of these this attitude is based on entirely different grounds, i.e. they are proponents of the second major lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, Hiri Motu, i.e. the lingua franca of Papua, and maintain a strong local, i.e. Papua-centred orientation which culminates in separatist attitudes. Such indigenes look upon Pidgin as an unwelcome intruder and a powerful, far too powerful, rival threatening the role and importance of their lingua franca which they hold dear, and also as the hallmark of another regionalism centred on what has become known locally as 'New Guinea', i.e. the old Territory of New Guinea.

Comparatively few Papua New Guineans share the disdainful attitudes towards Pidgin as a language which are, or were, typical of most Europeans. Only some members of the English-educated élite have been indoctrinated into such attitudes by their European teachers.

Before discussing still other, present-day attitudes towards Pidgin on the part of the indigenous population, it may be of interest to review the devastating criticisms levelled against Pidgin until the very recent past by many Europeans, and to examine their nature more closely (Wurm 1966-67).

In this, it must be kept in mind that decisions concerning the usefulness, acceptability, use and role of Pidgin are a matter for the people of Papua New Guinea themselves who, after a brief period of self-government, have recently achieved full independence and nationhood. If, therefore, criticisms of and objections to a language were made, raised and instigated largely by persons who were not members of the indigenous population that is now ruling Papua New Guinea and not by the indigenous population itself, these criticisms and objections seem to be inherently inappropriate and cannot be regarded as arguments of validity in decisions to be taken about Pidgin by the indigenous population. At the same time, it seems that even disregarding the situational inapplicability of these criticisms and objections, they were largely incorrect in their substance and based on erroneous views, prejudice and biased attitudes.

7.4.1.4.1.2. THE NATURE OF CRITICISMS OF PIDGIN

These criticisms are essentially threefold.

7.4.1.4.1.2.1. *PIDGIN REGARDED AS A CORRUPTION OF ENGLISH*

Pidgin was regarded by critics as a revolting, disgusting, debased corruption of English, full of insulting words, and sounding quite ridiculous to listeners.

These criticisms have no objective validity. Pidgin is not English, just as English is not French though it contains an abundance of words of French origin. In its structure and basic principles, Pidgin is closer to an Austronesian language than to English, even though it differs in some points of its structure, from Austronesian languages as well (see 7.4.1.2.1.). As such it is quite different from English, just as English is structurally different from French. It is correct to say that the percentage of the English-based lexicon of Pidgin is considerably greater than that of the French-based lexicon of English, but it is not greater than the Latin-based vocabulary of French and Italian. Nevertheless, present-day French or Italian are not called corruptions of Latin, though it can be said that they owe their historical origin to exactly that, just as Pidgin can be said to owe its origin ultimately to a corruption of English even though the situation relating to Pidgin was in many respects quite different from that leading to the emergence of French or Italian. However, in its present-day form, Pidgin constitutes an established language when judged from the linguistic point of view.

To describe Pidgin as revolting, disgusting and debased, as being full of insulting words, and sounding ridiculous to listeners, is the result of looking at it from an outside point of view, i.e. one based on a different language, i.e. English. In such a fashion, any language closely related to another in a portion of its vocabulary, or in both structure and vocabulary, could, when looked at from the point of view of this other language, be said to be revolting, debased, full of insulting words, and as sounding ridiculous to listeners - i.e., to listeners speaking this other language, and not the language in question itself. Speakers of Dutch and German, Spanish and Portuguese, the various Slavic languages and others could potentially find themselves in such situations quite frequently - quite a number of the words in such closely related languages are similar or near-identical in form and appear to be easily recognisable to speakers of one such language when uttered by speakers of the other language, but their meanings are often rather different, and a quite harmless word in one language can be a highly insulting one in the other, but, as has been pointed out, it may sound nearly the same. Educated members of two such speech communities who realise this problem do not usually have the habit of

describing each others' languages as being full of insulting words. Why is it then that speakers of English described Pidgin as being full of insulting words; though if they had any knowledge of the language at all, they had to know that such words which were formally similar to insulting words in English, had harmless meanings in Pidgin? The traditional attitudes of the English-speaking whites towards the indigenes may well have had much to do with this, as well as the belief on the part of many of the former that Pidgin was a sort of 'baby-talk' fit to be used to and by the indigenes only, and not a real language. At the same time, it may also have to be taken into account that some English speakers were, because of their still lingering adherence to the Victorian heritage, perhaps more sensitive to and emotional about what they looked upon as insulting words, than speakers of most other languages. Also, English is not a member of a pair of very closely related major languages such as those referred to above. Because of this, most English speakers have not been exposed to a language which sounds much like theirs in many respects, though strangely, and sometimes embarrassingly, differing from it in many instances. (The only instances of such exposure are provided by the dialectal differences existing for instance between British and Australian English, or British and American English: these certainly provide a few examples similar to those referred to above.) If Pidgin is taken into account, English can be looked upon as a member of just such a pair of languages that are closely related at least in one respect - i.e., in their lexicon. However, only a very small proportion of the speakers of English ever comes into contact with or is familiar with the exact nature of Pidgin - this helps explain the over-reaction of many English-speakers on their first contact with this, to them, unfamiliar and strange sounding idiom. Characteristically, the most ardent, emotional, and articulate critics of Pidgin had been largely persons who knew very little about it, whereas quite a few of the European residents of Papua New Guinea who have a good knowledge of it regard it either impartially and dispassionately or may have a lot to say in its favour.

With regard to the argument that Pidgin sounds quite ridiculous to listeners, i.e. speakers of English unfamiliar or only a little familiar with it, it is interesting to note that a similar situation may well be said to exist between English and French if the numerous French loan-words in English and their diverse pronunciations and meanings in these two languages are taken into account. However, it is culturally largely inappropriate for educated speakers of the two languages to regard the other language as ridiculous, whereas it was culturally in order for

speakers of English to regard Pidgin as a ridiculous language and at the same time as nothing more than a revolting and debased corruption of English.

7.4.1.4.1.2.2. PIDGIN REGARDED AS INADEQUATE

The second argument against Pidgin is that it is an inadequate, restricted language unsuited for the expression of thoughts on anything but the most elementary level. In contrast to the arguments discussed above under 7.4.1.4.1.2.1. which are not often heard any more today, this argument is still frequently voiced. In this, it has to be pointed out that the question concerning the adequacy of a language is only meaningful if the culture is named for whose expression that language serves as a vehicle. Since every natural language constitutes a reference system for the culture within which it has developed, it follows that every language is basically adequate for the expression of, and reference to, the cultural concepts constituting the culture to which it belongs, and undergoes changes along with changes of this culture. It also follows that a language is inadequate for the expression of a culture to which it does not belong, and that this inadequacy increases in direct proportion with the degree of difference between the culture to which the language belongs, and the one which critics pointing to its alleged inadequacy expect it to express.

Examining Pidgin in this connection, the first question to be asked is whether Pidgin is a fully adequate medium for the expression of the cultural concepts of the people of Papua New Guinea who have been using it as their lingua franca. Pidgin is the major lingua franca employed by indigenes in multi-language situations as the means of intercommunication in all situations concerning multi-language groups as a whole or at least a multi-language section of it. However, there are numerous cultural situations involving members of a single homogeneous speech community only in which the language of intercommunication is not Pidgin, but the local language, and for which Pidgin is inadequate - understandably so, because it has no connection with that specific part of the indigenous culture which may often be ritual in nature. At the same time, it should be made clear that a language other than Pidgin would also be inadequate, English probably more so than Pidgin because of the greater alienness of the culture to which English belongs, to the cultures of the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea, than is the case with Pidgin.

The cultures of the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea are rapidly changing, much of them getting lost and being replaced by

something new that is approaching uniformity and is neither traditional nor European (see chapter 7.4.1.4.2.). The language serving as a reference system for this new growing element in the cultures of the population is Pidgin, and being the means of expression of this new set of cultural concepts, it is intrinsically adequate for this task.

It is quite correct to say that Pidgin, in its present form, is not adequate for the expression of the range of concepts constituting a sophisticated western culture such as the Australian toward an approximation of which the Papua New Guinean culture was thought to be heading. However, it seems quite unlikely now that the basic culture of the new Papua New Guinean nation will ever become a copy of the Australian - it will certainly become something with a character entirely its own, and what will have been absorbed into it from the Australian culture will only be a component element that will have undergone drastic changes and adaptations. With the development of this basic culture, the language serving it as a means of expression may well be expected to have the inherent ability to develop with it and to become richer and more complex, in step with the culture to which it belongs. The exceedingly rapid development of this culture does however pose a problem for the language serving and maintaining it: for it to remain in step with the changes and advancing of the culture, numerous new terms have to become part of it at an accelerating rate. At present, most of such new terms are loanwords from English - this constitutes the line of least resistance, with a language with a vast reservoir of terms readily available to be drawn on. There is some justification for such a procedure provided the adoption of direct English loans does not exceed an unavoidable minimum (see 7.4.1.4.6.4. and 7.8.3.2.4.2.). However, this is unfortunately not the case with Pidgin at present, though it does contain the necessary linguistic mechanisms for the creation of such needed additional terms in conformity with the nature of the language itself (see 7.8.3.2.4.1.-2.) to ensure its adequacy.

7.4.1.4.1.2.3. *PIDGIN REGARDED AS A COLONIAL HERITAGE*

The third criticism of Pidgin is that it constitutes a bad heritage from the days of colonialism, and that it has been used for the purpose of accentuating, emphasising and perpetuating social and racial distinctions, i.e., it has been used by the European masters in speaking to members of the indigenous population to keep them in their place.

Parts of this argument are certainly true for the past, though it has to be remembered that by far the greater portion of the use of Pidgin as a means of intercommunication was between indigenes and not

between Europeans and indigenes. Nevertheless, the use of Pidgin as a means of social control still continues, but no longer under the banner of colonialism (see 7.4.1.4.2.2.). The blame for this cannot be placed on the language as such: with the expected publication of Pidgin materials by other agencies than the missions or the government (see also chapter 7.4.1.6.), and the possible development of a more heterogeneous Pidgin press, it may be anticipated that this tendency will diminish.

The views outlined above in the first paragraph of this section had been held by some European and quite a few non-European members of the United Nations Organisation, and have also been put forward by a few Europeans, as well as by some indigenous leaders, in Papua New Guinea itself. However, it seems unrealistic to hold this view in this form for the present or the future: several languages which in the past used to be stigmatised by those social features ascribed to Pidgin in the above argument, have become the national language of nations. Indonesian is a good example: until the middle of the last century, the local population in the then Dutch East Indies was forbidden by law even to learn Dutch, so that it could be kept linguistically, and in consequence socially, clearly separated from the European rulers. Nevertheless, the linguistic tool of this separation has now become the national language of the Indonesian nation.

It may be noted that many indigenes in Papua New Guinea, including some of the members of the House of Assembly, have developed something describable as a nationalistic pride in Pidgin, and far from regarding it as a means of social suppression, they look upon it as a means of national self-identification. This attitude may well be expected to spread and clearly demonstrates that the third criticism of Pidgin as mentioned above no longer has validity in those terms.

7.4.1.4.1.3. PRESENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS PIDGIN IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

7.4.1.4.1.3.1. POSITIVE FACTORS

Much of the criticisms reviewed above in 7.4.1.4.1.2., though still voiced with varying degrees of frequency, though perhaps more outside Papua New Guinea than inside of it, no longer have great practical importance on the present Papua New Guinea scene. Apart from the views of strong adherents of Hiri Motu (see above 7.4.1.4.1.1.) and those of a few indigenes who have been indoctrinated with negative European attitudes towards Pidgin, the general attitudes towards the language in Papua New Guinea itself, both on the part of the population at large, and their leaders, are mostly favourable.

Pidgin has, in the last few years, achieved a very remarkable increase in status in general (see also 7.3.2.6.-7.) as is manifested by its open use in situations in which it was heavily frowned upon and even banned until very recently, e.g. amongst students at the University of Papua New Guinea and in the high schools. Pidgin has become the most commonly employed debate language in the House of Assembly; after a period of a considerable number of years in which English was the sole language used and admissible in vocational training, Pidgin is being introduced for that purpose again; literature and newspapers appear in it; and it may become an important medium of instruction in adult education and in elementary education - in the latter, the former ban on its use is no longer quite valid. Pidgin stands a good chance of becoming one of the national and official languages of Papua New Guinea - the matter is at present a politically very sensitive issue because of the presence of a Papuan separatist movement and the strong support for Hiri Motu as a national language by sections of the population of the former Territory of Papua. In rural areas, Pidgin is also rapidly gaining prestige (see 7.4.1.4.2.3.) through the increasing participation of the rural population in political developments, the spread of Local Government Councils - whose records are usually kept in one of the lingue franche, predominantly Pidgin even when the discussions are held in the local language - and central Government agencies such as the offices of the Department of Primary Industry.

7.4.1.4.1.3.2. NEGATIVE FACTORS

These attitudes and circumstances which generally greatly favour Pidgin appear to have paved its road towards an important future in the eyes of the great majority of the population of Papua New Guinea. However, there are some adverse factors which mar this:

7.4.1.4.1.3.2.1. Pidgin a Bar to Higher Education

One of these is the fact that the extensive use of Pidgin in elementary education would under the present education system in Papua New Guinea effectively bar the road to higher education for children receiving their elementary education in it. As has been pointed out in chapter 7.4.4., education in English is still generally regarded by the community as the only 'real' education, though educational developments on the horizon may bring about a change in this attitude. An important point in this attitude is the fact that little 'cultural imperialism' has been associated with the use of English in Papua New Guinea, and little hostility towards it has developed, though there is an increasing

reaction against Western culture in general. However, English is not generally regarded as intrinsically associated with that culture. It is now established as one of the Papua New Guinea *lingue franche* to serve as the medium of expression of one particular elevated sphere of life in Papua New Guinea.

7.4.1.4.1.3.2.2. Functional Limitations of Pidgin

Another point of importance concerns the present functional limitations of Pidgin (see 7.4.1.4.2.2.2.). These are in part regional, with Hiri Motu holding currency in much of Papua, though, at least until recently, receding under the onslaught of Pidgin. However, Hiri Motu has become a vehicle of regional Papuan nationalism - and Pidgin to some extent that of New Guinea-versus-Papua nationalism which makes the rivalry between the two *lingue franche* a touchy political issue.

A much more serious facet of the functional limitations of Pidgin is constituted by the fact that Pidgin does not serve as a medium of expression in matters pertaining to the traditional culture, and also not much in those belonging to the modern Western technological culture, and that, at the same time, Pidgin does, with many of its speakers, largely tend to function as a replacement of their existing language rather than a complement. The result of this is that such speakers lose their access to the traditional world, and do not gain much access to the Western technological one. At the same time, the functional range of Pidgin is steadily extending in the latter direction, and the tendency of indigenes who have a good command of English, to use Pidgin wherever this is possible in terms of its adequacy for a given discussion gradually reduces its functional limitations.

7.4.1.4.1.3.2.3. Concluding Remarks on Negative Factors

The two factors discussed above tend to act as dampers on the generally favourable attitudes towards Pidgin in Papua New Guinea today, but it may be expected that developments in the foreseeable future may contribute to lessening their impact.

S.A. WURM

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7.4.1.4.2. THE SOCIAL ROLE OF PIDGIN IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA TODAY

Peter Mühlhäusler

7.4.1.4.2.1. INTRODUCTION

Pidgin languages can be classified in terms of the role they fulfill in a given society. One can conceive of a scale that ranges from short-lived rudimentary jargons that serve as means of communication in a very limited set of situational contexts to pidgins that have virtually the status of a fully-fledged language.

The development of New Guinea Pidgin can be interpreted as a continuous upward movement on such a scale. At present Pidgin is not only the majority language of Papua New Guinea but also the language in which most topics relevant to present-day Papua New Guinean society can be discussed. The aim of this chapter is to point out in more detail what functions Pidgin fulfills in contemporary Papua New Guinea, the historical developments and the future outlooks having been dealt with elsewhere in chapters 7.4.1.1., and 7.4.1.4.5.-6. in this volume.

Pidgin is not a unitary phenomenon nor is it possible to speak of the social role of Pidgin. The presence of a number of sociolects in Pidgin makes it essential to look at the role of Pidgin with reference to these sociolects.

7.4.1.4.2.2. PIDGIN SOCIOLECTS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

A discussion of sociolects in Pidgin can be found elsewhere in this volume (see 7.4.1.4.3.). For our purposes a distinction can be made between the marginal varieties, namely Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin, and the two major varieties of Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin. The two marginal varieties are both very restricted in their functions. Tok Masta basically fulfills two functions: that of maintaining non-intimacy between masta and boi and that of social control. Bush Pidgin also

functions as a lingua franca allowing limited communication with the outside world without affecting the social structure and way of life of the community or maintenance of the status quo.

The two pivotal varieties, on the other hand, are instrumental in bringing about a number of important changes in the society in which they are used. These changes will be discussed in more detail below.

The main functions of the four sociolects can be seen from the following scheme:

sociolect	main functions	status with regard to vernacular
Tok Masta	giving orders, maintenance of non-intimacy	special register of English
Bush Pidgin	limited communication with outside groups, maintenance of non-intimacy	functions complementary to vernacular
Rural Pidgin	cross-linguistic communication, vehicle of cultural change and socialisation, medium for educational and administrative institutions	taking over part of the functions of vernacular
Urban Pidgin	same as in Rural Pidgin but in addition reinforcing group solidarity, vehicle of nationalistic aspirations, enhancing group prestige	often replacing vernacular, tendency towards creolisation, in diglossic relation with English

The main functions of Rural and Urban Pidgin will now be discussed in more detail.

7.4.1.4.2.2.1. PIDGIN'S ROLE IN CROSS-LINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION

The most important role fulfilled by Pidgin in present-day Papua New Guinea is that it provides a means of effective verbal communication across language boundaries. This is of utmost importance in a country with 700 or more mutually unintelligible languages. Pidgin helps to

break down barriers between formerly hostile communities. Although Pidgin is in the first place an inter-indigene lingua franca, it also serves, although to a much more limited extent, to establish communication with Europeans, in particular missionaries and administrators.

It is estimated that 40% or more of the population are able to speak Pidgin making it by far the most widely spoken language in Papua New Guinea. Its communicative importance is also revealed by the fact that more people are functionally literate in Pidgin than in any other language in Papua New Guinea - this in spite of official condemnation of Pidgin schools. Statistical analyses indicate that Pidgin is clearly the language medium which reaches the largest number of people in Papua New Guinea and that it can reach almost three times more people than functional English and Hiri Motu combined. This is true of both the written and spoken uses of the languages.

7.4.1.4.2.2.2. *PIDGIN'S ROLE IN THE SOCIALISATION OF PAPUA NEW GUINEANS*

Whereas the varieties of Bush Pidgin allow communication with the outside without affecting the internal structure of the society of its users, the main varieties of Pidgin have the additional function of bringing about a number of important cultural changes. These changes could be observed as early as the 1930s and have been dealt with in detail by Mead (1931) and Reed (1943). By breaking down language barriers Pidgin was instrumental in breaking down social and tribal barriers. Pidgin enabled its speakers to communicate both with members of other traditionally oriented societies and with Europeans, thus helping to bring about a new culture. This new culture, which is neither traditional nor European but incorporating elements from both, is characterised by a new feeling of unity and solidarity which can be labelled the wantok feeling.

The possession of a common language makes it possible to share the same sources of information and to discuss affairs of common interest. Without Pidgin the successful implementation of the local government system would have been virtually impossible. Pidgin has become an essential factor in democratic government and the possession of a common lingua franca is one of the greatest assets of the administration of Papua New Guinea, although not enough official recognition has been given to this fact to date.

In addition to the traditional role of Pidgin as a means of communication with outside groups, recent developments in Papua New Guinea, in particular increased urbanisation, have brought about a new shift in

the role of Pidgin. Pidgin is being adopted by an increasing number of people not as a complement to their vernacular but as a replacement.

This development brings with it the dangers of traditional thinking being uncritically rejected and of the new culture associated with Pidgin becoming an inadequate replica of the coloniser's culture. Since local models for social and linguistic behaviour are virtually absent in the urban situation both English language and European modes of behaviour become the main models for innovations.

This tendency is reinforced by the government policy of teaching English, even at primary level. For a large number of people in urban environments incipient diglossia can be observed. For many speakers Urban Pidgin and New Guinea English are in a diglossic relation. Since the two systems are sufficiently alike at some levels of grammar structural fusion is encouraged and there is a real possibility that the two linguistic systems will not be kept apart (Bickerton 1975). However, it is doubtful whether such a linguistic situation provides speakers with a set of linguistic codes capable of fulfilling the joint functions of Pidgin and English. Instead, one suspects, the development of a continuum of substandard English will cause many frustrations for its speakers, who, already severed from their traditional background, are now also unable to gain full access to the European culture.

Another case of rejection of traditional values is constituted by the various cargo movements which typically use Pidgin as a means of expressing their ideas. By using Pidgin and by creating special secret varieties of this language (Aufinger 1949), cargo leaders have managed to foster a great feeling of group solidarity.

7.4.1.4.2.2.3. *PIDGIN AS CARRIER OF NATIONALISTIC ASPIRATIONS*

There is a strong feeling among a minority of Papua New Guineans that Pidgin should be the national language of Papua New Guinea. Pidgin has increasingly become the symbol of national unity and most political transactions in Papua New Guinea are carried out in Pidgin. The emotional impact of Pidgin in the House of Assembly has been discussed by Hull (1968:25). Hull remarks that there is a feeling among the indigenous members of the House that Pidgin and not English should be the language used.

The use of Pidgin as a vehicle for national aspirations has been strongly advocated by Noel (1975). Noel sees Pidgin as a workable alternative to English and as a valuable aid in overcoming social patterns developed during the colonial period.

For Papua New Guinea to have Pidgin as a national language is not only for identification purposes but also as an affirmation of the right and capacity of:

- a) the black people to determine their future and to achieve equality in the modern world
- b) the legitimacy of Pidgin in the development of the country as a whole. (Noel 1975:6)

Papua New Guineans are becoming critical of Europeans who do not have a reasonable mastery of the language. This feeling has led to the demand that all prospective new citizens of Papua New Guinea should have a good command of Pidgin or Hiri Motu.

A further indication of the growing importance of Pidgin as a means of national self-expression can be seen in the development of a body of literature in Pidgin (see chapter 7.4.1.6. in this volume).

7.4.1.4.2.2.4. SOCIAL CONTROL AND PIDGIN

Although Pidgin has been a perfectly adequate tool to overcome most undesirable aspects of the pre-colonial society, namely continuous warfare and lack of communication, it still bears the stigma of colonialism. 'Some Papuans and New Guineans feel that it perpetuates social relationships and ways of thinking more appropriate to the colonial past than to the modern society that is emerging in the Territory' (Wolfers 1971: 414). Pidgin has been used by the colonial powers and missions as a means of social control rather than a means of enabling the people to critically reflect their position and aspirations. This trend is still continuing although in a much less blatant form. Pidgin may no longer be used intentionally 'to keep the native in his place' but it is certainly used in controlling the aspirations and wishes of a large number of people. For instance, almost all written material is published either by the missions or the government and access to more independent interpretations of current events is virtually impossible via the medium of Pidgin. Even at a very elementary level it is difficult to obtain objective information. Books on such topics as cooking (Lilke 1969), child care (Thamm 1970) and health (Tscharke 1972) all contain references to Christian doctrine. The audience for which these books are written is unable to distinguish between the empirical and non-empirical statements in these books and it is little wonder that Christian religion has been repeatedly interpreted as a way of obtaining cargo.

Thus, the inability to understand English excludes a large number of people from taking part in processes and discussions about developments which involve them directly. The establishment of a more heterogeneous Pidgin press could certainly remedy this and proposals to this

effect have been put forward at the Conference on Pidgin in Port Moresby in 1973.

7.4.1.4.2.3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS PIDGIN

The attitudes towards Pidgin are a reflection of what the users of Pidgin consider to be its role and should therefore be mentioned in this place. Unfortunately no survey material is yet available which makes the following statements rather tentative.

Opposition towards Pidgin and its use in Papua New Guinea has often come from outsiders and is generally based on insufficient knowledge of the language and its possibilities. This has been discussed in much detail by Hall (1954, 1955) and Wurm (1969).

There is, however, also a strong feeling against Pidgin among certain sections of the population of Papua New Guinea. Pidgin is seen as a threat to the 'Papuan identity' by the proponents of regional nationalism in the former Papua and it is perhaps mainly for that reason that the government is unable to give its wholehearted support to Pidgin.

Opposition against Pidgin is also commonly found among more educated Papua New Guineans. The prejudices of certain colonial administrators and, in particular, teachers are perpetuated by a fairly large number of members of this group. The continued indoctrination of an English-biased education has led to an over-estimation of the potentials of this language. The existence of such an English-speaking élite constitutes a serious obstacle to the further development of Pidgin.

However, the feeling that Pidgin should be replaced by English is also shared by some less educated groups. Many parents consider English to be the only key to wealth and economic progress and insist on their children attending English-medium rather than Pidgin schools. Such hopes are frequently disappointed and the number of school leavers for which the knowledge of English is almost completely irrelevant is considerable.

In spite of this opposition, Pidgin has managed to increase its importance. Official support is cautious but the number of its unofficial supporters is high. For the people in the village pragmatic considerations are all-important. For them Pidgin provides the only link with the outside world and the only means of access to new ideas. Pidgin is recognised by the majority of the rural people as the most important instrument of reducing the amount of fighting and fear found in pre-colonial society. Their appreciation of Pidgin is often paired with a fear of being left behind, should English take over from Pidgin. The development of highly anglicised varieties of Pidgin constitutes a

real problem for these people. This pragmatic attitude towards Pidgin is shared by the missions and those in the lower ranks of the administration.

Overestimation of the potential of Pidgin is rare and few people have seriously proposed to let Pidgin take over all the functions of English. Noel claims that

the attitude that Pidgin may not be able to provide equivalents for the technical terms in the technological and industrial sphere is what I call colonial nostalgia, an attitude maintained by the colonizers. (Noel 1975:6)

However, Noel fails to distinguish between the theoretical feasibility and the practical implications of such a step. The advantages gained from introducing Pidgin at all levels of communication, including for instance tertiary education, would hardly be justified in the light of the disadvantages and the tremendous cost involved.

It appears that for a long time the functional ranges of the vernaculars, Pidgin and English will not overlap and that all three languages have their role to play in Papua New Guinean society.

7.4.1.4.2.4. CONCLUSION

I have attempted to point out the most prominent functions of Pidgin in present-day Papua New Guinea. The functional ranges of the various sociolects of Pidgin need to be established individually. For the main varieties of Pidgin these functions have to be seen as being complementary to those of the vernaculars and English. Due to the lack of quantitative data the discussion of some points had to remain rather vague. A quantitative analysis of language behaviour and language attitudes in New Guinea could provide more conclusive answers than it was possible to present here.

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7.4.1.4.3. SOCIOLECTS IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

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7.4.1.4.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Whereas regional variations in Pidgin are of minor importance and Pidgin dialectology is virtually impossible, a number of social factors have been prominent in bringing about varieties of Pidgin.

Papua New Guinea society is extremely heterogeneous. Traditional ways of life have been increasingly influenced by European modes of behaviour and thinking in the last decades. Pidgin is one of the results of this culture contact, and the degree to which the new foreign culture has been adopted is one of the determining factors of the speaker's variety of Pidgin.

Until World War II a situation was prevalent in which there was relatively little class differentiation among the indigenous peoples; all are characterized by their relative powerlessness vis-a-vis the expatriate bureaucracy that handles the bulk of administrative tasks and the expatriate business class which controls the commanding heights of economy.
(Bickerton 1975)

In such a situation there was a clear-cut division between Pidgin on the one hand and English on the other.

However, this state of affairs has changed considerably and new social classes have developed among the indigenous population. In contrast to the rigid colonial class system, the new system is characterised by its relative openness and a great amount of social mobility. Whereas access to English was discouraged in pre-war times, universal education in English has been one of the pronounced aims of government educational policy for a long time. This change of policy has had important consequences for the development of Pidgin sociolects.

The existence of socially conditioned variations has drawn much less attention than one would expect. Until recently all divergences from

an ideal standard grammar were considered to be mere performance phenomena and as such not the subject matter of linguistic description. Although we find a number of references to social variations of Pidgin in the existing literature, no attempt has been made until recently to explain these variations in terms of sociolinguistic parameters.

The first breakthrough was made by a number of participants at the Conference on Pidgin held in Port Moresby in September 1973. The contributions included Bickerton's paper on continua in pidgins and creoles, Sankoff's papers on creolised Pidgin in urban areas, and the writer's paper on sociolects in Pidgin. All these were published in McElhanon, ed. 1975 (see bibliography). However, this was just the beginning.

Apart from certain group languages such as Army Pidgin (Bell 1971), the secret or 'tok bokis' varieties of Pidgin of various cargo movements (Aufinger 1949), and the varieties spoken by the students of the University of Papua New Guinea and other educational institutions, there are at least four sociolects of New Guinea Pidgin. These can be labelled as Tok Masta (the Europeans' talk), Bush Pidgin, Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin. In addition one should recognise the creolised varieties of Pidgin spoken around large towns (Sankoff 1975a).

The relationship between these varieties is complex. Strictly speaking Tok Masta is not Pidgin but a special register of English which is considered by its speakers to be Pidgin. Its syntax is different from that of all other varieties of Pidgin.

We can, however, assume a continuum that ranges from Bush Pidgin to Urban Pidgin. Its characteristics are a relatively uniform syntax (which, however, is poorly mastered in Bush Pidgin) and an increasing tendency to approximate the inventory and structure of the lexicon to English. This continuum does not extend as far as English although the likelihood of such a development is very real (Bickerton 1975). The sociolects on the continuum are mutually intelligible although the increased use of new words of English origin in the Urban varieties has led to communication difficulties between educated and uneducated speakers (Healey 1975, Mühlhäusler 1975). The rapid pace of social change has led to a situation where Pidgin is much less stable than before the war: 'Pidgin is used by more people today than in the 30's and 40's but with poorer facility' (Healey 1975).

The factors accounting for the development of social varieties of Pidgin have been discussed by Mühlhäusler (1975, 1978). The most important factors are the race of the speaker, the age at which Pidgin was learnt, the age of the speaker now, his profession and his knowledge of English. We may note that two factors, namely urbanisation and

knowledge of English, were of little importance before the 1950s, but have now developed into the main mechanisms of language differentiation. One may expect that further changes in Papua New Guinea society will bring about further differentiation of Pidgin.

In order to give a general idea of Pidgin sociolects today I will sketch the main varieties in some detail.

7.4.1.4.3.2. TOK MASTA

The name Tok Masta was coined by the indigenous population to label the variety of Pidgin spoken by most expatriates, its main feature being instability, stemming from the assumption of its speakers that Pidgin is equivalent to English baby talk. Because of the many *ad hoc* simplifications made by its users it is a difficult 'language' to follow since, in order to understand it, one has to know both the grammar of English and the set of simplificatory rules used by the Tok Masta speaker. Therefore, in spite of the fact that it is used in a fairly limited and almost self-explanatory context such as domestic or plantation context, the number of misunderstandings and frictions between 'masta' and servants is high.

Both because of its linguistic instability and its colonialistic connotations, it will soon disappear from Papua New Guinea. The present government expects all prospective new citizens to be fluent speakers of Pidgin and an increasing number of expatriates who plan to stay in the country have enrolled for courses in New Guinea Pidgin. 1973, two years before independence, saw the the publication of two important Pidgin courses namely Dutton 1973 and Sadler 1973.

7.4.1.4.3.3. BUSH PIDGIN

This name refers to the varieties spoken in remote areas in which Pidgin is used infrequently and where its usefulness is limited. Grammatically these varieties are characterised by heavy first-language interference and instability.

Due to the rapid development of the Highlands and other areas in the remote interior, these varieties are widespread. Very little descriptive work on them is available, although a better knowledge of these varieties could provide us with answers to questions regarding the necessity of teaching Pidgin and its standardisation.

Bush Pidgin varieties are deviant in their grammar. Deviances in phonology have been described by Bee (1972); some information on the lexical properties of Bush Pidgin can be found in Mühlhäusler 1975. Deviant language behaviour leads not only to poor production, but also

to poor understanding of better Pidgin varieties. It seems that as people have only a marginal knowledge of Pidgin they are doomed to remain in a marginal position in Papua New Guinea society.

7.4.1.4.3.4. RURAL PIDGIN

The term Rural Pidgin is applied to the variety which Laycock has described as 'fluent but unsophisticated, coastal rather than Highlands, and Melanesian rather than English' (Laycock 1969). Since it is the most widespread variety, and since it has been accepted as the standard norm for the Bible translation, *Wantok* newspaper, and many other publications, it is a strong candidate for a standard language throughout Papua New Guinea. It is the most stable of all Pidgin varieties and has changed but little, although new vocabulary items have found their way into this variety too. I have discussed the various factors that account for the uniformity of this sociolect in chapter 7.4.1.3. on regional dialects in this volume, and also in Mühlhäusler 1978.

The grammar of Rural Pidgin is relatively free from English influences. Although Pidgin is derived from English, English grammar has been broken down during the early stages of contact and been replaced by a grammar which is Melanesian Austronesian rather than English, possibly reinforced by certain language-independent processes of simplification of grammar. Descriptions of the 'standard' grammar are available (for instance Hall 1943, Mihalic 1971, Laycock 1970a,b, with Wurm 1971 describing the somewhat non-standard grammar of Highlands Pidgin). These descriptions tend to be idealised, however, and many finer points of grammar are not yet well documented.

The social setting for this variety of Pidgin is the rural community, away from the big towns but not away from their influences. Western ideas, especially those of the missions and the administration, are well known in these areas. Pidgin is used not only as a means of inter-tribal communication but also as a means of thought expression in some fields of thinking. Pidgin is known by virtually everybody in the rural communities, with the exception of a few very old people, and literacy in Pidgin is a common phenomenon.

7.4.1.4.3.5. URBAN PIDGIN

This name covers not only the varieties spoken in the large urban centres but also the varieties of Pidgin spoken by those who have a fair knowledge of English.

Urban Pidgin and English therefore are in a diglossic relationship and carry-overs from English patterns are frequent, most commonly in

pronunciation and vocabulary, but also in grammar. The continuous presence of English as the target language has led to uncertainty in the use of Pidgin, fluctuation in its grammar, and to an incipient communication breakdown between speakers of Urban and Rural Pidgin (Wurm 1976). The absence of official norms for Pidgin grammar and the negative attitude of the administration towards Pidgin are partly responsible for this. There are also other reasons such as prestige factors and alienation from the village background.

A dictionary of Urban Pidgin has been compiled by Sunderlin and Hull but is not yet available in print.

7.4.1.4.3.6. CREOLISED PIDGIN

Sankoff (1975a,b) has drawn attention to a number of ongoing changes in Pidgin spoken as a first language.

Rapid urbanisation has led to the disappearance of the traditional vernaculars and to a high incidence of inter-tribal marriage. The children growing up in families where parents communicate in Pidgin have Pidgin as their first language. Although some of these children also receive education in English and may end up speaking a variety of Urban Pidgin, many do not. Research into creolised varieties of Pidgin has only just begun and exact data on the extent of creolisation are not available. The existence of creolised Pidgin in non-urban areas is only poorly documented.

7.4.1.4.3.7. CONCLUDING REMARK

The study of the sociolects of New Guinea Pidgin can provide us with many important insights into the social forces underlying the development and differentiation of a pidgin. The establishment of a Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea and attention to Pidgin studies in this Department marks the beginning of a new phase of investigations into Pidgin and its sociolects.

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7.4.1.4.4. CREOLISATION OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

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7.4.1.4.4.1. INTRODUCTION

Creole languages by definition are pidgins which have become the native language for a population of speakers. Creolisation is the term used to refer to the processes by which a pidgin changes into a creole language. Due to the lack of first-hand data no complete account of creolisation of any pidgin is available at present. However, some detailed studies on certain aspects of linguistic changes caused by the creolisation of New Guinea Pidgin have been made by Sankoff and Laberge (1973). The author himself has carried out fieldwork on Manus Island investigating a variety of creolised New Guinea Pidgin. At the time of writing, however, a full analysis of the topic is still forthcoming. A theoretical evaluation of Laberge's and Sankoff's findings has been made by Labov (1971).

Creolisation as found in Papua New Guinea is different from that customarily associated with the creoles of the Americas (such as Jamaican Creole, Sranan, Papiamentu) or the Indian Ocean (Mauritian and Réunion French Creole) where the creole arose among the descendants of slaves imported from the African continent. Creolised New Guinea Pidgin is comparable to Nigerian Pidgin as described by Mafeni (1971) in that it 'runs the gamut all the way from true creole - as a mother tongue and home language - to what one might call "minimal pidgin"' (Mafeni 1971:96). This suggests that a neat separation of the terms pidgin and creole is not always easy to make. The distinction between the two terms is dubious for yet another reason, as Wurm has pointed out in 7.4.1.2.1. in this volume. The linguistic definition of pidgins describes them as drastically reduced in their grammar and lexicon; yet, the two major varieties of New Guinea Pidgin, Rural Pidgin and Urban

Pidgin, have a comparatively rich vocabulary and a complex grammar and, far from being parasitic systems, are used to fill integrative-expressive functions (cf. Smith 1972). These and other facts, which will be discussed below, may necessitate a revision of some accepted views about the nature of pidgins and creoles.

7.4.1.4.4.2. TYPES OF CREOLISED PIDGIN IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The two main types of creolisation found in present-day Papua New Guinea each have their own social setting. The first setting is that of children growing up in urban communities and gives rise to the main group of speakers of creolised Pidgin.

Their parents may be from different areas, having no language in common except Tok Pisin, which is used as the household language. Even if the parents do have a native language in common, children growing up in towns frequently have little more than a passive command of it. (Sankoff and Laberge 1973:34)

This group whose members are, by and large, under 20 years of age, constitutes the bulk of native speakers of Pidgin, although no statistical information on the precise number of such speakers is available. The second type of creolised Pidgin is found in certain rural communities. Here, the number of speakers is relatively small, involving only a few hundred in each of those communities listed below. Observations made by the author suggest at least four different types which will be briefly discussed.

7.4.1.4.4.2.1. CASE 1: DAGUA VILLAGE, EAST SEPIK PROVINCE

Creolised Pidgin in Dagua is the result of voluntary resettlement. Groups that were previously separate and spoke different languages united to form new settlements where the lingua franca used is New Guinea Pidgin. The children growing up in this community are native speakers of Pidgin. Due to the presence of English-medium schools and the proximity of Wewak their variety of Pidgin tends to be heavily anglicised.

7.4.1.4.4.2.2. CASE 2: MALABANG VILLAGE ON MANUS ISLAND

In the late 1940s, a group of Buka men were recruited as labourers for a nearby plantation. A number of these men married girls from other parts of Manus and established the village of Malabang on a piece of land purchased from another village. An English-medium school became available only recently and the children attending this school are the second generation of native speakers of Pidgin. Some grammatical peculiarities of Malabang creolised Pidgin will be discussed below.

7.4.1.4.4.2.3. CASE 3: POPEO VILLAGE ON RAMBUTYO ISLAND, MANUS PROVINCE

As in Malabang, a group of men recruited as plantation labourers (in this case from the Sepik Province) married native women and settled on the island. The author was unable to visit Popeo himself but was told by residents of this village that in the second generation children no longer speak Pidgin as their native language but use the local vernacular. This is presumably due to the isolation of the locality and to the fact that only one language is spoken on the island. The case of Popeo would be an example of a creolised Pidgin becoming a true pidgin again.

7.4.1.4.4.2.4. CASE 4: ERIMA NAMBIS VILLAGE, MADANG PROVINCE

In spite of the fact that Erima is a homogeneous language community, members of the community under the age of ten no longer have an active command of the vernacular but use Pidgin only. No English-medium school was available when the author visited Erima. The Pidgin spoken by the children is markedly different from that of the adults and when spoken rapidly is hardly intelligible to the older members of the community. The reasons for such a spontaneous creolisation are not quite obvious, especially since the parents discourage the exclusive use of Pidgin. A detailed study of the situation in Erima could provide interesting insights into the process of creolisation.

Common to all types of creolised Pidgin in Papua New Guinea is the relatively small number of speakers involved. This makes structural changes in the creolised varieties virtually impossible. Since creolised Pidgin is used as a lingua franca by its speakers in communication with people for whom it is not a first language its development is restricted by the corrective pressures of the other varieties of Pidgin. Sankoff and Laberge have argued that the presence of native speakers does not trigger off sudden and dramatic changes 'but rather that their presence may be one factor influencing directions in language change.' (Sankoff and Laberge 1973:45).

7.4.1.4.4.3. THE NATURE OF THE LINGUISTIC CHANGES IN CREOLISED PIDGIN

7.4.1.4.4.3.1. IMPOVERISHMENT IN PIDGIN LANGUAGES

Pidgin languages are generally seen to be inadequate for certain communicative purposes. The limited functional load of pidgins is reflected by various reductions in grammatical structure and the lexicon. The impoverishment of a pidgin appears to be directly related to the limited number of functions it fulfills. As has been mentioned above

New Guinea Pidgin exhibits a high degree of functional flexibility and is therefore much less reduced in structure than most other pidgin languages.

Simplification and impoverishment are said to be the main characteristics of Pidgin. The notion of simplification has been dealt with by the author elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1974) and the argumentation will not be repeated here. The question of simplification does not have any direct relevance to that of creolisation, since regularity of syntactic and lexical patterns is not disadvantageous to a language and therefore need not be 'repaired' during creolisation. Impoverishment on the other hand points towards an inherent inadequacy of the language which one can expect to be repaired during creolisation.

The following are the most important areas of impoverishment in pidgin languages:

7.4.1.4.4.3.1.1. The Lexicon

The inventory of the lexicon of pidgin languages tends to be very limited when compared with that of its original source language. The semantic fields affected most are those of self-expression together with all other fields which are excluded from the functional range of the pidgin in question. In the case of New Guinea Pidgin these fields included traditional religion, modern technology, natural history and several others. There is, for instance, a peculiar lack of names for smaller animals and plants, and a shortage of descriptive adjectives. The lexicon of most pidgins is a list of discrete items rather than a structured system. The loss of derivational and compounding mechanisms often leaves loans as the only method of repairing referential inadequacies. This, however, is not true for most varieties of New Guinea Pidgin, where various devices of word formation can be found.

7.4.1.4.4.3.1.2. Phonology

One of the main deficiencies of pidgins, as has been pointed out by Labov (1971), lies in the field of their supra-segmental properties. In his analysis of Sankoff's data he points out that, compared with a vernacular, Pidgin 'has more main stresses, shorter phonological phrases, and fewer close junctures' (Labov 1971:24). In other words its morpho-phonemic rules are very simple, thereby depriving the language of its stylistic flexibility.

At the same time the inventory of phonemes is very restricted, with the consequence that loans very often result in homophones. Laycock (1975) suggests that one might consider the possibility of deliberately

extending the sound system of New Guinea Pidgin 'by introducing new words in such a way that a distinction must be made between them and existing words' (Laycock 1975:4).

7.4.1.4.4.3.1.3. Syntax

Pidgin languages typically show a lack of subordinating constructions. Furthermore, only very few grammatical transformations are available, thus restricting the speaker's options in deciding how to say something. For New Guinea Pidgin, the question of the restrictions on passive and transformations has been discussed by Smith (1972:52ff.).

The above list of alleged deficiencies of Pidgin languages is by no means complete. However, it may serve as an indication that a number of features found in normal languages are absent in pidgins. It is these features that will undergo repair in the process of creolisation, as will be illustrated by examples from creolised varieties of New Guinea Pidgin.

7.4.1.4.4.3.2. PROCESSES IN CREOLISED PIDGIN FOR THE REPAIRING OF INADEQUACIES

7.4.1.4.4.3.2.1. Changes in the Lexicon of Creolised Pidgin

The two sources for the expansion of an impoverished lexicon are loans and word-formation based on the patterns provided by the grammar of Pidgin. Both processes have been observed but no detailed study of the repair of referential inadequacy in creolised Pidgin has been made to date. The author's impression is that at least some of the inadequacies remain unrepaired and that the first-generation speakers of creolised Pidgin do in fact lack terms for a number of items needed in everyday life. Loans in the urban communities tend to come from English, whereas in rural communities such as Malabang the vernaculars of the surrounding villages provide new words. The names of birds and insects, for example, come from these sources. The main source of innovation in Malabang is provided by word-formation based on the patterns of compounding and multifunctionality found in standard Pidgin. Two examples of such an innovation may be mentioned. First the development of a new pattern of compounding, involving the vernacular expressions *po man* and *pi woman* together with a second noun to indicate that the man or woman either belongs to or is associated with whatever is referred to by that noun. Thus *pomanus* and *pimanus* would be '*male and female Manus islanders*' respectively and *popaip* a *pipe smoker*. The second development is the increased use of one of the derivational patterns of Pidgin providing abstract nouns. Transitive verbs ending in *-im* are used as abstract

nouns, such as the word *kolim* to *call* meaning 'term of reference' or *paip i gut long holholim bilong en the pipe is easy to hold*. Note the reduplication *holholim*, yet another mechanism which is extensively used in Malabang creolised Pidgin. It appears that, as a rule, existing rules are extended to cover a wider range of lexical items in preference to the creation of new rules.

7.4.1.4.4.3.2.2. Phonology

A detailed study of the rules of morphophonemic condensation of the future marker *baimbai* has been made by Sankoff and Laberge (1973). Their study is based on a large corpus of data together with observation of Pidgin-speakers in their home background, and is therefore particularly valuable. One of the main findings is that the future marker in the speech of native speakers of Pidgin is not only reduced to *bai* or *ba* but also is no longer stressed. A similar development in Hawaiian Creole has been discussed by Labov (1971:44ff.). No data on the emergence of more complex phonemic patterns in creolised New Guinea Pidgin are available at present.

7.4.1.4.4.3.2.3. Syntax

The sequence of elements in the surface structure of Pidgin sentences also reflects deep structure order, since due to the lack of inflectional elements, surface order has become meaningful and Pidgin grammar does not allow syntactic operations which would destroy this surface order. Among these operations, embedding of clauses is an indication of the sophistication of the variety of Pidgin spoken.

Sankoff (1975) has demonstrated various changes in the embedding of relative clauses found in creolised Pidgin. *Ia*, originally an adverb of place, or demonstrative pronoun, has come to serve as an element of clause bracketing, indicating the positions where embedding has taken place, as for example in *yupela lukim meri ia bipo em i stap ia? did you see the woman who lived there before?* It needs to be mentioned that this solution to one of the syntactic inadequacies of Pidgin is a strictly regional phenomenon, and is unknown in the creolised variety of Pidgin in Malabang village.

In Malabang, embedded relative clauses have the structure *N we Pred* as in *em i bin krosim pikinini we i no winim praimer skul he was cross with the child who did not complete primary school*. This construction would be equivalent to *em i bin krosim pikinini ia i no winim praimer skul ia*. It is too early to say what influence these two solutions to the problem of embedding will have on future developments of Pidgin,

especially since they have a strong rival in the anglicised construction *man husat i kam the man who came* where the interrogative pronoun *husat who* functions as a relative pronoun.

There are still a number of restrictions on the embedding of clauses in Pidgin. In the creolised Pidgin of Malabang village, the emergence of a number of new abstract nouns derived from verbs provides a solution to this problem. Thus, *yu save kolim bilong dispela diwai? do you know what you call this tree?* makes the embedding of a question superfluous. Abstract nouns are occasionally used for this purpose in standard Pidgin, but the degree to which this mechanism is exploited in Malabang creolised Pidgin is much higher. This is yet another indication of the principle that creolised Pidgin makes optimal use of existing rules in preference to 'inventing' new ones.

Another feature of creolisation is the introduction of greater redundancy in syntax, in particular the emergence of obligatory grammatical categories such as tense and number. The evidence found in New Guinea Pidgin is in direct contrast with DeCamp's claim that 'a creole like a pidgin, tends to minimize redundancy in syntax' (DeCamp 1971:16).

The development of the tense system in New Guinea Pidgin has been discussed in great detail by Labov (1971:29ff.) and Sankoff and Laberge (1973). Their main findings confirm that a great amount of redundancy is found in creolised Pidgin. In the older varieties of non-creolised Pidgin tense was expressed by sentence initial or even paragraph initial, optional adverbs. In creolised Pidgin, the system of optional adverbs has given way to obligatory tense markers which appear next to the verb. Again the change of the status of the tense marker, in particular that of the future marker *bai*, 'was well under way prior to the existence of a large number of native speakers; native speakers appear to be carrying further tendencies which were already present in the language' (Sankoff and Laberge 1973:45).

Another development which is at present being investigated by the author is the development of a compulsory number distinction in nouns. The two competing systems are the English system using suffixed *-s* for the indication of plural and that involving the use of the quantifier *ol* as plural marker. It appears that *ol* is at present changing from an optional marker of plurality into an obligatory plural marker for animate nouns. The redundancy of *ol* can be seen from examples such as *planti ol man plenty men, tripela ol meri three women, yupela ol meri you (pl.) women*, where *ol* collocates with other quantifiers already expressing the idea of plurality.

Plurality as it is at present developing in Pidgin differs from English in various respects. First, plural *ol* can only appear with

nouns in the subject and object but not in the predicate. **ol sumatin bilong dispela skul i ol meri the pupils of this school are girls* is ungrammatical. Secondly, English mass nouns are treated as plurals, as in *ol tobako tobacco*, *ol ais ice*, and *ol rais rice*. Similarly, abstract nouns derived from verbs are treated as plurals if the underlying structure of the nominalised verb base has a plural subject such as in *ol gutpela sindaun bilong ol their good behaviour*. It is, however, too early to make predictions as to the outcome of this development for future generations of native speakers of Pidgin.

The combined notions of plurality and distribution can be expressed in Pidgin by optional reduplication of nouns or verbs. Creolised Pidgin as found in Malabang is characterised by an increased use of reduplication which, however, does not as yet have a compulsory character. The development of a compulsory distributive plural is a possible development in this variety of creolised Pidgin.

7.4.1.4.4.4. CONCLUSIONS

The use of Pidgin as a native language is still a marginal function of that language. The use of Pidgin as a lingua franca is operative in filtering out drastic changes such as may have occurred during the creolisation of other varieties in other social contexts. The importance of creolised varieties of New Guinea Pidgin lies in their reinforcing ongoing syntactic changes and in the fact that they provide new stimuli for the growth of Pidgin.

The data suggest a tendency towards greater redundancy in the language which in its turn allows for greater stylistic flexibility. The solutions to various inadequacies of Pidgin grammar may differ from case to case and many of these solutions have to compete with constructions taken over from English. Further investigation into the creolised varieties of Pidgin could provide language planners with important material on which to base future planning.

Further study of the linguistic behaviour of first-generation native speakers of Pidgin may lead to new insights into the mechanisms of language change. Further research is needed in the localities mentioned in this chapter, especially into the varieties spoken by children.

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7.4.1.4.5. FUTURE OUTLOOK ON PIDGIN

Peter Mühlhäusler

Two factors make it difficult to make predictions about the future of Pidgin, namely that an official announcement about the future status of Pidgin in Papua New Guinea is still forthcoming and that most statistics about Pidgin and its use are unreliable.

However, although there has been no official confirmation that Pidgin will have the status of a national language, most experts agree that this is a very likely development. One can expect that at the same time Hiri Motu, the lingua franca of the former Papua, will be granted a similar status, and that English will remain the official language for higher education and for the nation's dealings with the outside world.

According to the 1966 census, 36% of the population of Papua New Guinea could speak Pidgin, and the latest estimates are that more than 1,500,000, or almost 50% of the population, can speak Pidgin. However, since Pidgin is a second language for most of its speakers, these figures have to be interpreted with caution, as they disguise the fact that many users of Pidgin are not proficient in this language. The number of good Pidgin-speakers may be much lower, but still considerable, in view of the fact that Papua New Guinea is linguistically so compartmentalised. Certainly, both the number of speakers and their proficiency is on the increase, and for the younger generation, Pidgin is absolutely indispensable.

In making predictions about the future of Pidgin we have to take into consideration sociolinguistic as well as linguistic factors. This can be done with some confidence if we try to avoid the pitfalls of wishful thinking which have unfortunately lured many who have attempted to wish Pidgin away for political or other reasons. It has become common knowledge that Pidgin is here to stay and that it will in future play an

equally if not more important role in Papua New Guinea than it has played in the past. It will remain the majority language and as such provide a viable means of inter-regional communication.

The 'life cycle' of Pidgin involving the growth from a plantation and trade jargon into a creole is nearly completed. However, even in those cases where Pidgin has not become creolised, it has acquired many characteristics of a real vernacular: 'Pidgin may be regarded as a quasi-creole, for its vocabulary and to some extent its structure are expanding to bear a rapidly increasing cultural load' (Reinecke 1975). For many speakers Pidgin is not only a means of communication across language boundaries but also a means of thinking and of expressing their deepest feelings. Its function must be seen as supplementary to that of many speakers' first language. The number of domains in which the speaker thinks in Pidgin rather than in his first language is on the increase, switching from the vernacular to Pidgin being frequent whenever a speaker is concerned with thought patterns that do not belong to his traditional cultural background. Such domains include the new religion, administration, and probably in the near future primary education.

Regarding the latter, there seems to be general agreement among educationalists that primary education, at least in the first years, should not be given in English, since this is a foreign language. The use of vernaculars in primary education is often impractical because of their forbiddingly high number and, since most children of school-going age have a working knowledge of Pidgin, one can expect that the role of Pidgin in primary education may be important in future - this in spite of recent policy declarations favouring the use of English in primary education (see 7.3.2.7.). The church-controlled Pidgin 'Bible Schools' have been successful in their education of adults as well as children, and there is no reason why government schools should not follow in their steps.

Although it is desirable that the government should lend its official support to Pidgin it is unlikely that an official announcement would have a drastic short-term effect. However, such an announcement would help to lay the foundation for a language policy which could be beneficial for the promotion of unity within Papua New Guinea and possibly the whole of the South Pacific. Although the idea that a standardised form of Pidgin should become the lingua franca for the Solomon Islands, and the New Hebrides too, has not gained much ground so far, such a development may well take place in the future. Both Bichelamar and Solomon Is. Pidgin are closely related to New Guinea Pidgin and collaboration

between the three countries in language planning could be beneficial to the whole area.

Moving on to some likely developments in both the social and linguistic fields, it can be safely assumed that, for a considerable time, the number of Pidgin-speakers will increase, the language will expand geographically, its functional domains will be extended and that there will be more speakers having Pidgin as their first language. The number of Pidgin-speakers will increase because of a greater need to learn Pidgin; it is very often the only means of communication outside one's village and increasing regional mobility together with the availability of work away from the villages are spreading this need. With the introduction of administrative posts in remote areas and the construction of new roads, people who were formerly little motivated to learn Pidgin now come to realise its usefulness. Not only in recently developed areas, but also in Hiri Motu-speaking areas, Pidgin is becoming more common.

Together with geographical extension the functional domains of Pidgin are likely to become extended too. In those new contexts into which Pidgin has been introduced during the last few years, such as the House of Assembly (Hull 1968), Pidgin has proved to be a flexible and adequate tool. However, the specialist vocabulary used in such contexts is not readily intelligible to outsiders and this will be increasingly so with the development of new professional and specialist vocabularies. Nevertheless there are limitations, given not so much by linguistic, but by practical considerations. The creation of a vocabulary capable of handling all knowledge of this technical age, and the translation of specialised technical handbooks into Pidgin would not only create financial problems, but also problems of communication with the outside world. Balint's planned Encyclopedic Dictionary of Pidgin includes proposals for translating modern scientific taxonomies into Pidgin (Balint 1973), but there would be little benefit from such an attempt. I doubt if even the most nationalistic and anti-English government would try to push Pidgin to a point where it would replace English in all fields. I suspect that future language planners will find a point of diminishing returns after which it is not advisable to replace English.

Important for the development of Pidgin is the increasing number of first-language Pidgin-speakers, mainly concentrated in urban areas. Rapid urbanisation and increased intertribal marriage will certainly increase the number of these speakers.

Linguistically Pidgin has reached an important stage. A number of sociolects have developed and future policy makers will have to take

this differentiation into account when making their decisions. Since such decisions are still forthcoming, one can only guess at the most likely developments, but I would suggest the following. First, there will be an increased influence of English, secondly the question of standardisation will pose itself and, lastly, new Pidgin varieties, especially creolised varieties, will emerge.

To elaborate on these points, schooling in English and the exposure to English in urban areas have already led to an increased influence of English, the superimposed target language. Will Pidgin and English remain separate languages or will this lead to the development of a continuum as it did in other pidgin and creole-speaking areas? This question has been dealt with in detail by Bickerton (1975). The answer is dependent on the next point, language planning.

Although our knowledge of the variations found in Pidgin is still limited, it seems that we can observe the development of at least two distinct varieties, namely Rural and Urban Pidgin, as discussed in chapter 7.4.1.4.3. in this volume. Whereas Rural Pidgin has remained virtually unchanged (Healey 1972:10), Urban Pidgin has become increasingly similar to English, although there is still no continuum.

At the Conference on Pidgin held in Port Moresby in September 1973, the question of what standards to adopt for Pidgin was one of the focal points of discussion. One of the major concerns of many participants was that, in standardising Pidgin, one should adopt a norm which is also intelligible to people in the more remote areas and that, in extending the Pidgin vocabulary, more use should be made of the inherent creative powers of Pidgin in preference to loans. It is too early to say what the policies of a future language planning committee would be, but if Pidgin is to become a national language, the necessity of language planning is obvious. Various proposals about future planning policy have been made by Wurm (1975), Laycock (1975), Mihalic (1975), Mühlhäusler (1973) and others. Pidgin is in a favourable position since future language planners can draw on the experiences of language planners in other developing nations.

Sankoff (1975) has stressed the importance of the emerging creolised varieties of Pidgin for future language planning; a sociolinguistic study of these varieties could therefore become very important.

The future of Pidgin seems to be a bright one if it gets the official support it deserves, and if it is allowed to continue its role of bringing about unity in Papua New Guinea.

7.4.1.4.5. FUTURE OUTLOOK ON PIDGIN

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7.4.1.4.6. FUTURE OUTLOOKS AND STANDARDISATION OF PIDGIN

S.A. Wurm

7.4.1.4.6.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The general questions relating to the future outlooks of New Guinea Pidgin have been dealt with by Mühlhäusler in 7.4.1.4.5. The present writer fully agrees in principle with his suggestion that the future of Pidgin seems bright (but see below in this section and 7.4.1.4.6.6. for some reservations on his part), and it seems to be quite possible that Pidgin will eventually constitute the, or one of the two, national languages of Papua New Guinea, with English as a third language being assigned a special role in connection with higher education and relations with the outside world. The functions and roles of Pidgin, already quite spectacular, will undoubtedly increase and expand rapidly in the near future.

However, for Pidgin to play its envisaged future role satisfactorily, the important and rather vexed question of its standardisation has to be faced and settled (Wurm 1975).

It may not be too far-fetched to suggest that without a good measure of standardisation and associated developments such as enrichment and expansion, Pidgin will fail to fulfil the promises which it clearly holds, and which are the very reasons for its obvious candidature for becoming one, and the more important one, of the possible national languages of Papua New Guinea.

7.4.1.4.6.2. THE QUESTION OF PIDGIN STANDARDISATION IN GENERAL

7.4.1.4.6.2.1. GENERAL REMARKS

The question of the standardisation of Pidgin has a number of ramifications (Wurm 1977). At least two major distinct varieties of Pidgin

have clearly emerged on the sociolectal level, i.e. Rural and Urban Pidgin, the first constituting what may be looked upon as the 'real' Pidgin, the second heavily Anglicised and becoming increasingly similar to English (see chapter 7.4.1.4.3. in this volume). The choice between these two in the search for a standard may be regarded as a central issue, but there are a number of additional points to consider in thinking about the standardisation of Pidgin.

7.4.1.4.6.2.2. DIALECTS

One of these points is the presence of various parallel forms, i.e. dialects in both of the major types. At the present time, these are only to a minor extent regional dialects (see chapter 7.4.1.3.), though minor differences attributable to local variations are still observable. The main diversities are sociolectal differences within the two main sociolects mentioned above in 7.4.1.4.6.2.1., and constitute the direct consequence of English influence, i.e. the greater or lesser contact of the speakers of a given sociolect with English, with expatriate speakers of Pidgin, and of exposure to education, especially through English.

7.4.1.4.6.2.3. WRITTEN PIDGIN

Another important point is the role of written Pidgin. On this level, several quite markedly different forms are observable - they are in part attributable to the use, in writing, of Pidgin by indigenes as opposed to expatriates, and to the amount of English influence to which indigenous writers have been exposed, or which they wish to introduce into their written Pidgin, believing such a process to be prestigious. Also, especially in the case of expatriate writers, the written forms tend to reflect the writers' attitudes towards Pidgin itself, i.e. whether they recognise Pidgin as a full language in its own right, or simply look upon it as a more or less inadequate tool for conveying meaning as best they can, with little regard for the nature and character of the language itself.

7.4.1.4.6.2.4. PRESTIGE

Another point to consider is the question of prestige. A language form which carries some social or other prestige over others clearly has a better chance to be generally accepted as a standard than if this is not the case. With Pidgin, the situation is complex. Rural Pidgin is looked down upon by many urban dwellers as a 'bush' dialect while at the same time, many admit that it is the 'real', 'good' Pidgin.

Urban Pidgin is looked upon by many members of the rural population as 'bad', 'wrong', 'strange' and often unintelligible, while it is, at the same time, recognised that it is closer to English, the highly prestigious élite language.

With regard to written Pidgin, the prestige of the various written forms differs considerably and appears to be in direct proportion to the amount of printed, and generally available, material produced in them, and the consistency of the language use displayed in them. Some forms, in particular the one used in the Pidgin New Testament and the publications put out by Kristen Pres for instance, carry quite widespread prestige, but this appears to be predominantly passive: while they are largely regarded as 'good' forms of written Pidgin, they are not necessarily used actively in writing by Pidgin writers looking upon them as 'good'.

7.4.1.4.6.2.5. CHOICE BETWEEN ALTERNATIVES

It seems quite clear that the choice between the available alternatives would have to lie in the direction of un-Anglicised Rural Pidgin if Standard Pidgin is to be a language which should reach the largest possible number of people in the present, and foreseeable future, setting in Papua New Guinea, and if at the same time the language is to be one which is clearly distinct from English and one that can be looked upon as really Papua New Guinean and a local means of expression of the new nationalism of the country. Urban Pidgin, with its multiform and colourful slang expressions, has much to contribute to Standard Pidgin, but for the reasons just stated, its extensive English loan content must not be allowed to become a part of Standard Pidgin. At the same time, it is quite unavoidable that a number of English loanwords will have to be adopted by Rural Pidgin once it becomes Standard Pidgin, but much of the enrichment of the language can and should be through the utilisation of possibilities inherent in Pidgin itself (see below 7.4.1.4.6.4.).

As far as written Pidgin is concerned, it seems that the language form used in the Pidgin New Testament and the Kristen Pres publications, which is based on a form of Rural Pidgin, may be an obvious choice, though the role and influence of the emerging Pidgin literature may also have to be considered in this (see below 7.4.1.4.6.5.).

7.4.1.4.6.2.6. EXTENT OF STANDARDISATION

This raises the question as to how far standardisation of Pidgin should sensibly go, and on which levels it could be most easily

standardised. In this, it must be taken into account that standardisation is very much easier, and can more readily be put into effect, with the written form of a language, than with its spoken form. The standardised European languages, e.g. English, German, Dutch, Italian, etc. provide good evidence of this. In this respect, standardisation of the written language form can, in increasing order of difficulty, be applied to orthography (i.e. spelling systems) (though there is always the possibility of the presence of emotionally based problems in this connection), vocabulary (i.e. the use of words and their meanings), grammar (i.e. morphology and syntax), and discourse patterns (i.e. systems of address and reference to persons, style of expression, composition of written passages and the like). Applying the same standardisation principles to the spoken forms of a language encounters greater difficulties, because the spoken language is more elusive than the written, less subject to conscious control by the speaker, and because as a result of the much more fleeting and transient nature of a spoken passage when compared with a written one, automatic pressures from non-standard forms already accepted and normally used by the speaker, upon the standard forms are much greater. In addition, factors which affect the form and nature of passages, such as emotional attitudes, are much more strongly present in spoken expression than in written. In contrast to the written form in which the external form of the expression, i.e. the writing system and orthography, is easily accessible to control and standardisation, the external form of the spoken expression, i.e. the phonology (or pronunciation) is very difficult to control and standardise: even in highly standardised European languages such as English and German traces of non-standard spoken language - in the form of the 'local accent' of speakers of the standard language who come from different parts of the language area - have persisted tenaciously in spite of all standardisation efforts through the educational systems, and the - not always successful - attempts involving the use of spoken standard language forms by auditory mass media such as radio and television.

In the light of what has been said above, it seems that the standardisation of Pidgin - and incidentally, its enrichment - would predominantly have to concern its written form - a measure of standardisation of its spoken form may be achieved almost as a bi-product of the use of a written standard form in education, by the press and publishing agencies, and the authorities, and as far as possible, the adoption of a standard spoken form by the auditory mass media such as radio, and television when available.

7.4.1.4.6.3. AVAILABLE STANDARD FORMS AND STANDARDISATION PROCEDURES

It now seems appropriate to consider what standard forms, if any, are already available and on what levels of the language, and what steps may be called for to achieve a measure of standardisation.

7.4.1.4.6.3.1. ORTHOGRAPHY

Various efforts aiming at the standardisation of Pidgin orthography have been made to date, with varying degrees of success (Wurm 1976) (see 7.8.3.1.2.). At present, a standardised orthography is employed by the publishing agencies of the Lutheran and Catholic Missions, and is used in the Pidgin New Testament, the publications put out by Kristen Pres, the newspaper *Wantok*, the current edition of Mihalic's Pidgin dictionary and grammar (Mihalic 1971), some other Pidgin dictionaries and vocabularies and also for instance in Dutton's (1973) extensive practical introduction to Pidgin. A standard orthography is therefore utilised in a range of published materials, but its use by writers of Pidgin, both indigenous and expatriate, outside the orbit of the two missions mentioned is still somewhat limited, and the orthography still appears to lack government sanction and is not very frequently met with in written expressions by government departments and instrumentalities and in the House of Assembly - a variety of unsystematic and often inconsistent spellings holds sway.

In the light of what has been set out in the above paragraph, a standard orthography for Pidgin appears to be within reach. It may therefore be appropriate to ask whether this particular orthography is fully adequate.

The answer is that it appears to be the best of all the existing Pidgin orthographies, though it has a few shortcomings and does not fully reflect common indigenous Pidgin pronunciation in a number of instances, but instead shows leanings towards English spellings, e.g. in the word *helpim* = *help*, commonly pronounced ['a]ʷvim]. Also, the use of *ng* for the two distinct Pidgin sounds *ng* and *ngg* may be a disadvantage, though most indigenes do not appear to object to it. At the same time, the use of different letters for rendering the same sound (e.g. *j*, *s*) in different words is a distinct advantage, because this reduces the number of homographs, i.e. makes identically pronounced words look different (and therefore more easily recognisable) in writing, e.g. *sip* = *ship*, *jip* = *jeep* - both pronounced [sip]. Many Pidgin-speakers do not distinguish between *l* and *r*, but use a flap for both: nevertheless, the use of both *l* and *r* in writing is a good feature, because the use of only one letter for both would significantly increase the number of homographs.

For being of real value, standard orthography - be it the one referred to above, or a modified form of it - will have to be accepted universally. In the first place, this can be ensured through its exclusive use in education on all the levels on which Pidgin is to be employed. At the same time, the orthography will have to be officially sanctioned by the government and designated as the only admissible one for use in government departments, instrumentalities and agencies. The press and publishers will have to be encouraged to use that orthography exclusively, with the exception of the sphere of Pidgin creative literature mentioned below in 7.4.1.4.6.5. Special bonuses placed on mastery of that orthography, e.g. the requirement of being able to spell in it as a prerequisite for obtaining government positions, would enhance its spreading considerably.

7.4.1.4.6.3.2. VOCABULARY

A certain measure of standardisation of a core vocabulary is extant through the publication of the present edition of Mihalic's dictionary (Mihalic 1971) and a few other dictionaries such as Steinbauer 1969 for instance, but the vocabulary provided by them is limited, and unsystematic additions to the lexicon of Pidgin occur almost daily in response to a need in the various sociolects, and under the auspices of establishments, organisations and groups such as vocational and other training centres, the House of Assembly, groups of persons engaged in certain trades, etc. At the same time, relatively little notice is taken of the usages and meanings as laid down in Mihalic's and other dictionaries, by Pidgin-speakers whose sociolects or dialects differ from the one on which those dictionaries are based, and diverse sociolectal and local usages are commonplace and the norm.

It is clear that systematic work is needed to collect, record, order and classify the new items in the Pidgin lexicon which were referred to above. An official body or institution, something that could constitute a Pidgin Academy somehow comparable to the institutions concerned with the national languages in European countries, would be the obvious agency to carry out such a task properly, and also to act as the arbiter for the acceptance or rejection of observed new items into the standard vocabulary of Pidgin. The possible nature of its official standing is a matter for the Papua New Guinea authorities to determine and will not be speculated on here - suffice it to say that it would greatly benefit from being broadly based, with the University, the Department and Minister of Education, other interested bodies such as Missions, the Public Service, the Press and publishing institutions, and broadcasting

stations taking a close interest in it and taking full notice of its activities, findings and results. It is absolutely essential that this institution, and its findings and results, receive official government sanction, and that the use of Pidgin forms, lexical items and other features of Pidgin declared by the institution as standard be made obligatory by government decree, and become the sole forms to be admissible for use in education and schooling, by government instrumentalities and agencies in the widest sense, by the press and publishing institutions, and, on the oral level, by the broadcasting and telecasting stations - with the sphere of dialect literature again constituting an exception.

7.4.1.4.6.3.3. GRAMMAR

Again, some measure of the standardisation of some aspects of present-day Pidgin grammar has been laid down by the grammar parts of Mihalic's (1971) dictionary, and more extensively, by those of the present writer's materials (Wurm 1971), Laycock's (1970) materials, and of Dutton's (1973) practical introduction. However, all these grammar descriptions are practically oriented, sketchy and restricted, and are to some extent at variance with each other because of differing interpretations of phenomena, and differing importance attached to purely descriptive, and prescriptive approaches. Even less notice is taken of the grammatical facts described in these and other comparable publications by most speakers of Pidgin - apart from expatriates now studying Pidgin from such publications - than of the vocabulary as laid down in dictionaries, and sociolectal and local usage is rife. At the same time, the extent of the grammatical differences between the various forms and sociolects of Pidgin is relatively insignificant, and certainly much less pronounced than the extent of the lexical differences between them. As with Pidgin lexicon, the task of fully establishing standard Pidgin grammar belongs to the orbit of the activities of an institution as proposed above in 7.4.1.4.5.2.3.2. One very important point has to be kept in mind in this:

It has already been mentioned above that the grammar of Pidgin shows relatively little sociolectal and local variation. However, some local forms, and now largely extinct, but documented, regional dialects display (or displayed) a somewhat greater elaboration of forms than others which adds (or added) to the clarity of expression in them, and to the reduction of possible misunderstandings. Unfortunately, some of these more elaborate forms are (or were) regionally or otherwise quite restricted in occurrence, and therefore not looked upon by many as forming

a part of Pidgin in general. It appears however that the artificial inclusion of such more elaborate forms into standard Pidgin would contribute to the enrichment of the language, and add to the preciseness of expression of which it would be capable. It could therefore well be suggested that it would be within the competence of the institution referred to above to declare such forms as part of standard Pidgin and to prescriptively rule them as norm. Such forms would for instance be the distinction between laik + Verb for intention and desire (e.g. mi laik kaikai = *I shall eat soon*, mi laik i kaikai = *I want to eat*), the use of kirap + Verb for inchoative (beginning) actions (e.g. mi kirap kaikai = *I start eating*), the distinction of laik + Verb for near future, bai + Pronoun + Verb for general future, ken + i + Verb for definite future, and ken + Verb for permission (e.g. mi laik kaikai = *I shall eat soon*, bai mi kaikai = *I shall eat sometime*, mi ken i kaikai = *I shall definitely eat*, mi ken kaikai = *I am allowed to eat*), etc.

The question of the standardisation of discourse patterns also falls loosely under the heading of grammar, and also constitutes a task for the abovementioned institution. Discourse patterns show little sociolectal and local differentiation in Pidgin, and their standardisation may be a comparatively simple task.

7.4.1.4.6.3.4. PRONUNCIATION (PHONOLOGY)

As has been pointed out in 7.4.1.4.6.2.6., the standardisation of the pronunciation of a language poses much greater problems than that relating to other levels in it, and it may be regarded as being of subsidiary importance when compared with that of the standardisation of orthography, vocabulary and grammar, as long as differences in pronunciation do not reach such a degree that they interfere with intelligibility, or some pronunciations reflect ranges of foreign sounds such as English vowel sounds. At the same time, it was also mentioned in 7.4.1.4.6.2.6. that a measure of standardisation of spoken Pidgin, including its pronunciation, may be achieved almost as a bi-product of the use or adoption of a standard spoken form of it by auditory mass media. The pronunciation of the Pidgin used by various sociolectal and local groups varies quite extensively, and apart from the substratum influence of local languages, reflects the varying degrees of direct and indirect influence of English to a very considerable extent. Again, some brief suggestions concerning a possible 'standard' pronunciation of Pidgin have been made in Mihalic 1971, Wurm 1971, and Dutton 1973, but differences of opinion, especially between Mihalic and the other two authors, are strongly in evidence as a result of the differing

degrees of tolerance towards English influence by them. The present writer maintains that the standard pronunciation of Pidgin should be based on the regionally most widespread variety of the pronunciation of Pidgin by indigenes who show as little as possible English influence in their Pidgin so as to ensure that the language remains a language fully in its own right. The institution mentioned above in 7.4.1.4.6.3.2. and 7.4.1.4.6.3.3. could also well constitute the final authority with regard to Pidgin pronunciation.

7.4.1.4.6.4. ENRICHMENT OF PIDGIN VOCABULARY

For Pidgin to be adequate to play its future role as mentioned in 7.4.1.4.6.1., it will however not only need to be subjected to a measure of standardisation, but it will also have to undergo a considerable amount of expansion and enrichment, in particular with regard to its vocabulary. As has been mentioned in 7.4.1.4.6.3.2., this process is taking place quite vigorously, virtually on a day-to-day basis, and it had been suggested that an official institution be concerned with the collection and systematisation of the newly emerging items. However, such an institution ought, in addition to its collecting, assessing and sorting of Pidgin lexical items, to be directly concerned with the active enrichment and enlarging of the vocabulary of Pidgin. It is very important that the process of the enlargement of Pidgin vocabulary, and the introduction of new items into it, be carefully supervised and controlled, because there is a very real danger that there will be a continuation of the present trend in which, in response to the need for new lexical items, the line of least resistance is followed by most Pidgin speakers, and English loanwords are taken over indiscriminately. This may easily lead to the overloading of Pidgin with recent English loans and eventually result in an extensive 'watering down' of its distinctive character as a separate language. Pidgin has quite adequate means for word-formation through composition and affixation, the extension of semantic ranges of bases, the creation of new bases through analogy, etc. to make possible the production of a large number of new lexical items in accordance with the special nature and character of the language, and the institution mentioned ought to play an active creative role in this as one of its major tasks. Recourse to direct loans from English, while of course unavoidable, should be restricted to those instances in which this seems the best approach. Such words should however always be spelt in accordance with Pidgin phonology, and one of the tasks of the institution mentioned above would be the determination of the Pidgin spelling of newly introduced English loanwords.

7.4.1.4.6.5. PIDGIN CREATIVE LITERATURE

A very special and important position in the development of Pidgin is occupied by the newly emerging Pidgin creative literature which is rapidly gaining momentum. In contrast to the fairly extensive Pidgin translation and prescriptive literature such as Mission publications, handbooks issued on health, agricultural and other matters, training handbooks, teaching materials, and others of a similar nature which are largely authored by expatriates and predominantly contain a standardised form of Pidgin, indigenous Pidgin creative literature uses almost exclusively a Pidgin which is non-standard on all levels including orthography. It is vital that the development of this literature is not stifled through the imposition of standardisation principles upon it, because the language is badly in need of creative spirits contributing to its development and enrichment. Only the utilisation of a standard orthography could well be suggested when such literature is published.

A Pidgin institution or academy as referred to in 7.4.1.4.6.3.2.-3. etc. would strongly encourage the further development of creative Pidgin literature, and act as a depository for literary products. At the same time, this creative literature would constitute one of the most important sources on which such an institution would draw for its collection of new Pidgin vocabulary and usage. Of course, not all new words and usages appearing in such literature, or observed in colloquial usage, would be suitable for acceptance by the institution and for incorporation into standardised Pidgin, because the institution's task would be to aim for a considered balance between the observation, collection and utilisation of spoken popular and colloquial Pidgin, and selective and prescriptive attitudes. Only such new items and usages would be suitable for incorporation into standardised Pidgin which would clearly contribute to the badly needed lexical enrichment of Pidgin, add to the semantic range within the scope of the language, and to the clarity and power of expression in it, and which constitute references to new concepts in the language and add to its productivity.

7.4.1.4.6.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

What has been said above constitutes some ideas in connection with the necessary and urgently needed standardisation of Pidgin without which the utilisation of the language for its potential and envisaged functions in education and for wider national purposes would be difficult, and the results unsatisfactory, and without which its now bright future outlook may well become quite dim.

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7.4.1.5. DEVELOPMENTS IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

D.C. Laycock

7.4.1.5.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It is a truism to say that all languages change; but it is not yet known whether pidgin and creole languages change at a faster rate than others, as Hall's (1959) attack on glottochronology as applied to New Guinea Pidgin would suggest. Certainly the documentable changes in New Guinea Pidgin since its somewhat misty origins towards the end of last century have been extensive, but that may simply be a result of the smaller scale of the language; lexical and phonological changes in a total vocabulary of a few thousand words (the state of New Guinea Pidgin at the end of World War II) are more dramatic, and therefore more observable and more observed, than similar changes in non-pidgin languages. It is possible, too, that the rate of change is faster when a pidgin is developing than when it is settling down into a creole (and post-creole) stage. The current changes in Pidgin differ in kind from those of its early period, when the observable developments tended to be in the direction of an increasingly formal grammatical structure, and of lexicalisation in place of explanation and circumlocution. In this chapter, we shall look only at some of the trends in New Guinea Pidgin since about the end of the Second World War, and more particularly in the last 20 years, thus updating Hall (1955), and taking the 'life-cycle' (see Hall 1952, 1962) of New Guinea Pidgin one stage further. The emphasis will be slightly different, however, as Hall in his paper gives equal weight to the Pidgin used by non-indigenous speakers of Pidgin and to that of indigenous speakers. This expatriate Pidgin - designated as Tok Masta by Mühlhäusler (1975, and 7.4.1.4.3.2. in this volume) is not discussed here. Most remarks relate to Rural Pidgin, and its creolised form, though some cognisance is taken of Urban Pidgin. Bush

Pidgin - the sociolect with strong substratum influence from vernacular languages - is also not discussed here.

7.4.1.5.2. PHONOLOGY

The adoption of English phones into New Guinea Pidgin continues apace; since many indigenous speakers of Pidgin are also fluent in English, and pass readily from one language to the other, it would be true to say that the entire English phonology is potentially a part of Pidgin. However, with the recognition that the two languages really are distinct, a reverse effect comes into play, in that a Pidgin-speaker will deliberately use the Pidgin phoneme, in place of the English one from which it is derived, to make it clear that he is speaking Pidgin and not English. Thus, we commonly hear *paip five* from people who have no difficulty in pronouncing 'five'; the Pidgin-speaker who does not know English, however, may continue to say *paip*, *faif*, or *faiv*.

Phonological changes are observable in the English-derived consonant clusters, mainly of stop+r, stop+l, and s+stop; older Pidgin-speakers still tend to insert an epenthetic vowel to break the cluster (thus *g(a)ras grass*, *g(a)las glass*, *s(i)pun spoon*), but these are now very commonly pronounced (and usually spelt) without the vocalic transition (Pawley 1975). However, the strong tendency of words in Pidgin, whatever their origin, to acquire initial-syllable stress (Wurm 1978), has meant that some words have acquired an independent form with fully stressed intervening vowel - thus *bílas decoration* (English 'flash'; **blas* not recorded), *bárata* beside *brata brother*, *pólis* beside *plis police* (the former perhaps to avoid homonymy with *plis please*), *súpia* and *spia spear* (the former also yielding the reduplicated form *supsup many-pronged spear*), *bílong* and *blong belonging to*. Sometimes this tendency to placing stress on epenthetic vowels can lead to originally distinct words falling together; thus, *vilis village* can, through its various pronunciations [*bílis*, *bíles*, *píles*], come to resemble *ples place* (in the sense of 'village') through this latter's various pronunciations [*pelés*, *pílés*, *píles*]. In some words, however, the possibility of a stressed epenthetic vowel would appear to be ruled out by the resulting ambiguity; *stia steer*, *helm* is not found as **sítia*, perhaps because *mi stap long stia I am at the helm* could be taken as *mi stap long sit ia I am in the shit*.

The tendency towards initial-syllable stress largely negates Hall's suggestion (1955:94) that phonemic stress is developing in Pidgin; while some words may occur both with and without initial-syllable stress (e.g. *ating perhaps*, *nogat no*, *salat nettle*, *bilip belief*), there are very

few words in non-anglicised varieties of Pidgin in which non-initial stress is obligatory - perhaps only place-names such as *Astrélia Australia*, *Amérika America* (perhaps interpreted as *strélia, mérika*), some mission words such as *pekáto sin*, *mandáto commandment*, *kompésio confession*, and long words not formed from Pidgin bases such as *asémbli assembly*, *asosiésin association*, *univésiti university*. The stressing of words such as *kanaka native*, *banana banana*, *tumbuna ancestor* and *pikinini child* on syllables other than the first can be regarded as a kind of shibboleth characterising those - especially expatriates - who speak an anglicised variety of Pidgin. (For a different account of Pidgin stress, however, see the grammatical introduction to Mihalic 1971.)

A further phonetic tendency in fluent - often creolised - varieties of Pidgin is the reduction of some common words to slurred varieties (first pointed out by Sankoff and Laberge (1973)); thus, *baimbai later* is reduced to *bai*, and to *ba* (as a future tense marker); *long*, the commonest Pidgin connective, becomes [lɔ̃] or [l:], and *bilong* becomes [bɪlɔ̃]; the adjectival suffix *-pela* becomes [pəla], [pɪa] or [pla]; *save*, as habitual marker, becomes [saʷe], [sae] or even [sa]; and sequences of vowel+nasal consonant become simply nasalised vowels in a number of common words and phrases (*wonem samting what* - [woně sātĩ], *kisim i go take it* - [kisĩ: go]). In the Sepik area, one often hears a form *nonem* as a strong affirmative ('*certainly*'); this derives from *na wonem and what [did you expect?]* from a substratum feature common in Sepik languages, namely, the pronunciation of the sequence [eu] as [oʷ] or [o]; such a form may come to take on the status of a new lexical item. Further details on the first of the above changes, and its syntactic implications, can be found in the above-mentioned paper by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) - an excellent paper which was unfortunately marred in the printing by the editor's failure to ensure that phonetic symbols and rule-bracketing were included.

Such ongoing phonetic changes offset the effects of phonetic modifications in the direction of English.

7.4.1.5.3. GRAPHEMICS

The widespread adoption of a standardised Pidgin orthography (as outlined, for example, by Mihalic and Sievert 1970) for most printed varieties of Pidgin issuing from mission presses and some government departments, has led to a reduction both of idiosyncratic 'phonetic' spellings (as used by some of the early missionaries) and of anglicised spellings (together with the wholesale introduction of unmodified

English words in Pidgin documents); but both are still found. Anglicised spellings are common in Pidgin material - especially signs and notices by business firms - prepared by expatriates too indifferent or too ethnocentric to take Pidgin seriously, and in manuscripts - especially letters - written by Niuginians with some knowledge of English, or of English orthography. Idiosyncratic phonetic orthographies are typically used by Niuginians, again especially in letters; the files of *Wantok* newspaper contain many examples of unusual spellings, which are altered to the standard orthography for publication. Similar examples can be found in the study in 'nascent literacy' of Rubinstein and Gajdusek (1970), which provides facsimile reproductions of the letters of a Fore (New Guinea Highlands) youth over a period of six years in the 1960s.

Such examples show that Pidgin spelling is still in a state of flux, but that the deviations from the standard are on the way to be relegated to the private area; public Pidgin - especially that of the media - is increasingly moving in the direction of the standard.

7.4.1.5.4. LEXICON

The continuing - and perhaps increasing - incorporation into Pidgin of English loanwords should cause no surprise; but the other side of the picture is the rejection of excessive loans by 'purist' Pidgin speakers of all races, and the generation, often spontaneous, of new lexemes from internal Pidgin sources. English loanwords which do not constitute Pidgin 'bases', from which other forms can be derived, tend to be regarded as in some way different from the core vocabulary, although they are of course widely used; examples from a recent *Wantok* newspaper include *kalsa culture*, *plening komisen planning commission*, *ilektrisian electrician*, *plan opreta plant operator*, *treni yut lida trainee youth leader*; in the opposite direction are such relatively recent Pidgin creations as *pulsen zipper (pull+chain)*, *smokbalus jet plane (smoke+balus 'pigeon, aeroplane')*, *mauswara talk nonsense (mouth+water)*, *draibisket sodomy (dry+biscuit)*. Some of the new borrowings from English form bases which conflict with other borrowings; thus, beside *administresin administration*, *administreta administrator*, *administretif administrative*, *administret(im) administrate* we find *administresin* used as adjective (*opis administresin administrative office*) and occasionally as a base for a transitive verb *administresinim administrate*. In many Pidgin contexts, however, one continues to use *bosim rule, control* in the same meaning.

Folk-etymology has been rife with respect to many of the less analysable borrowings from English. Perhaps it was solely an expatriate

(and racist) joke that associated *independens independence* with *andapens underpants* ('underpants within three years', a local member of the House of Assembly is supposed to have told his constituents); but punning on *self gavman self-government* and *sel kambang lime container*, *phallocrypt* is an indigenous creation. Folk-etymologising has led to the association of words of originally different origins,¹ by finding a common semantic component, as pointed out by Laycock (1970a:114); we can cite as additional examples here *senis cents, sense, change* (one's 'change' is usually in 'cents', and a person who has no 'sense' is unlikely to have any 'cents'), *pin bird, Pidgin* (the first meaning from 'pigeon', the association of the two via the meaning of *pin* as '(bird) totem'²), *raithan right hand, writing hand, lip lip, leaf, paul fowl, foul, sas judge, charge, bam bum, bump*; sometimes the form can betray folk-etymologising, as in *windua window (wind+door)*, *haus pital hospital* (first element 'house', on the analogy of *haus sik house of sickness*), and the occasional form *resablek (razor+black)* for *resablet razorblade*. It is often difficult to determine where such folk-etymologising leaves off, and where punning begins: Niuginian speakers of Pidgin will call a female agricultural worker a *didimeri (meri woman)*, interpreting the second element of *didiman agricultural worker* as *man man*;³ or they will describe a *bisop Bishop* as *man bilong pisop i go long narapela hap a man who 'pisses off' to another place*; or call a baldheaded man *bolhet (bald-headed or ball-headed?)*; or make jokes about *basket basket* and *bastat bastard*, or about *kok penis* and *kok Coke*. Further examples of Pidgin joking usages, secret language, and urban slang, are given by Brash (1971).

Two other lexical developments arising from the internal resources of Pidgin may be mentioned. One is the extension of *wan-* compounds to mean a co-participant in an activity; Mihalic (1971) lists a dozen such items, including *wanblut blood relative*, *wanpilai playmate*, *wanrot fellow traveller*, and *wansospen messmate*; to these we can add *wanskin person of the same race*, *wansolwara Pacific islander*, and *wanpulpul brother starling*.⁴ The second development is the creation of new abstract and collective nouns by compounding of the most important members of the set; thus *ritrait literacy (rit reading, rait writing)*, *lekhan limbs (lek leg, han arm)*, *susoken footwear (su shoe, soken socks)*, *nuspes facial features (nus nose, pes face, forehead)*, *pinpaul birds wild and domesticated (pin bird, paul fowl)*, and many more.⁵ Such unexpected exploitations of the word-forming devices of Pidgin act as a check on the import of English loanwords, and as a solution to the 'lexical deficiency' of Pidgin.⁶

7.4.1.5.5. SYNTAX

Syntactic changes are harder to grasp *in statu nascendi* than lexical ones. Most of the changes listed by Hall (1955) are once again in the direction of English: omission of *-pela* from numerals and some monosyllabic adjectives, use of a plural marker *-s*,⁷ use of a verbal suffix *-ing*, use of 'and' in numeral phrases (such as *wan enda hap one and a half*). Examples of usages not deriving from standard English cited by Hall are the use of the past tense marker *bin* (now, as then, largely diffused from the Rabaul area) and of *save* as an auxiliary verb indicating habitual action. Such trends continue, although the *-ing* ending of English verbs and verbal nouns now tends to be reinterpreted as the common *-im* ending of Pidgin verbs - e.g. *minim meaning*, *trenim training*.⁸ Sankoff (1975) discusses additional developments that do not derive from English, including the various uses of *ia* in the speech of women in the Morobe Province; one of these uses is a bracketing of relative clauses:

<i>na pik ia [ol i kilim bipo ia]</i>	<i>'and this pig they had killed</i>
<i>bai i kamap olosem draipela</i>	<i>before would turn into a big</i>
<i>ston</i>	<i>stone'</i>
<i>e, yupela lukim meri ia [bipo</i>	<i>'hey, did you see the woman who</i>
<i>em i stap ia]?</i>	<i>lived (there) before?</i>

Here extensive data on this form of speech is likely to yield a number of other observable ongoing changes.

Mühlhäusler (1974) claims another development, the obligatory marking of number in animate nouns (by a number-word or by *ol*), and the optional but frequent marking of number with inanimate mass nouns; some examples:

<i>dispela ol meri</i>	<i>'these women'</i>
<i>ol sampela ol kulau</i>	<i>'some drinking nuts'</i>
<i>i nogat ol kopi na ol tabak</i>	<i>'there is no coffee or tobacco</i>
<i>long stua</i>	<i>in the store'</i>

A development of longer history mentioned by Laycock (1970a:117, 1970b:xxxii) is the increasing use of subordinate clauses, introduced by subordinating conjunctions such as *taim when* and *long wonem because*; one also meets with the use of subordinating conjunctions derived from English, such as *wen when* and *bikos because*. Relative clauses are now often marked, either by the use of the *ia*-bracketing mentioned above (Sankoff 1975), or by the extension of the marker *we* (originally only a syntactically restricted word for 'where') as a relative clause marker (this usage has been mainly observed in a creolised form of Pidgin, see

7.4.1.4.4.3.2.3.): *mi go lukim wampela man we em i gat sampela brus bilong mi I go to see a man who has some tobacco for me.* (This last usage presumably derives from such sentences as *mi go lukim papa long haus we em i stap I go to see my father in the house where he is staying* and *mi go lukim papa we em i stap I go to see my father [in the place] where he is.*) There is no real certainty, however, that such usages will survive; they represent varying attempts at solving the structural ambiguity of many Pidgin sentences containing subordinate clauses, and it would be rash to attempt to predict which one will win out.

A more general syntactic tendency that can be noted is the 'firming up' of the basic Pidgin system of intransitive verb stems and the related transitive/active/causative forms with -im, and of a definite preference for marking, in verbs, of aspect rather than tense. Such developments are also to be seen as a move away from English, and in the direction of a more definable Pidgin grammar.

7.4.1.5.6. CONCLUSION

There are, as we have seen above, two principal forces acting on New Guinea Pidgin today, on all linguistic levels: one in the direction of English, and one away from it. The force that moves Pidgin in the direction of English results from the increasing knowledge of English among Pidgin-speakers, and the tremendous prestige of English as a world language; if the trend continues unchecked, a full linguistic continuum between Pidgin and English will be established, and the inevitable upward mobility (linguistic and social) of Niuginians in the foreseeable future will mean that there will be a tendency for a strong drift away from the Pidgin end of the scale, and towards the English end of the scale. In other words, if there is a linguistic bridge, Pidgin-speakers will cross it. Bickerton (1975) believes that the bridge already exists, and that English and Pidgin will be difficult to keep apart. But the acquisition of fluent English by many Niuginians who use Pidgin in other contexts has also meant that there is an increasing awareness of the distinctness of the two languages, and of the possibility of a continuing diglossic situation; and such an awareness tends not only to deepen the gulf between the two languages, but also to wash away the foundations of the bridge. The reasons for this would seem to hinge on the fact that sanctions on language mixing operate on both participating languages; the Niuginian who has carefully eradicated all 'Pidginisms' from his English will take care to eradicate 'Anglicisms' from his Pidgin, lest he fall into bad habits again. Perfect fluency in both

languages then works against the linguistic bridge, imperfect fluency in one or both work for it; the ultimate outcome - Pidgin and English diglossia, or New Guinea English on various levels - hangs very much in the balance. For the present, however, our conclusion must be the same as that of Hall (1956):

despite present-day innovations under cultural pressure from English, Neo-Melanesian is keeping its individuality and independence of linguistic structure, and remaining, as before, a means of communication suited to Melanesian habits of grammar and thought.

N O T E S

1. Cassidy (1966) argues - I think rightly - that such multiple etymologies as are cited here are common in pidgins and creoles, and have to be recognised in etymologising. Multiple etymologies are also common in slang.
2. Thus tok pisin *Pidgin* is frequently regarded as a purely indigenous creation, as the language of totemic ancestors.
3. The word *didiman* derives from the name of Dr Bredemann, an official in Rabaul during the German administration of New Guinea; it is only recently that the -man element has come to be productive, on the analogy of such forms as *singelman/singelmeri single man/woman*.
4. An archaic but obviously useful term (from Grose's 1796 dictionary, edited by Partridge (1963)) for '*one who lies with the same woman, that is, builds in the same nest*'. A friend has suggested '*sharemate*' as a possible modern English term.
5. I owe the perception of this tendency, and most of the above examples, to Peter Mühlhäusler (personal communication, also Mühlhäusler 1976).
6. Healey (1975) considers that new lexical items should be quickly introduced into Pidgin to express not only collectives such as '*game*', '*beef*', '*mutton*', '*shellfoods*', but also such shades of meaning as '*steed*', '*charger*', '*hack*', and '*gelding*' to extend Pidgin *hos horse*. Lexical creations in Pidgin are likely to achieve such forms when needed, from internal word-forming devices (e.g. **welabus game*, **raithos hack*, **raushos gelding*).

7. Hall also lists the allomorph -z after vowels or voiced consonants, but I have not heard a phonetic [-z] from Niuginians when speaking Pidgin, since in Pidgin only liquids and nasals can occur fully voiced in final position. However, -z occurs in Tok Masta, and possibly may be occasionally found in other anglicised varieties of Pidgin.

8. In a number of languages of South Bougainville, final -m and -ŋ are in free variation, and this feature is carried over into Pidgin; thus one hears commonly *mi draiving trak* *I drive a truck* for *mi draivim trak*. This substratum phonological feature should not be taken as derived from English.

7.4.1.5. DEVELOPMENTS IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

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7.4.1.6. CREATIVE WRITING IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

D.C. Laycock

7.4.1.6.1. INTRODUCTION

At some time in the last hundred years, the first story was told in New Guinea Pidgin, and the first song in that language was sung; but both these events, which would mark the beginning of creative writing in New Guinea Pidgin, escaped the attention of literate recorders. The data we have on early literary creations in Pidgin is quite late; the first documented songs known to me were collected in the period immediately prior to World War I, although they were not published until 1922 (Jacques 1922). They run:¹

- (1) masta bilong mi²
kambek kwik
mi laikim taro
mi laikim painap
- (2) i longtaim long Sigismund
i longtaim long singais
putim daun long Roland
i go daun long Rabaul

ol kebin i no save nating
kipasim Roland
kipasim Sigismund
kipasim Sigisan

Undisputed story-texts in New Guinea Pidgin are even later; the first are probably those published by Hall (1943).

At this point we must distinguish three separate strands of literature in Pidgin:

- 1) folk literature: songs, stories and speeches of indigenous Pidgin speakers, transmitted orally;
- 2) writings in Pidgin by Europeans, for the most part translations:
- 3) deliberate 'literary' creations in Pidgin by indigenous writers, and published over their own names.

7.4.1.6.2. FOLK LITERATURE

The first type is perhaps the most poorly documented, especially as regards songs. Apart from the song quoted above, only about half-a-dozen songs have been noted down by European observers - and that usually unreliably, in a mishmash of spellings, and without the melodies. Some important examples, with the source given in each case include the following:

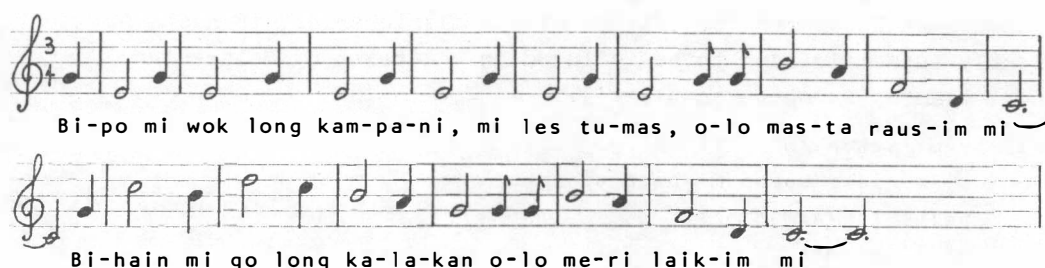
- (3) o ensinia (2)
 gohet masin (2)
 rere ap-anka (2)
 masin i go (2)
 o ensinia (2)
- (4) taim mi lusim Vanimo
 mi slip namel long solwara
 san i go daun plnis
 mi luk bek, mi no painim Vanimo
 mi slip dek long Tara
 mi sore mama na susa
- (5) gutpela mun i kam
 taim bilong singel i ron
 singel-o, singel-o
 promis singel-o
- (6) sanap long maunten Wewak
 mi lukluk i go daun solwara
 na mi sore na mi krai
- (7) ol meri long nesi
 ol i tait long rot
 hankasip i stap antap
 kolwin i bloim

- (8) yu meri wantok
 yu giamanim mi tasol
 yu raitim nem bilong mi
 ananit long lek bilong yu
- (9) ol meri Matupi
 ol i salim tomato
 laikim tumas sikispens
- (10) wampela meri i raitim pas long mi
 em i tok, bai mi go daun long wetim em, wetim em
 mi kirap long biknait mi godaun long wetim em
 mi go wet wet nating tulait hia
- (11) Sotpela hia, longpela hia (2)
 mi sanap mi lukluk long draiwara (2)
- (12) mi stap long Moem barik
 mi kisim leta long ples
 mi stap long Moem barik
 mi kisim leta long ples
 ol i toksave long mi
 papa i dai pinis
 mi sore na mi krai
 mi brukim unifom bilong mi
 ol i toksave long mi
 papa i dai pinis
 mi sore na mi krai
 mi brukim raifel bilong mi
- (13) purpur bilong yu yu putim wet proksait
 na ples i tanim
 purpur bilong yu yu putim wet proksait
 na ples i tanim
 samting bilong husat (2)
 na yu no ken pret
- (14) meri nangu (3)
 taragau i hukim yu (4)
 nau yu ranewe marit (3)
 taragau i hukim yu

- (15) Busama i bin paia (2)
 Wewiak i salim wailes
 Busama i bin paia
- (16) yumi hapi tude long dispela pati
 tude yumi hapi tumas long dispela nait
- (17) sore tumas long mi, sore mi yang kauboi
 em i olosem asua bilong yu
 kolim mi tupela taim, kolim mi yangpela nating
 mi sore tumas na mi krai

 sore tumas long mi, mi no save long yia bilong mi
 em i olosem asua bilong yu
 sore tumas long mi, mi ken lavim yu
 mi sore tumas na mi krai

Example (2) is from Dean and Carell 1958, sung by the crew of a mission boat en route from Wewak to Aitape; examples (3)-(9) are from Willey 1965, mostly songs of soldiers and carriers on the march (Number (3): 'marching song of the Pacific Islands Regiment'); examples (10)-(14) are from Dutton 1973, mostly collected in the East Sepik Province by Mr Bryant Allen (Australian National University); example (15) I learnt myself in Port Moresby in September 1973, from the singing of Ralph Warl, a student at the University of Papua New Guinea; and numbers (16) and (17) were also collected by me, during fieldwork in Buin (Bougainville) in 1966 (and published by Hannet (1970)). The selection is sufficient to show that indigenously-created Pidgin songs are fairly simple in structure, express a mood rather than a narrative, make extensive use of repetition, and shun European devices such as rhyme.³ Nevertheless, I believe that the structure of the songs derives from European songs rather than indigenous sources; such melodies as have been published or recorded are also derived from European sources (typically, 'hillbilly' songs, hymn tunes, and modern pan-Pacific 'Hawaiian' melodies). The usual accompaniment is the ukulele or 'Hawaiian' guitar, which few Niuginians have yet learnt to tune in such a way as to accompany indigenous melodies. An example of a song with an essentially European melody (in which the last few bars suggest the Irish song 'Kevin Barry') is the following, published in a book of 'International Songs' (1952):



- (18) bipo mi wok long kampani
 mi les tumas, olo masta rausim mi
 bihain mi go long Kalakan
 olo meri laikim mi
- mi wok long de, mi wok long nait
 mi wok tumas mi sore yet long mi
 mi laik ronewe mi laik go hom
 long kantri bilong mi
- mi lukluk yet long wan meri
 em i lukluk yet long olo taim long mi
 mi tok long de mi tok long nait
 'yu kam wantaim long mi'
- mi tupela go ronewe, go longwe yet
 long kantri bilong mi
 mi laik tumas kaikai bilong mi
 mi no laik kampani

The melodies of five other songs are given by Hannet (1970), and a recording of songs (10)-(14) can be heard on the tapes accompanying Dutton 1973. Many more Pidgin songs are regularly played on Papua New Guinea radio stations (for example, 'Mi waswas long pain serp /si i kisim mi', popular in the East Sepik Province in 1971), but have not been released commercially. It is to be hoped that efforts will be made to record this ongoing oral tradition in Pidgin writing.

A number of other songs are often cited as examples of indigenous Pidgin creations, but in some at least we may suspect European editing or rewriting; in this category we may place the two best-known Pidgin songs, 'Yumi sekan' (example (19)) and 'Ples bilong mi i nambawan' (example (20)) - the former cited from Hannet 1970 (with which compare a slightly different version given by Willey (1965)), and the latter from Hogbin 1939, who took it from a 'Roman Catholic hymn-book' (re-printed by Hall (1943), with the comment: 'Although parts of this poem

may have been "doctored" or written by the missionaries, it has a sufficiently authentic ring to be included in the texts by Melanesian rather than by European speakers').

- (19) yumi sekan long taim mi go
 mi no save sapos mi bagarap
 balus i plai antap
 mi ting sore
 mi ting baimbai mi dai

 yumi sekan long taim mi go
 mi no save sapos mi bagarap
 sip i sel long wara
 mi ting sore
 mi ting baimbai mi dai
- (20) ples bilong mi i nambawan
 mi laikim em tasol
 mi ting long papa, mama tu
 mi krai long haus bilong ol
 mi wok long ples i longwe tru
 mi stap nogut tasol
 ples bilong mi i nambawan
 mi laikim em tasol

 ol wantok, barata, susa tu
 longtaim i wetim mi
 ol i salim planti tok i kam
 ol i ting mi lus long si
 nau mi kirap mi go long ples
 mi no ken lusim moa
 ples bilong mi i nambawan
 mi laikim em tasol

The stricter metre, and the use of rhyme in example (20), should be especially noted, and contrasted with the forms of the undoubtedly indigenous creations. Probably in the same category are two short poems (or songs?) given by Murphy (1943):

- (21) o kanai, kanai antap tru
 yu drip tasol yu go
 mi liklik manki lukim yu
 mi sanap daunbilo

o kanai, kanai stap antap
 naispela drip bilong yu
 aiting yu lukim Deo stap
 na yu laik stap klostu

- (22) liklik pisin, pren bilong mi
 kam sindaun klostu
 mi no meknais, nau yu kam
 kaikai fikus tu
- liklik pisin, yu no pret
 mi no holim spia
 naispela pisin, nau yu kam
 liklik manki hia

Examples of undisputed European writing in Pidgin will be cited in the next section.

An oral tradition in Pidgin narrative has not yet established itself. Comparatively few Pidgin texts by indigenous speakers have been published in any 'undocored' way; some of the major collections to date are to be found in the Pidgin manuals of Laycock (1970b), Dutton (1973) and Wurm (1971). It should be noted, however, that most of these texts are in fact translations of vernacular stories, and are told in Pidgin only for the benefit of the European recorder; situations rarely arise (or, at least, have rarely been observed) where narratives are told in Pidgin to a predominantly indigenous audience. The texts of Hall (1943; Hall and Bateson 1944) are for the most part told by his European anthropologist informants, relying on memory or on field transcriptions, while a very early text of the Garden of Eden story, supposedly told by a Solomon Islander working on the sugarcane plantations in Queensland (London 1909, reprinted by Churchill (1911)) is very unreliable evidence of any sort of indigenous Pidgin. Nevertheless, even in these examples a Pidgin narrative style is discernible, a style whose major elements are taken from vernacular story-telling styles. Most notable of these elements is the linking of sentences by repetition of the previous verb, often introduced by *orait*, as in the following example from Laycock 1970b - repetitions italicised:

- (23) *Orait*, i go long raunwara, pukpuk i ken kisim em, na bikpela snek i stap long wara, em i ken kisim em. *Orait*, *ol i kisim* i kam, smokim pinis, *ol i putim gen*, *ol i go bek*. *Ol i go bek*, *ol i kisim*, *ol i kisim torosel* na wonem samting, pukpuk, *ol i siutim long supia*. *Ol i siutim long supia*, *orait*, sapos dewel i kamap long wara, baimbai masalai long maunten i go daun kisim nau ...

This sentence-linking, which derives from the 'sentence-medial' verbs of non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, is also a major feature of Pidgin rhetoric - another field of indigenous literary creation which many visitors to Papua New Guinea have observed (especially at the meetings of Local Government Councils), but which has not been documented in any satisfactory way.

7.4.1.6.3. PIDGIN WRITING BY EUROPEANS

Europeans have long been active in Papua New Guinea in producing written material in Pidgin, but very little of their production comes under the heading of creative writing; most of it consists of functional manuals on health, hygiene, carpentry, administration news, cooking, politics, and theology. The quantity of such 'literature' is too vast to survey here; some items are listed in the bibliography to Laycock 1970a, and many more are included in the bibliography of Reinecke 1975. Missions of all denominations have translated into Pidgin various hymns and portions of the liturgy, two of the most widespread publications being the Catholic *Buk bilong beten end singsing bilong ol katolik* (1960), and the Protestant *Buk song bilong lotu long tok Pisin* (n.d.). From these, respectively, we may cite the translation of 'Silent Night' (24) and of 'O Come All Ye Faithful' (25):

(24) Krismas nait, santu nait!

ol i slip, star i lait
nau Maria i karim God Son
liklik Yesus kamdaun hia long graun
Yesus Peman i kam, Yesus Peman i kam.

Angelo nais en wait
ol i kam, ol i singsing long God
bringim gutpela tok bilong antap
Yesus Peman i kam, Yesus Peman i kam.

Betlehem nau i lait
wasman ol i kirap i go kwik
painim, lotuim Yesus long krib
Yesus Peman i kam, Yesus Peman i kam.

nau mi go, mi no wet
mi laik lukim long dispela nait
liklik Yesus i gut, i orait
Yesus Peman i kam, Yesus Peman i kam.

- (25) Kam ologeta kristen
 kam long krismas moning
 yumi laik tingting long Betlehem
 yumi laik tingting long pikinini bilong God
 kam sing Aleluya (3)
 long Kraist Jisas
- Olgeta ensel
 mekim gutpela song
 ol i liptimapim nem bilong God antap
 em i salim pikinini bilong helpim yumi
 kam sing Aleluya (3)
 long Kraist Jisas

Noteworthy in these productions is the differing forms of words like '*Jesus*' (Yesus/Jisas) and '*angel*' (angelo/ensel), but such denominational differences in the use of Pidgin are gradually disappearing. (Baker (1944) castigates the competing mission orthographies then in use.)

Perhaps the most influential of mission writings have been the Bible translations, not so much the series of excerpts that formed the *Liklik Katolik Baibel* (1934) (though this and its predecessors must have been familiar to thousands of Niuginians) as the more recent complete translation of the New Testament (*Nupela Testamen* (1969)). This was the first major publication to use the new 'standardised' Pidgin orthography. The same orthography is followed religiously by the directors of Kristen Pres, the major Pidgin publishing house in Papua New Guinea, which puts out an extensive list of religious and educational works in Pidgin. The Summer Institute of Linguistics at Ukarumpa also publishes in Pidgin as well as vernaculars, and produced, in the popular *Manki i pas long tais* (1971), what was probably the first comic-book in Pidgin,⁴ albeit with a religious content.

Outside of mission and administration propaganda, little creative writing by Europeans has reached indigenous speakers of Pidgin. A few brief translations have been undertaken by Europeans as *tours-de-force*, or as demonstrations that Pidgin is not an 'inadequate' language; noteworthy among these translations are a version of a passage from Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*⁵ by Gaywood (1951), the myth of Theseus and Ariadne retold by Hall (1959), and Murphy's (1943) translation of Mark Anthony's speech from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, a portion of which follows:

- (26) Pren, man bilong Rom, wantok, harim nau. Mi kam tasol long planim Kaesar. Mi no ken beten longen. Sapos sampela wok bilong wampela man i stret; sampela i no stret; na man i dai; ol i wailes long wok i no stret tasol. Gutpela wok bilongen i slip; i lus nating long graun wantaim long kalopa. Pasin bilong yumi man. Maski Kaesar tu, gutpela wok i slip.

Along the same lines, my own translation of *Macbeth* has been completed and will eventually be prepared for publication.

Direct creative writing, as distinct from translation, is less in evidence. Dutton (1973) gives the following song written by Mike Goodson,⁶ an agricultural officer in Papua New Guinea:

- (27) Mipela mipela didiman
 husat meri laik i ken
 ol i kolim mipela nambawan man
 o mipela didiman

 mipela wok long nait na de
 na mipela no gat dola-de
 mipela no gat gutpela pe
 o mipela didiman

 mipela save go wok bus
 kaikai pinis na mi smok brus
 tingting long olgeta samting i lus
 o mipela didiman

 kiap i ting mi rabisman
 mi holim meri long tupela han
 sapos em i laik kotim mi i ken
 o mipela didiman

 o hapkas pikinini ples pulap
 inap long go long wampela trak
 maski long moa, ating em inap
 o mipela didiman

Laycock (1972b) has published one Pidgin song in *Wantok* newspaper, and has a number of others unpublished. But by and large Europeans have hesitated to enter the field of creative writing in Pidgin, perhaps fearing invidious comparisons with native Niuginian writing (see below, 7.4.1.6.4.). Nevertheless, there remains a great deal of scope for European contributions to the Pidgin literature of Papua New Guinea, a fact which was long ago recognised by Hall (1954):

Potential authors might be found among both Europeans and natives. Europeans with the requisite technical and cultural knowledge and with adequate command of Neo-Melanesian might well be encouraged to undertake literary projects, either as a part of educational or missionary work, or as a spare-time recreational occupation.

At a Pidgin conference held at the University of Papua New Guinea in September 1973, a literature sub-committee strongly expressed the view that there should be greater variety in the type of reading material available in Pidgin ('humour, biography, fables, language games, etc., as well as instructional subjects'); much of this variety could well come from the efforts of Europeans. Two members of the audience suggested that the list could well include erotica and as a step in that direction I offer the following translation I made of the English bawdy ballad 'Sam Hall', and disseminated in the Sepik area in 1959:

(28) O nem bilong mi Samol, yes Samol (2)

O nem bilong mi Samol
na mi gat wanpela bol
em i inap long pakim ol
bladi sit, bladi sit
em i inap long pakim ol
bladi sit

mi laik plei long meri long nait ...
tasol man bilongen i no laik
na bol i lus long pait ...

o kiap em i kam ...
na i kotim mi long san -
em i ken siubim kot long bam ...

nau mi stap kalabus ...
na nau mi nogat brus
na bai ol moni i lus ...

o mi wok long katim gras ...
na pater i go pas -
em i man bilong pakim as ...

o bai mi pinistaim ...
mi laik kisim misis traim -
mi gat moni inap long baim ...

o mi laik go long Lae ...
brukim kontrak, ronewe
na les long san olde ...

o klosap bai mi dai ...
 kisim ples paia baimbai -
 tasol mi no ken i kra i ...

An even earlier bawdy limerick is that cited by Hall (1943), as being written by the anthropologist John M. Whiting:⁷

(29) klostu long as bilong kokonas-tri
 wanpela meri kamap long mi
 sindaun long gras
 i gat bikpela as
 i tok i laik puspus long mi

7.4.1.6.4. INDIGENOUS CREATIVE WRITING

Self-conscious creative writing in Pidgin by local-born authors is a comparatively new phenomenon; outlets for publication in this field have been available only since 1969. The major impetus in this field was provided by Mr Ulli Beier, who held an appointment in the teaching of creative writing at the University of Papua New Guinea from 1967 to 1972.⁸ Although Mr Beier's main interest was in the promotion of writing in English, and his knowledge of Pidgin was insufficient for him to make valid critical judgements, the publications he initiated (*Kovave* and *Papua Pocket Poets*) provided a medium for the expression of Pidgin writings, and Mr Beier's encouragement ensured that they were published. The first (pilot issue) of *Kovave* carried two songs in New Guinea Pidgin collected by students (as well as songs in Solomon Islands and Australian Aboriginal Pidgin), and also the first published Pidgin play, 'Em rod bilong kago', by Leo Hannet (of which a longish extract was reprinted by Laycock (1970a)). Most subsequent issues have included at least one or two Pidgin poems, but the later ones were written rather than 'collected'; these include two poems which became deservedly popular, and which have been issued on posters by the Creative Arts Centre⁹ in Port Moresby. The poems are 'O meri wantok' by Bede Dus Mapun (*Kovave* 3/2 1972) and 'Moa! Moa! Yet!' by Jerry Kavop (*Kovave* 4/1 1972); the first is given here (30), with a 'reply' by Peni Bryning (31) (*Kovave* 4/1 1972):

(30) o meri Papua
 o meri Buka
 o meri Nugini
 o meri Hallen
 o meri wantok mi sore long yu

yu lukim Astralia man i draivim kar
 yu lukim Amerika man i draivim trak
 yu lukim Ingran man i ronim motabaik
 yu lukim Nuzilan man i kikim baisikol
 yu sanap yu lukluk na yu sek
 o meri wantok mi sore long yu

yu lukim Papua man i raun long lek
 yu lukim Buka man i ron long lek
 yu lukim Nugini man wokabaut long lek
 yu lukim Hailan man i taitim long lek
 yu harim blak man i tok 'monin meri wantok'
 yu tanim pes na tok 'hemarai lasi'
 yu taitim bel na tok 'nogat sem blo yu'
 o meri wantok mi sore long yu

o meri wantok
 bipo maus bilong yu i save braun
 nau maus bilong yu i ret
 bipo gras bilong yu i save sanap lus
 nau yu pulim i go tait
 bipo susu bilong yu i save slek
 nau i sanap tait olsem yet
 yu lukluk long glas na tok
 'inap long twenti dola wan drop!'
 o meri wantok mi sore long yu

lapun man bilong Ingran i tok 'Nansei!'
 yangpela man bilong Astralia lukim yu na i tok
 'my dalen black en beauriful
 I'll mek you like kween of heaven above'
 yu harim na yu tingse i tru
 o meri wantok mi sore long yu

mi sanap mi lukluk tasol
 mi sindaun mi tingting tasol
 o meri wanskin mi sore long yu
 o meri wantok mi sore tumas long yu

- (31) o man wantok mi sore long yu
 mi sore yet long yu
 yu lukim meri Astralia
 yu lukim meri Amerika
 yu lukim meri Ingran
 na yu seksek longen

o man wantok mi sore long yu
 yu go long piksa na yu seksek
 yu lukim waitpela susu
 yu lukim baksait i stap nating
 yu lukim longpela waitpela gras
 na yu seksek nogut tru

o man wantok yu mekim wanem long meri wantok?
 yu givim pikinini longen
 yu givim planti wok longen
 yu paitim em sapos kaikai i no kamap kwiktaim
 yu larim em long haus na go dring bia -
 o sore-sore long yu!

o man wantok mi sore long yu
 yu wokabaut olsem kakaruk man
 yu putim klos olsem kauboi
 yu go long piksa, yu go spak nabaut
 long nait yu drim long meri i narakain -
 o man wantok mi sore yet long yu!

Pidgin poems can also be found in some of the small booklets issued as *Papua Pocket Poets*, especially those edited by Hannel (1970) and Tawali (1971); the first of these contains only 'folk' songs, and has been mentioned above, while the second is the most important collection of Pidgin poems to date. Space permits only the citation of Tau Peruka's 'Nansei' (32), also published in *Pangu Pati Nius* June 1973, and by Dutton (1973), and a poem by Kila R. Warl on the ever-popular theme of 'Meri Wantok' (33):

- (32) mi katim kona long Koki Maket
 mi lukim olo man na meri salim
 buai, daka, pis na banana
 mi no seksek
 mi lukim meri i gat longpela gras
 ei! nansei!
- mi sanap long nambis bilong Ela Bis
 mi lukim olo masta waswas
 mi no seksek
 mi lukim olo misis ol i kalap kalap nabaut
 na openim lek bilong ol
 ei! nansei!

mi sindaun long hapsait bilong Braun Riva
 mi lukim bikpela pukpuk i kamap
 mi no seksek
 mi lukim meri i rausim dres bilongen
 waitpela susu bilongen i sanap stret
 ei! nansei!

mi wokabaut long klostu long swiming pul
 mi lukim sangana bilong ol man
 mi no seksek
 mi lukim waitpela sangana bilong ol meri
 ei! nansei!

mi raun raun long Burns Philp
 mi lukim ol nupela samting
 mi no seksek
 mi lukim ol meri wokabaut wantaim sotpela dres
 as bilong ol i seksek narakain
 ei! nansei!

- (33) meri wantok
 nogat arapela
 inap winim yu
 yu tasol, meri wantok
 susu i sanap
 olosem retpela maunten
 i sanap taim san i hatim
 na i brukim lewa bilong mi
 em yu tasol meri wantok
 ai bilong yu olosem paia i lait
 gras bilong yu i blak tru
 na i luk swit mo
 tasol skin bilong yu i kol
 olosem kolwara
 na i mekim mi i hangamap
 tru long yu
 o, meri wantok

The number of Pidgin periodicals has increased in recent years; the principal ones are *Wantok*, *Bougainville Nius*, *Nius bilong yumi*, *Pangu Pati Nius*, *Poroman*, *Luksave*, *Toktok bilong haus ov Asembli*, and *Raunabaut*.¹⁰ However, these rarely carry contributions that can be regarded as creative writing, apart from the letters to the editor and

the occasional traditional story ('*stori bilong ol tumbuna*'); this may be due to a lack of submissions rather than to editorial policy. In a somewhat different category is *Papua New Guinea Writing* (formerly *New Guinea Writing*), a journal produced by the Literature Bureau of the Department of Information and Extension Services for furthering creative writing in Papua New Guinea. Most contributions are in English, but contributions in Pidgin are accepted. This journal is one of the few outlets for Pidgin prose; issues 2 (December 1970), 6 (June 1972), 9 (March 1973), 11 (September 1973) and 13 (March 1974) contain Pidgin stories, and issue 2 also contains a review in Pidgin of Hannet 1970. Issue 11 (September 1973) carried an editorial on the desirability of continuing to publish Pidgin contributions (Boschman 1973); this brought a comment, in a letter to the editor in issue 12 (December 1973), that Pidgin literature would be taken more seriously if the standard orthography were adhered to. Issue 13, however, continued to print Pidgin with erratic spelling. (Of the above-mentioned periodicals, only *Wantok*, and perhaps *Luksave*, consistently uses the standard orthography.)

The Literature Bureau award prizes annually for creative writing; prior to 1972 awards were given for Pidgin poetry only, but since 1972 there has been a section for stories in Pidgin and Hiri Motu (sponsored by the Summer Institute of Linguistics). In that year 34 stories in Pidgin, and one in Hiri Motu, were submitted; the 1973 competition drew 122 Pidgin stories (and none in Hiri Motu), which indicates a growing interest in the use of Pidgin as a medium for creative writing. Other institutions, such as Kristen Pres, have also attempted to promote creative writing in Pidgin, and a course for potential authors was held in 1973 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (reported by Cates and Cates (1975)). Such courses are expected to continue, and will provide training for indigenous writers, as well as publication opportunities.

There is, however, little provision for Pidgin plays; these, if submitted to the Literature Bureau, are judged in the English section. Few Pidgin plays have been published at all: the exceptions comprise only Hannet 1969, Namaliu 1970 and Tokome 1973. Some plays exist in mimeographed form only; these include Rabble Namaliu's lively satire '*Maski Kaunsil*', and Kakah Kais' '*The Cornerstone Topples*'. Pidgin plays are occasionally performed at educational institutions in Papua New Guinea - such as the University, the Teachers' Colleges, and high schools - and receive an enthusiastic welcome from the audiences. Drama is obviously a field of writing which deserves further encouragement, as performances bring home to thousands of people the potential of Pidgin as a literary language, whether or not the plays are published for the benefit of the literate minority.

7.4.1.6.5. FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

In spite of a certain amount of interest in creative writing in Pidgin, it is nevertheless clear that the potential audience is as yet fairly small and unsophisticated, and the potential writers as yet unsure of the language as a medium. Nevertheless, the influence of Pidgin as a vehicle for 'grass-roots' communication is making itself widely felt, even in the more heavily promoted courses for creative writing in the English language (reviewed by May (1971)). Authors of Papua New Guinea now feel free to use Pidgin expressions and dialogue in works written otherwise in English, and Pidgin calques in English writings are not uncommon. There exists a large list of Pidgin words which are familiar to most people (expatriates and indigenes) who know Papua New Guinea, and these convey concepts not easily expressible in English with the same overtones; the list includes amamas, bagarap, banis, bikheth, bilas, birua, buai, galip, garamut, giaman, gris, kokomo, kongkong, kundu, lapun, lus, manki, maski, muruk, pamuk, poisin, rabis, sanguma, sore, susu, tambaran, tambu, tumbuna, wantok, and at least twice as many items again (see also Wolfers 1969). A number of other less common Pidgin words (for example aiai, aibika, amberoi, aupa, dadap, hatwara, pangal, tangir) express indigenous flora, fauna, or foodstuffs, for which there are rarely convenient English equivalents. Authors in Papua New Guinea are freely sprinkling their English writings with such words, thus giving to their works a flavour that is uniquely Niuginian.

But it is not just as a source of local colour that Pidgin will exist in Papua New Guinea; given the right sort of encouragement, and opportunities for inexpensive publication, the beginnings of Pidgin writings that have been cited in this chapter may yet be seen to flower into an extensive literature that expresses the aspirations of the people of this new nation to a degree that writings in other languages, whether imported (like English) or restricted (like the indigenous languages), can never hope to achieve.

N O T E S

1. Translations of, and annotations to, the Pidgin extracts cited will be found in the Appendix.

2. In many cases, the spelling is given in an anglicised form. As far as possible, I have adjusted all spellings throughout this chapter, to conform with the new standardised Pidgin orthography (Mihalic and Sievert 1970; Mihalic 1971); this is done not without misgivings of presumption as far as the printed writings of indigenous writers of Papua New Guinea are concerned, and I offer them my apologies for having done this. However, it was thought better to be consistent, and the author also had in mind overseas readers whose familiarity with Pidgin is limited and who would probably find it easier to appreciate the Pidgin literature samples if they are presented here in the standard orthography in which dictionaries are available.

The end result of my efforts is not always grammatical Pidgin, especially in some of the texts noted by Europeans; but I have refrained, in the current state of uncertainty of the possible variations within Pidgin, from making any changes beyond orthographical ones. Repetitions of lines are indicated by a following number.

3. Pidgin is a difficult language to rhyme in, owing to the relatively small number of monosyllabic words which can occur at the end of a line, and to a paucity of rhyming words in polysyllabic words.

4. A more recent comic book is another mission publication, *Laip bilong Jisas* (n.d.). Walt Disney's comic strip 'Scamp' was once run in both English and Pidgin in *Wantok* newspaper, but the main Pidgin comic strip of that paper is now Lee Falk and Sy Barry's 'The Phantom' (see 7.7.3.). Other comic strips have appeared sporadically in other publications.

5. Not a good example of the 'adequacy' of Pidgin. The English translation used takes up 12 lines, the Pidgin version 39!
6. Dutton erroneously gives the surname as Goodman.
7. Laycock (1970a), misreading Hall's text, mistakenly took this to be a genuine indigenous song cited by Hall.
8. Professor Beier is now Director of the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, and responsible for the administration of many cultural activities, including creative writing.
9. Now the National Arts Centre.
10. Some of these have ceased publication since this chapter was originally written.

APPENDIX

Translation of, and Annotations, to Pidgin Citations

Translator's Note

Translating from Pidgin into English involves making a number of decisions, not least among which are the choice of tense in verbs, and number in nouns (features which are normally unmarked in Pidgin). Further, songs and poems in Pidgin achieve a (perhaps deliberate) structural ambiguity, by often suppressing the subject or object. I have tried to make my choices on the basis of the context, but certainly do not feel that my translations are the only possible ones.

A further trap into which the translator is commonly led is that of using the English words from which the Pidgin words are derived; this assists the reader who does not know Pidgin to see how the Pidgin text is constructed, but it has the disadvantage of missing important shades of meaning. I have therefore translated freely in this respect, preferring to preserve the sense and flavour of the original, rather than its syntactic and etymological make-up. For the same reason, I have not felt obliged to always translate the same Pidgin lexeme in exactly the same way in English.

The translations nevertheless are as accurate as I can make them, somewhat at the expense of literary style; I would not make quite the same choices if I were trying to render the Pidgin originals as English poems.

- (1) *My master, come back quickly. I like taro; I like pineapple.*
- (2) *The SIGISMUND and the SEESTERN are waiting a long time for the ROLAND to go to Rabaul. The cabin-boys know nothing; lock up the ROLAND, lock up the SIGISMUND, lock up the SEESTERN. [Two vessels are waiting for a third, which is delayed.]*

- (3) *O engineer, start the motor; prepare to up-anchor; the motor runs; o engineer.*
- (4) *When I left Vanimo, I slept at sea; the sun went down, I looked back, but could not see Vanimo. I slept on the deck of the TARA, and thought of my mother and sister.*
- (5) *The full moon is here, it is the time of the single men; single-o, 'promise' single-o.*
- (6) *Standing on Wewak mountain, I looked down at the sea; I was sad, and I cried.*
- (7) *The women who work as nurses dash along the road, the veils on their heads blowing in the wind.*
- (8) *You, my girlfriend, are deceiving me; you write my name on the inside of your thigh.*
- (9) *The women of Matupi sell tomatoes [sexual favours]; they are keen to get sixpence.*
- (10) *A woman wrote me a letter, saying to go down and wait for her; I got up in the middle of the night to go down and wait for her, and I waited and waited in vain until dawn.*
- (11) *Short here, long here; I stood and looked at the low tide.*
- (12) *While I was at Moem barracks, I received a letter from my village, informing me that my father had died. I was sad, and I cried; I broke my uniform. I was sad, and I cried; I broke my rifle.*
- (13) *As a love-charm you use white peroxide, and upset the village; who is it for? But you should not be afraid.*
- (14) *Sago-woman, the hawk will catch you; you run away to get married, and the hawk will catch you.*
- (15) *The BUSAMA caught fire; Wewak announced it on the radio. [The BUSAMA was a coastal vessel whose cargo of oil caught fire and exploded off Wewak in 1958.]*
- (16) *We are happy today at this party, we are very happy this night.*
- (17) *I pity myself, the young cowboy [flashy dresser]; it is your fault. Twice you called me just a kid; I am sad and I cry. I*

pity myself; I don't know how old I am. It is your fault; I pity myself for loving you; I am sad and I cry.

- (18) *I used to work for the company; I was idle, and the white men fired me. I shall go to Kalakan, where the women like me. I work by day, I work by night; I work excessively, and pity myself; I would like to run away home, to my own area. I keep looking at one woman, and she keeps looking at me; I tell her day and night: 'Come along with me'. The two of us will run away, a long way, to my area; I like my own kind of food, but I don't like the company.*

- (19) *Let us shake hands as I leave; for all I know, I shall come to grief. The plane flies high, and my heart is heavy; I think I shall die.*

Let us shake hands as I leave; for all I know, I shall come to grief. The ship sails on the water, and my heart is heavy; I think I shall die.

- (20) *My village is best, it is the only place I like; I think of my father and mother, and cry [when I think] about their house. I work in a distant place, where I am not happy; my village is best, it is the only place I like.*

My friends, brothers, and sisters, have long awaited me; they send many messages, and think I have been drowned. Now I shall get up and go home, and never leave it again; my village is best, it is the only place I like.

- (21) *Seagull, seagull, high above, you drift along; I stand below, a little boy, and watch you. Seagull, seagull, high above, your drifting is beautiful; I think you can see God, and wish to approach him.*

- (22) *Little bird, my friend, come and sit near me; I make no noise, and you come and eat the figs. Little bird, do not fear; I have no spear. Nice bird, come to this little boy.*

- (23) *Well, they go to the pond, they can get crocodiles, and the big snakes that live by the water. They get them, smoke them, put them aside, and go back. They go back, catch some more, catch tortoises and all kinds of things, crocodiles, they spear them. They spear them; but if the spirit comes up in the water, the demon of the mountain will go down and get them now.*

- (24) *Christmas Eve, holy night! All are sleeping, the stars are shining; Mary bears God the Son, little Jesus comes down to earth; Jesus the Redeemer comes.*

The beautiful white angels come and sing of God, bringing good news from heaven; Jesus the Redeemer comes.

Bethlehem is now lit up; the shepherds arise and go quickly to find and worship Jesus in the crib; Jesus the Redeemer comes. Now I shall go without delay; in this night I wish to see the good and gracious Jesus; Jesus the Redeemer comes.

- (25) *Come, all Christians; come on Christmas morning, and think of Bethlehem, and the son of God. Come and sing Hallelujah to Christ Jesus.*

All the angels sing a sweet chorus, exalting the name of God on High, who sent his son to help us. Come and sing Hallelujah to Christ Jesus.

- (26) *Friends, Romans, companions, listen now. I come only to bury Caesar; I shall not pray for him. If some of a man's deeds are righteous, and others unrighteous, and the man dies, people gossip only about the unrighteous deeds. His good works sleep, and are lost in the earth, with the mourning. This is how we men behave. The same goes for Caesar; his good deeds are dormant.*

- (27) *We are the agricultural workers; any woman who wants to, may. They call us the best of men; we are the agricultural workers.*

We work night and day, and do not even receive a dollar a day; we do not receive good pay, we agricultural workers.

We go and work in the bush, eat our food and smoke, thinking of all the good things we are missing; we are the agricultural workers.

The administrative officer thinks we are worthless. I reach out for women with both hands; if he wants to prosecute me, he's welcome! We are the agricultural workers.

The place is full of half-caste children, enough to fill a truck - to hell with more, I think that's enough! We are the agricultural workers.

- (28) *O my name is Sam Hall, yes Sam Hall - and I've only got one ball; that's enough to fuck you all, bloody shit.*

I wanted to sleep with a woman at night, but her husband objected, and I lost my ball in the fight.

The administrative officer came and prosecuted me next day; he can stick his court up his bum.

Now I am in prison, without tobacco, and soon my money will be finished.

I work at cutting the grass, and the priest goes past; he is a sodomite.

Soon my time will be up; I should like to try a white woman - I've got enough money to buy one.

I should like to go to Lae, break my contract, and run away, and idle in the sun all day long.

Soon now I shall die, and go to hell - but I shan't cry.

- (29) *Near the base of a coconut palm a woman came up to me; she sat down on the grass (she had a big arse) and requested intercourse with me.*

- (30) *O women of Papua, women of Buka, New Guinea women, women of the Highlands, I pity you! You look at the Australians driving cars, the Americans driving trucks, the English riding motorcycles, the New Zealanders pedalling bicycles; you stand and watch them, and desire them. O women of my people, I pity you!*

You look at the Papuans going on foot, you look at the Bukas running on foot, you look at the New Guineans walking on foot, you look at the Highlanders striding on foot; you hear a black man say 'Good morning, woman of my people', and you turn your head and say 'You have no shame'. You draw yourself in and say 'You have no shame'. O women of my people, I pity you!

O women of my people, your mouths used to be brown; now your mouths are red. Your hair used to flow loosely, now you bind it tight; your breasts once were slack, but now they stand up firm. You look in the mirror and say 'Worth twenty dollars a drop!' O women of my people, I pity you!

Old men from England say 'Good show!'; young men from Australia look at you and say 'My darling black and beautiful, I'll make you like the queen of heaven above'. You listen and think they are telling the truth - o women of my people, I am sorry for you!

I just stand and observe, and sit and think. O women of my colour, I pity you; o women of my people, I pity you greatly.

- (31) *O men of my people, I pity you; I really pity you. You look at the Australian women, the American women, the English women, and you desire them. O men of my people, I pity you; you go to the pictures and you get excited. You look at the white breasts, the bare backsides, and the long blond hair, and you get as excited as can be.*

And, o men of my people, what do you do with your own women? You give them babies, you give them a great deal of work; you hit

them if the food is not ready quickly, you leave them in the house and go and drink beer - o how I pity you!

O men of my people, I pity you; you walk around like young cockerels, and dress up like cowboys; you go to the pictures, and get drunk all over the place - and in the night you dream of a different kind of woman.

O men of my people, I really pity you!

- (32) *I was fooling around at Koki market, looking at the men and women selling betelnut, lime, fish, and bananas - and I didn't turn a hair; I looked at the women with long hair - Hey! That's something!*

I stood on the strand at Ela Beach, watching the white men bathing - and I didn't turn a hair; I looked at the white women gadding about, and opening their legs - Hey! That's something!

I sat down on the side of Brown River, and saw a big crocodile come up - and I didn't turn a hair; I saw a woman take off her dress, her white breasts standing up straight - Hey! That's something!

I walked about by the swimming pool, and I saw the thighs of the men - and I didn't turn a hair; I saw the white thighs of the women - Hey! That's something!

I was roaming around the Burns Philp store, looking at all the new things - and I didn't turn a hair; I looked at the women in miniskirts, their buttocks shaking like nobody's business - Hey! That's something!

- (33) *Woman of my people, there is none that excels you; you stand alone, woman of my people. Your breasts stand up like red mountains; they stand when the sun warms them, and break my heart - that is you alone, woman of my people. Your eyes are like burning fires, your hair is really black, and looks very attractive; but your skin is cold, like cold water, and it really attracts me to you, o woman of my people.*

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7.4.2. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TEACHING

7.4.2.1. GENERAL THOUGHTS ON TEACHING IN PIDGIN

Ebia Olewale

Elsewhere in this volume (in chapter 7.5.1.), I have presented and discussed some general ideas on the matter of elementary education in the vernaculars in Papua New Guinea, and in the process, had the opportunity to refer to the possible use of Pidgin, as well as of Hiri Motu, as important languages in matters relating to elementary education.

It was mentioned in that chapter that a desirable goal would be for every child in Papua New Guinea to receive its first introduction to education in its own local language - at the same time, it was pointed out that elementary textbooks were extant at this point of time in only a little over 100 of the different languages encountered in Papua New Guinea, though this number might well be improved upon in the not-too-distant future.

In this situation, the two great *lingue franche* of Papua New Guinea, Pidgin and Hiri Motu, are the obvious choices, according to the areas of their currencies, to serve as the linguistic vehicles for elementary education if the paramount criterion for the choice of a language for elementary education is to be that the children entering school for the first time should be fully familiar with the language of instruction. In most areas of Papua New Guinea in which elementary schools are established, and in which no textbooks have yet been produced in the local vernaculars, the children entering school are likely to have a command of either Pidgin or Hiri Motu.

Apart from such areas, the places in which one of these two languages is the most obvious choice as the language of elementary education are the towns and urban areas in which children of a multiplicity of vernacular backgrounds are expected to be found in the classes of elementary

schools. Similar situations may be encountered in not necessarily urban areas which contain communities with multiple language backgrounds - e.g. areas housing army or police units with their families.

It has also to be kept in mind that there are some parts of Papua New Guinea, for instance on parts of Manus Island, in which Pidgin has become creolised, i.e. has become the first language of people, and has virtually ousted some of the vernaculars.

In all the instances mentioned above, Pidgin - or Hiri Motu, as the case may be - is the best choice for the language in which pupils are to be introduced to elementary education, with English gradually coming in at advancing levels, first as a subject of study, and later as a medium of instruction.

One of the objections raised to the extensive use of vernaculars in elementary education is the alleged difficulty and cost of producing textbooks in all of them (see 7.5.1.). This objection cannot be raised in the case of Pidgin and Hiri Motu - the books largely exist, and their production in great quantities poses no serious problem.

Apart from this area of their applicability in elementary education, Pidgin - and Hiri Motu - have another important role to fulfil in the educational field. As I pointed out in 7.5.1. in this volume, the goal of education in Papua New Guinea should be to produce young generations which have maintained contact with their own cultures and languages, have a good command of one of the two great *lingue franche*, Pidgin or Hiri Motu, with the educationally more advanced of them having a good knowledge of English as well. It seems that even in those cases in which the vernaculars can be resorted to for the first year or years of elementary education, Pidgin or Hiri Motu should also play an important part in the classroom at levels following the basic elementary teaching: it is necessary that everybody in Papua New Guinea be familiar with Pidgin, or Hiri Motu: they are the two great languages of the Papua New Guinean nation for expression on the national level, for intercommunication across the innumerable language boundaries, for all those aspects in which the Papua New Guineans function and express themselves as a whole.

Much criticism has been levelled against Pidgin, both as a language and as a medium of education. One well-known and often heard criticism of its use in education has been the following naive remark: 'if Pidgin is to be used for teaching, one might as well resort to English immediately!'

Critics using this argument have been labouring under several misconceptions: they think a) that Pidgin is nothing but a debased and

distorted form of simplified English and b) that Pidgin is to be used only as an intermediary means to prepare pupils for the learning of English. Both views are utterly wrong: Pidgin is quite different from English in its structure and underlying principles, and is truly a Papua New Guinean language and it has a very important independent standing and role, quite different from and complementary to that of English, and is certainly not to be looked upon as a crutch to help people on the difficult path leading to the mastery of English.

Numerous other criticisms have been levelled at Pidgin, all of them open to counter-attack: they have been discussed in detail elsewhere in this volume, in chapter 7.4.1.4.1., and there is no need for them to be entered upon here at length. However, one general comment seems to be called for: it appears that the critics of Pidgin largely speak from ignorance, and lack of real appreciation of the import of the points which they raise.

One of these points is the argument that Pidgin is a form of English, and something which was created by English-speakers to be used when talking to Papua New Guineans. While historically, there may have been some truth in this as far as the remote origins of Pidgin are concerned, this view is certainly quite incorrect concerning Pidgin in its present form: this is a language which has been developed by Papua New Guineans for Papua New Guineans, and very few expatriates know it really well: most of them are basing their erroneous views on the poor excuse for Pidgin which is all they can speak themselves. Very much in contrast to their views, Pidgin, in its structure and grammar, is much like many of the Papua New Guinean languages, and because of this, quite easy to learn for Papua New Guineans, as is clearly evidenced by its rapid spreading through the country. It is quite wrong to look upon it as an imported foreign language if these facts are taken into account.

Another point is the frequent argument that Pidgin is a bastard language: it seems to me that the English-speaking critics saying this are not, or do not want to be, aware of the fact that the English language which they speak is very much a 'bastard' language as well, with a tremendous number of loanwords from all sorts of sources, and much of its originally elaborate Anglo-Saxon grammar reduced to mere basics. Surely, when the 'élite' languages of Europe and England were Norman French and Latin, English was viewed with the same disfavour with which the present-day speakers of the English 'élite' language look upon Pidgin - there seems to be quite some historical parallelism here!

In any event, there seems to be no possible doubt that Pidgin has established itself as one of the two great Papua New Guinean lingue

franche and languages to be used on the national level, and its importance in matters relating to elementary and basic education is obvious - be it as a language complementary to the vernaculars, or as one of the two possible languages used instead of the vernaculars in situations in which the latter cannot be resorted to.

7.4.2.2. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TEACHING: LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE CHURCHES

A.K. Neuendorf

7.4.2.2.1. GENERAL REMARKS

When considering the policy of churches on the subject of Pidgin teaching, it is very difficult to give any policy that is followed wholly by any one church. For example, within the Catholic Church there are various missions, each one following its own programme if any programme at all. This is not true for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, known as Elcong or ELCONG (now renamed the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (ELCPNG)), for it has a fairly standard programme throughout the whole church. The evangelical group of churches largely follow their own system whilst all but one synod of the United Church do very little indeed in the way of Pidgin teaching. The Anglican Church and the Seventh Day Adventists are much the same, except for very isolated individual efforts on the part of some missionaries.

7.4.2.2.2. TEACHING IN PIDGIN

7.4.2.2.2.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea really is the main church carrying out teaching IN the Pidgin language. Some dioceses of the Catholic Church also have a programme. Also some individual priests, brothers, sisters, in other areas (for example West Sepik and Manus), as well as a few Protestant missionaries are engaged in this type of work but, it must be repeated, as individuals.

7.4.2.2.2. THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA
(ELCONG, NOW ELCPNG)

Elcong have a long established policy from before World War II. Their policy extends to a couple of vernaculars as well, but it is mostly in Pidgin covering the provinces where they work, viz. the Morobe, Madang, Eastern and Western and Southern Highlands, and the Chimbu Provinces. They have a full range of textbooks that they have developed, covering the ten-year programme that is offered. They do not run this stream of education in competition with the national education system where up till now English has been the medium of instruction. Wherever a congregation feels the need to open a school and agrees to pay the teacher, and if a teacher is available, then the programme can start.

These teachers receive minimal payment for their work so as not to be a burden on the communities they serve. For this reason some of them speak from time to time in a disgruntled way, when they compare their salaries with those of teachers in the national education system. Some teachers in the national system have had fewer years of schooling and less teacher education than some of the Elcong teachers, but because they are in the English stream they are paid by the government and comparatively handsomely.

The Elcong system is to have a series of schools run by the various congregations at the congregation or village level. There are almost 500 teachers teaching in these schools. In most, the language of instruction is Pidgin and the textbooks cover a normal range of subjects and are in Pidgin also.

Then there is a selection at the end of the four years and the young people go to a 'circuit' level school for two more years. There are about 70 teachers involved at this level. This brings the child to the end of his primary equivalent schooling in Pidgin.

There is then a further selection into secondary equivalent education of four years at the 'district' level. Here there are 50 teachers involved. At the end of these further four years of schooling quite a number of young people go into medical training or teacher training for the Pidgin stream. Elcong runs two colleges to train these and there are 12 lecturers involved.

The following table gives an idea of the selection involved:

Enrolment in village schools over four years	14,732
Average enrolment per year in village schools	3,683
Enrolment in circuit schools over two years	1,532
Average enrolment per year in circuit schools	766
Enrolment in district schools over four years	913
Average enrolment per year in district schools	230

This represents quite a high wastage rate - from an average enrolment of 3,683 in the village school to an average enrolment of 230 in the district school. It is therefore NOT to be wondered at that many feel the teachers produced are first-class, doing a first-class job. Some educationalists are quite convinced they are better teachers than those in the national education system.

Elcong states that it believes the education of the children of parents in Elcong is a vital responsibility of the church and that this can best be carried out in the vernacular and/or Pidgin. (This by answer to a questionnaire sent to all the churches.) They further add: 'We regard this programme to be a major benefit to the church and the country as a whole. We expect it to become of greater importance to the country in the future'.

7.4.2.2.2.3. THE SWISS EVANGELICAL BROTHERHOOD MISSION

The Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood Mission also use the Elcong programme and material and have some students up to the ninth year now. Their teachers in the programme are mainly missionaries and they have about 200 students in all, covering the Western Highlands, Chimbu, Eastern Highlands and the Madang Provinces. This church also believes it has a responsibility to the children of its church members. And this church also runs a very vigorous stream of education within the national system.

7.4.2.2.2.4. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Catholic Church in the Madang and to a lesser extent in the East Sepik, Southern Highlands and the Chimbu Provinces, for a period similar to Elcong, have been running catechist schools. The graduates of these schools have been involved in teaching in village schools for some decades now. The church in Madang very strongly believes that these schools have played a quite strategic part in preparing people to live in general, often in other parts of the country, and also to work for the country.

Until about 20 years ago, the Madang people who obtained salaried government employment as policemen, medical workers, interpreters, etc., and who worked as domestics or on plantations were people who had been to a village school taught by a catechist. The average length of time spent in such a school was about four years, although younger students often spent many more years than that in it. At the schools, the students certainly learned literacy in Pidgin but also other subjects such as mathematics, social studies, and general knowledge were taught in addition to the main subject of the Bible. The result of the literacy was the complete breakdown of isolation when men went away to work. An ever-increasing volume of correspondence began to flow both ways - village to work-place, and work-place back to village. As church services began to be held in Pidgin, this was a tremendous help also. As the Elcong textbooks were printed, these also began to be used.

The present catechist training centre in Madang was opened in 1964, but prior to that there had been another. Present training covers a two-year course. There are also in-service courses of six months running at the same centre for catechists from the field to attend to bring them up to date in content and methods. These courses are continuous.

Here the church pays the catechists, but expects the people who go to school in the catechist centres to make a contribution to the church in kind (produce of some kind) as even today there is very little ready money away from the coast in the Madang Province. The catechists again are paid a minimal amount and are expected to work their own gardens as well. Their work is mainly in the mornings and the evenings.

For some years now the Madang Archdiocese has not kept any statistics at all for these catechist centres. They believe there could well be about 300 such centres in the province so there would probably be upwards of 10,000 involved in the programme. When the East Sepik and Chimbu dioceses and to a smaller extent the centres in the Southern Highlands are taken into account, it can be seen that the impact of these Pidgin centres has not been inconsiderable, and is also continuing.

7.4.2.2.3. TEACHING OF PIDGIN

7.4.2.2.3.1. GENERAL REMARKS

The above section has been talking of teaching IN Pidgin mainly, though it has included teaching OF Pidgin as well. There is another group of churches who are vitally involved in the teaching OF Pidgin which includes some teaching IN Pidgin as well. In the main, however, it is Pidgin literacy that is taught to speakers of Pidgin. And this group all seem to use the same series in their programmes - the *Kisim*

Save series of readers - *Gaining Understanding of Knowledge*. These were basically prepared in the Sepik by the Christian Missions in Many Lands and printed by Kristen Pres (of Elcong). It is a graded series of readers designed to make the student a proficient reader of the language with the Scriptures and such other Pidgin material as is available, such as *Wantok*, the Pidgin newspaper produced by the Catholic Church at Wewak, in view mainly. Although Sepik Pidgin may have been the base for the work, the series is highly acceptable in areas other than the Sepik also. In the West Sepik Province the Catholic Church is using the series as well as the evangelical churches there - CMMML, the South Seas Evangelical Church and the Assembly of God Mission. Several churches in the Highlands and Madang are also using the same series.

From returns to the questionnaire mentioned earlier, it would appear that in various places various lengths of time are taken to finish the course, but the average seems to be about three years. By this time the readers should be quite fluent and able to write well, mostly in letter form. The course covers comprehension of the passages read. It would be fairly accurate to assume that in many cases the course goes well beyond learning how to read, and covers quite a lot of New Testament reading and comprehension. Very often graduates of the courses go into pastor schools and, in turn, become teachers in the same centres. From figures received, it would seem some 3,000 people over the three years are being instructed (at the time of writing); or an average of about 1,000 a year are becoming literate in Pidgin through this series.

7.4.2.2.3.2. TEACHER TRAINING

Most churches involved seem to train their own teachers. Indeed, the South Seas Evangelical Church runs what it calls Nu Gini Tisa Trening Kolis at Brugam in the East Sepik Province. Here it trains pastor/teachers for various churches who ask them to do so and the training course covers some teaching of several subjects IN Pidgin as well as literacy methods of teaching. They learn to teach some subjects similar to the Elcong course and in places use the Elcong material as well.

Mostly the teachers are paid by the churches for which they work and the students are expected to pay some school fee either in cash or kind and this forms the basis of the funds needed to run the course. The fees are to cover the cost of the materials as well as the teachers' meagre salary.

7.4.2.2.3.3. ATTITUDES OF SOME CHURCHES

7.4.2.2.3.3.1. General Remarks

In the East Sepik, these churches said in early 1974 that:

the Pidgin programme is preparing the young people much better for their village life than the present English education stream. We believe this programme will expand rapidly. In 1974 we anticipate opening ten new schools as well as continuing in existing ones.

7.4.2.2.3.3.2. The Assembly of God

The Assembly of God sees the programme as essential for the development of the church, for they write:

We are pursuing this programme for several reasons:

- (1) we saw the need to educate those who could not attend a primary school in the education system;
- (2) we wanted as many as possible to be able to read the Word of God;
- (3) when literate, those who have a strong Christian testimony can be considered for Bible School training for the ministry and for church leadership (this training is also given in Pidgin);
- (4) it provides a regular contact with the people in general. Many adults have also been reached through the work done among the children in the literacy programmes.

7.4.2.2.3.3.3. The United Church

The United Church in the Highlands also have their literacy (in Pidgin) programme as a strong point in their policy. Many of the people there would like to branch into a full programme such as offered by Elcong. At the moment, however, it is confined to literacy.

7.4.2.2.3.3.4. Pidgin in Pastor Training Institutes and Bible Schools

A number of churches also use Pidgin as the language of instruction in their pastor training institutes, or in Bible schools where people attend to learn more about the Bible for themselves. Such centres are scattered all over Papua New Guinea, and can be found almost anywhere. The evangelical churches in particular with their stress on the value of the Word of God for the individual person have lots of these. They are also tending to work more together now than ever before.

7.4.2.2.3.3.5. Pidgin Teaching Course (Christian Missions in Many Lands)

Recognising that there are many many places in the country where churches are working, but where Pidgin is not spoken very much, the

Christian Missions in Many Lands has realised that a literacy programme is not enough. In some areas a course is needed to teach Papua New Guineans to speak Pidgin before teaching them how to read and write it. They have therefore quite recently been involved in the preparation of tapes, charts to go with the tapes, and teachers' manuals to go with the tapes and charts. This would be regarded as a preliminary course to be followed by the *Kisim Save* course. It is a course with tremendous possibilities as a number of churches working in the Papuan side of the country are also interested. Highlands churches where Pidgin is being spoken more and more are also keenly interested.

7.4.2.2.3.3.6. Churches Education Council of Papua New Guinea and the Teaching of Pidgin

The Churches Education Council of Papua New Guinea has been interested for some time in the teaching of Pidgin and called a meeting of Papua New Guinean Heads of Churches at Lae on 15 August 1973. A group of educationalists were also present as consultants. The purpose of the gathering was to find out if the churches were interested in mounting a united effort in implementing a Pidgin stream of education which could also be put into Hiri Motu or any major vernacular if need be, for those currently denied access to any formal education.

There were never any official minutes of that meeting produced; but the following statement was issued, as compiled at the meeting itself:

1. The committee of indigenous church leaders recognises the amount of basic education being given to some 40,000 children by about 1,000 teachers in Pidgin and other vernaculars. It recognises that such basic education is a vital contribution to the development of Papua New Guinea, and seems to be within the scope of present educational thinking as indicated by statements of the Minister for Education.
2. The present situation demonstrates the great need for developing a common four year primary curriculum in Pidgin which can also be translated into other major vernaculars and adapted to regional needs.
3. The committee recognises that over 50% of school age children in Papua New Guinea are not involved in the national education system and are in need of some opportunities for basic education. The availability to churches and government of suitable Pidgin and vernacular curriculum materials might well aid in the solution of this problem.
4. This committee supports the idea that a four year primary Pidgin curriculum be developed with the following objectives:
 - (a) to develop within the student the desire and the will to be a more useful and concerned member of his changing community, aiding in the development and growth of the nation;

- (b) to encourage students to understand and to be proud of their traditional society, and to make their own contribution to the preservation, transformation and development of traditional culture;
 - (c) to develop in the student the basic tools of communication, such as reading, writing, listening, etc.;
 - (d) to develop in the student basic knowledge in the fields of number, social studies, health, science;
 - (e) to provide basic instruction in the Christian faith.
5. The committee therefore recommends that the Churches Education Council appoint a permanent committee whose functions would be:
- (a) to be responsible for the co-ordination of a curriculum development project fulfilling the objectives of (4) above (this would include such specific questions as teacher education; and who should actually prepare the materials);
 - (b) to develop a formal request to be sent to a donor agency, to be presented through the Churches Education Council to the Melanesian Council of Churches, for funds for (a);
 - (c) to be in close communications with the churches and through the Churches Education Council with the National Education Board and the Minister for Education.
6. The committee recommends that the Churches Education Council circulate points 1-5 to all churches for information. Churches should be invited to respond as to:
- (a) the desire of their church congregations for such a project;
 - (b) their willingness to participate in the project as they may be able to.
7. The churches should be advised that materials resulting from this project would only be available after four or five years. In the meantime, churches and government are advised to make use of materials already being produced by individual churches.
8. The committee would like to stress to the Melanesian Council of Churches that the request for funds for this project under 5(b) should not affect individual churches in their requests for funds to donor agencies for related on-going programmes.

The Churches Education Council appointed such a permanent committee as requested under point (5) of the above statement. At the time of writing, this committee has had its initial meeting and is beginning to function. The churches are responding showing a goodly measure of interest in the project, as requested under point (6) of the statement.

7.4.2.2.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Should the government decide on a definite policy of universal education, the churches will most likely forego their plans for a primary type education. They will probably divert their efforts into the adult

education field, IN and OF Pidgin and Hiri Motu. In the meantime their efforts will continue and the churches will continue making their marked contribution in the field of education in Papua New Guinea.

7.4.2.3. POLICIES AND EXPERIENCES IN THE CATHOLIC MISSION IN THE FIELD OF TEACHING IN PIDGIN

Francis Mihalic

Over the last century, the Catholic Mission in Papua New Guinea has made more extensive use of Melanesian Pidgin than any other organisation in the country.

When the first Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) arrived on Matupit Island off Rabaul in 1882 and the Divine Word Missionaries (SVD) settled on the small island of Tumleo off the Aitape coast in 1896, Melanesian Pidgin was already solving the language problem of plantations.

Both groups of missionaries sooner or later came upon the same problem of choosing a common language for evangelising a country with 700 tongues. Luckily in Rabaul they already had three large language groups: Kuanua (33,000), Lote (12,000), and Baining (6,000). With these they could manage quite well so long as they confined their work to New Britain. The SVD missionaries, on the other hand, established beach-heads from Aitape to Madang and each time landed in a new language area.

Both missions found a ready-made solution in Melanesian Pidgin disseminated by indentured labourers who shuttled back and forth from the Gazelle Peninsula to the Solomons and the Sepik River basin. Friedericici (1911) says that this worker migration was already a common procedure in 1911. From then on it increased, for this was the first chance that local people had to earn money and they were recruited in droves. By 1931 there was an annual turnover of more than 27,000 indentured labourers. Each brought back to his people the useful language which had made communication possible on the multilingual plantations and gold fields.

There were several attempts to establish an official language in Kaiser Wilhelmsland, as New Guinea was called when it belonged to Germany. The government was so horrified at the possibility of 'this horrible

jargon' even becoming recognised as a language that it tried unsuccessfully to introduce Malay (Höltker 1945). The Catholic Mission of Alexishafen first considered using the Bogia language and later Boiken (see chapter 7.4.5.10. in this volume) as its official medium of evangelisation. But both choices came to naught. Where was the tribe or area which would accept a rival's language in preference to its own? And even if it did, the coastal Melanesian languages differed so much from the Papuan languages of the interior, that they were completely foreign languages when compared with each other. And if a foreign language was to be chosen, then why not either German or English and be done with it?

In that context imagine a man of the stature of W.C. Groves, long-time Director of Education in Papua New Guinea, making a statement like this: 'When English is widespread in New Guinea villages, they will no longer be New Guinea villages. And a sorry day that indeed will be' (Groves 1936:162).

But the tendency in that direction was not to come until the 1960s.

In the meantime, during the German and Australian regimes, Pidgin kept spreading by its own innate usefulness and universal acceptance. Before the advent of roads and radio, it did more to vault the barriers of Papua New Guinea's 700 languages than any other factor.

Father Kirschbaum, that intrepid explorer of the Sepik and its peoples, never needed any language but Pidgin on his countless expeditions between 1913 and 1939.

From 1924 until 1957, the Rabaul Catholic missionaries set about compiling half a dozen dictionaries of Melanesian Pidgin. Fathers Stamm, Borchardt, Brenninkmeyer, Dahmen, and Kutscher were amongst the pioneers. Unfortunately all of these works remained manuscripts, some of which I have seen personally and copied onto tapes. In the line of Pidgin literature the Rabaul mission at this time produced mostly catechisms and devotional books.

Independently of them the Divine Word Missionaries on the New Guinea mainland were pooling the opinions of their trained linguists. After a series of meetings the Catholic Church in this area declared Melanesian Pidgin its official language in 1931. Two of the prime movers were Fathers William van Baar and J. Schebesta. Both had written Pidgin dictionaries and Fr Schebesta's comprehensive one was on the presses at Alexishafen, when the war broke out. Fr L. Meiser, S.V.D., duplicated what had been salvaged of it and published that in 1945. It was far more extensive than John Murphy's *The Book of Pidgin English*, which appeared as a practical handbook for the troops in 1943 (Murphy 1943).

Even before the official statement of 1931, Catholic missionaries along the north coast were using Melanesian Pidgin in all their schools. Primers, catechisms, liturgical books, hymnals, prayer books, Bible stories, and some biographies were run off the small press at Alexishafen or were printed overseas. It must be remembered that in those days prior to World War II virtually all the schools from Madang to the West New Guinea border were run by the Catholic Mission. Literacy first came to north coast New Guinea through Pidgin in mission schools. The same can be said for much of the Eastern and Western Highlands after they opened in 1934.

Alexishafen now took the next step and adapted Melanesian Pidgin to its religious needs. In 1939 it published its official list of the theological and liturgical terms, which had to be invented for Pidgin. The mission preferred to follow Latin and came up with such derivatives as *baptismo*, *misa*, *eklesia*, *matrimonio* which became standard in coastal Pidgin until about 1970.

The Rabaul Catholic Mission, on the other hand, culled its liturgical and theological terms as much as possible from local words, using *raring* for pray, *nukpuku* for penance, *vartovo* for sermon, etc. To this day these have remained in the islands' dialect of Pidgin.

After World War II the Catholic Mission resumed its practical interest in Pidgin; it took up its education work where it had left off. But now there was a difference: the government became keenly interested in education and from the outset its swing was toward standard English. All books it supplied free were in this medium. Nothing appeared in Pidgin as standard issue for schools. The Catholic Mission accommodated itself to this trend and as a result Pidgin was relegated to the first grades of primary school.

By 1962 the Education Department, strongly influenced by the United Nations' bias against Pidgin, ruled that all subsidised schools were to use only English, from the first grade on. Since most mission schools were in this category, they had to adjust to the directive. Pidgin was phased out of the curriculum completely.

But the Catholic Mission did not give up using Pidgin. In 1957 one of its missionaries, Rev. Francis Mihalic, S.V.D., produced the most comprehensive grammar and dictionary of the language yet to be published (Mihalic 1957). This book was instrumental in standardising written Pidgin because it was the first book ever written in the official orthography compiled by a set of professional linguists in 1956 (Department of Education 1956). Among them was the missionary anthropologist Dr Louis Luzbetak, S.V.D., from the Anthropos Institute in Germany.

In spite of Pidgin's exclusion from the curriculum of officially recognised schools, it continued to spread by leaps and bounds - aided mostly by the new Administration radio stations. People also started to move into towns and a dialect of Pidgin developed which assimilated more and more English words, technical and parliamentary terms (see 7.4.1.4.3.5. in this volume).

The wealth of these additions and changes forced Fr Mihalic to revise his dictionary in 1971. It arrived under the new title: *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* (Mihalic 1971). Since then it has been officially declared the standard text to be followed in all Administration departments. Along with the New Testament (British and Foreign Bible Society 1969) it became the norm for all spelling once again, after a meeting of linguistic experts in November 1969.

In the last decade the 11 Catholic dioceses which work in the Highlands, on the islands, and along the north coast of Papua New Guinea have concentrated on specialised catechist or evangelist training. All of this is still done in Pidgin. The Catholic missionaries still maintain that even if Papua New Guineans speak fluent English, they revert to Pidgin when confronted with the deeper, more intimate and personal concerns and problems of life. Religion, the missions hold, rightly belongs in this category.

During the twilight period for Pidgin in the education field the Catholic bishops had the faith and foresight to sponsor the establishment of a Pidgin newspaper in 1967. Their intention in sponsoring *Wantok*, a fortnightly news magazine, was to continue educating adults religiously and politically, to give the local people the only forum for written self-expression which they have in the Pidgin medium. In short, they felt that a newspaper was a practical service to a developing country and was filling a need which extant expatriate newspapers were loath to fill because of the financial risk involved. After just three years of existence, *Wantok* already had about 50,000 readers.

With localisation advancing in the upper echelons of the Education Department, the swing back to Pidgin in primary schools may be just a matter of time, in spite of recent changes in official attitudes which may give indications to the contrary (see 7.3.2.6. and the Appendix to chapter 7.3.2. in this volume).

Such a change of heart in favour of Pidgin would be a logical result of the growing national awareness for preserving and fostering the culture and traditions of the country. Pidgin is as much a part of this culture and tradition as are birds of paradise and artifacts and sago and betel nut and slitgongs.

The Catholic Church in Papua New Guinea has used Pidgin for nearly a century now and it has never regretted this choice. The fact that it is today the largest religious body in this country is due in no small part to its use of Pidgin in circumventing the linguistic maze that cuts this nation into a 700-piece jigsaw puzzle. The Catholic Church also thinks Pidgin has a future and will continue to use and support it in any way it can.

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7.4.2.4. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TEACHING: POLICY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

G.L. Renck

7.4.2.4.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

New Guinea Pidgin, though it had been in general use for a long time before, did not attain any official status in the Lutheran mission and church work until after World War II, and even then it received that status very slowly. For many years expatriate as well as indigenous church workers were very reluctant to even consider Pidgin as a true language, let alone accept it as a means of communication, for preaching and teaching. The preference was clearly for 'true' New Guinea languages, be they local vernaculars or *lingue franche*. That attitude was certainly something very positive as far as the intensity of the mission work was concerned, and the first generations of missionaries and indigenous Christians still have to be highly commended for all their efforts to implant the Christian message into truly Papua New Guinean thought patterns through the languages they used. But when Pidgin developed and spread and actually became the *lingua franca* of an area in which the Lutheran Church had until then tried to work with several *lingue franche*, it proved not so advantageous for the work to retain the old rigid standards of linguistic purism.

It was to a large extent these circumstances, and some pressures from outside the church, which eventually persuaded the Lutheran Church to change its policy with regard to Pidgin, and to accept Pidgin as the *lingua franca* of the church, as well as that of the country.

7.4.2.4.2. CHURCH LINGUE FRANCHE AND PIDGIN

When Lutheran mission work got under way in New Guinea in the '80s of the last century, it was started almost simultaneously in the

Finschhafen and Madang areas. In Finschhafen, the use of Pidgin was completely out of the question for a long time, since it was hardly known there, especially after the German administration moved away in 1892 to the Madang District. Also, it did not take the Lutheran missionaries and the emerging congregations too long to decide on their language policy, and to introduce two local vernaculars, Yabêm and Kâte, as church *lingue franche*.¹ That in particular barred the use of Pidgin in the Lutheran Church in that area for a long time to come, and there were always enough bilingual people through whom contact between speakers of these two languages could be maintained.

In the Madang area the situation was different. Especially the coastal region there shows a much greater linguistic complexity than the Finschhafen area. The missionaries, however, engaged in the study of quite a number of local vernaculars, since few, if any of them, regarded Pidgin as a true language which could be utilised for mission work. The general opinion of the missionaries of that time about Pidgin is expressed by one of them who later wrote in his autobiography:

Es konnten einem die Haare zu Berge stehen, wenn man dies Kauderwelsch anhörte und selber unter Umständen mitmachen musste. ('One's hair would stand on end when one listened to that gibberish, and perhaps even had to participate.') (Hoffmann 1948:126)

However, already before World War I, Pidgin and its use outside the church developed faster in the Madang area than anywhere else on the New Guinea mainland. Madang was an administrative and business centre where Pidgin was used extensively. Young men who worked on the coconut plantations around Madang, where mainly Pidgin was spoken, returned to their home areas, and soon Pidgin-speakers could be found in many villages, and they came in handy as interpreters, sometimes even for visiting missionaries.

In the years between the two World Wars, Pidgin therefore happened to become more and more used also for mission and church work, even more so because the final decision on a church *lingua franca* had to be put off several times, and when it was finally made, it was actually too late.² Because of that delay, several languages were used consecutively as *lingue franche* in some areas, with the result that none of them became well established. Therefore, for church conferences and elders' meetings, where people of different language groups were involved, Pidgin was the only possible means of communication, and inevitably had to be used. Also missionaries transferring from one language area to another found Pidgin very handy. Even then it was never officially acknowledged as a language, but was used rather as a kind of necessary

evil. The only Pidgin 'literature' produced by Lutheran Mission before World War II was a small leaflet containing some hymns and the Lord's Prayer.

The situation changed quite rapidly when in the years after World War II the towns started to grow fast in New Guinea, and Lutheran Mission found it necessary to begin 'compound' work which subsequently led to the formation of town congregations. That was a novelty in comparison to the situation which had prevailed prior to that time, where the congregations had been located in purely rural environments, and thereby always stayed within the limits of languages or language groups. This new situation necessitated the use of Pidgin, which was the daily language of the people at their respective jobs anyway. Special meetings and services were, however, always arranged for people of the different language groups in the towns. It was in Madang that the town work was started first, and there the first 'Lotu Buk', containing Pidgin hymns and Bible Stories, was compiled and printed.

It was soon realised that town work had to be extended to all major centres in the country, including towns which were outside of the actual Lutheran area, like Port Moresby, Rabaul, and others in Papua and on the islands, to which great numbers of Lutherans had moved and had to be served by the church. Except where a town congregation happened to be made up entirely of people from the same church lingua franca area, the language for all town congregations was Pidgin from the beginning.

In 1956, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (ELCONG) (now renamed the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (ELCPNG)) was founded as an organisation indigenous to New Guinea. At once Pidgin became the most important language for inter-district communication in the church, and though on the district level, meetings and conferences continued at least partly to be conducted in church *lingue franche*, on the church-wide level they were held in Pidgin from then on.

At that time, the production of Pidgin literature for use in the Lutheran Church was taken up on a modest scale. It was decided, and also agreed upon with other churches, that the version of Pidgin spoken in the Madang area should be the standard norm, and should be used for all literature produced. The first publications were mainly of the type to be used immediately in the new all-Pidgin congregations. Over the years, however, the production of Pidgin literature increased to such an extent that the Church found it necessary to appoint a full-time literature director who devoted most of his time to the development and promotion of Pidgin literature. A climax of Pidgin literature development was the publication of the Pidgin New Testament by the British

and Foreign Bible Society in 1969. Much of the translation work had been done by Lutheran church workers, and the book was printed by Luther Press in Madang. But this publication served a great need of all Christian churches in the country. It boosted especially also the promotion of Pidgin as a language, in the Lutheran Church as well as in other churches.

But in the meantime things had happened in the field of education which had gradually led to a change in the language policy of the Lutheran Church, and to the replacement of the church *lingue franche* by Pidgin in many areas.

7.4.2.4.3. PIDGIN IN EDUCATION IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

Until the end of the '50s, almost all educational work within the Lutheran Church had been carried out in church *lingue franche*. An exception was the Pidgin school at Banz in the Western Highlands which was started as early as 1950, according to the Banz missionary at that time, as 'the result of need, not a product of policy or preference'.³ Such need was to influence the policy of the Church greatly in years to come.

Towards the end of the '50s, the Australian Administration was getting ready for the introduction of 'universal primary education in English'. At the annual Lutheran mission conference in 1959, the Director of Education informed the Lutheran Mission and ELCONG that in 1960, the Administration would close all schools at which the language of instruction was a New Guinea language other than the local vernacular. That was a severe blow for the school system of the Church, because that definition applied to about 90% of its schools.

One immediate reaction of the conference was to delegate one missionary to produce reading and writing programmes in Pidgin for the first two school years. However, a majority of missionaries and quite a number of indigenous Christians still viewed Pidgin with suspicion with regard to its suitability for education. The preference was still for 'true' New Guinea languages. So in 1960 the conference decided that Pidgin schools should be established only where there was no possibility of conducting a school in a church *lingua franca*, and that those Pidgin schools should continue only until necessary school materials in local languages and teachers acquainted with such languages were available. It was, of course, an over-optimistic attitude to assume that a church-wide school programme with all its facets, such as training of teachers and developing of teaching programmes, could be carried out in so many different languages simultaneously. In consequence, the second half of the resolution never materialised.

Besides efforts to keep the vernacular schools going, the attempt was made to convert as many schools as possible into English schools in order to comply with the policy of the Administration. Teachers who had never learned English properly themselves tried now to teach it as a language and to communicate knowledge in it. Within a couple of years it became all too obvious that this move had been wrong, since an almost completely illiterate generation was growing up. Therefore in 1962 the Church, in order to comply with Administration policy, but also to fulfil its obligations towards its baptised children for Christian education, decided on a dual system: some English schools were established as far as qualified teachers were available, and a second school programme was conducted in New Guinea vernaculars and/or Pidgin. In that way, all the good teachers whose only shortcoming was that they did not know English, could be utilised for school work.

This was in fact a resurrection of the former vernacular school programme of the Lutheran Church, and in order to distinguish it from the Administration's 'official' education programme, it was then termed 'Bible School' programme, and was more recently renamed 'Vernacular School' programme.

In 1963, the writing of Pidgin teaching programmes and textbooks for the vernacular village schools commenced, and in 1964, the first training course with the programmes for the first school year was conducted at Rintebe in the Eastern Highlands. As in subsequent years programmes and books for further school years were produced, the training courses (first mostly concerned with the retraining of older teachers, and later largely with the training of new ones) were extended first to one year, then to two. Thus Rintebe developed into a permanent training school for Lutheran vernacular teachers, with Pidgin as the language of instruction. Programmes were developed for four years of the lowest (village) level, and for two additional years on a medium level. The declared aim of these schools was and is to make children literate in a Papua New Guinea language, which in fact is Pidgin almost everywhere, and to provide Christian education for them.

While the new school programme was developed at Rintebe and teachers were trained for it and vernacular schools established or re-established throughout the church, various other training programmes were begun in Pidgin, or existing programmes were switched partly or completely over to Pidgin. This included the Higher or District Bible Schools which train congregational workers, two Theological Seminaries, two Domestic Training Schools, and a Technical School.

7.4.2.4.4. USE OF PIDGIN IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN RECENT YEARS

At the present time, Pidgin is used extensively over most of the area of the ELCPNG, perhaps with the exception of the Finschhafen area where in recent years the Kâte language has staged a surprising come-back in all spheres of church life.

In the towns, as it has always been, Pidgin is used for all major facets of congregational work, though for the benefit of those who know English, services in that language are regularly conducted, and the individual language groups still have services and other activities in their respective languages.

But even in 'rural' environments the use of Pidgin is spreading at an increasing rate, especially in areas in which linguistic diversity prohibits the use of local vernaculars on a wider than village or congregational scale. Most conferences and meetings are conducted entirely or to a large extent in Pidgin also in rural areas, if people of different language areas are present. And even if the discussion or part of it is carried out in another language, the records are usually kept in Pidgin.

The statistics for 1973 show the following figures for schools and training institutions of the Church in which Pidgin is the sole, or the main medium of instruction:

Vernacular Schools on the lower and medium levels:	340 teachers, 9,500 students
District Bible Schools:	36 teachers, 670 students
Theological Seminaries:	14 teachers, 131 students
Teacher Training Rintebe:	8 teachers, 107 students
Girls' Schools (Domestic Training):	4 teachers, 60 students
Technical School:	3 teachers, 20 students
Medical Training:	2 teachers, 30 students

The promotion of Pidgin literature is one of the aims of Kristen Pres Incorporated (KPI) which was founded in 1969, succeeding the original Lutheran Mission Press, and later Luther Press, which had been operating under the direction of the Board of Publication of the Church. The list of titles available from KPI in 1974 shows 60 Pidgin titles, 29 of them of a religious nature. Every year, KPI also publishes a Pidgin Church Calendar which is very popular and is widely used also by literate people outside the Church.

The monthly Church newspaper 'New Guinea Lutheran' was for a number of years published trilingually: in Pidgin, English, and Kâte. As from

1974 on, the publication has been switched over to a Pidgin edition exclusively. This again is significant for the importance of Pidgin in the Lutheran Church of today in Papua New Guinea.

G.L. RENCK

N O T E S

1. Cf. chapters 7.4.5.2. and 7.4.5.3. in this volume.
2. Cf. P. Freyberg's chapter on Bel (Gedaged), 7.4.5.4. in this volume.
3. H. Mansur, personal communication.

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7.4.2.4. PIDGIN TEACHING: POLICY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

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7.4.2.5. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TEACHING: PIDGIN AND THE ARMY - AN EXAMPLE OF PIDGIN IN A TECHNICALLY-ORIENTED ENVIRONMENT¹

Henry L. Bell

7.4.2.5.1. INTRODUCTION

Niuginians have been trained as soldiers only since 1940, when the Papuan Infantry Battalion was raised for service in the Second World War. Later, three further battalions were raised from the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, but all were disbanded at the end of hostilities (Long 1963). The present Papua New Guinea Defence Force stems from the Pacific Islands Regiment (PIR), a combined Papua/New Guinea infantry unit, raised in 1951. It is true that the pre-war police forces of both Papua and New Guinea, and the German police before them, were para-military in nature, but given the comparatively simple nature of purely infantry training in those days, these earlier forces provide little valid evidence for the successful use of a Niuginian lingua franca in a technically-oriented environment.

The Pacific Islands Regiment raised in 1951 was organised on the lines of an Australian infantry battalion. This required, additional to the fighting element, known in Army parlance as 'riflemen', whatever weapon they actually used, a large proportion of skilled or semi-skilled civil trades such as clerks, drivers, cooks, medical orderlies, signallers, bandsmen, storemen and construction workers. Supporting these were lesser numbers of even more specialised personnel such as pay clerks, vehicle mechanics, draughtsmen and the like. Given the then standard of literacy most of these latter positions were in expatriate hands, at least in the high ranks. There were, of course, no Niuginian officers, or ranks above that of Sergeant (Granter 1970).²

Although the new unit was stationed in Port Moresby and was disproportionately manned by a large Papuan³ Motu-speaking element, Pidgin

was selected as the lingua franca to be used by all, both Papuans³ and New Guineans,³ who were mixed throughout the sub-units. It appears to have been speedily assimilated by the Papuans, although that of some of the older ones remains execrable to this day. Conversely, the original New Guineans acquired a good knowledge of Hiri Motu, necessary in those days when few New Guineans, least of all women-folk, were resident in Port Moresby.

It is difficult to ascertain the overall standards of Pidgin attained by the white leadership, except that, with notable exceptions, personal encounters indicate that it was generally poor. One must remember that in 1951, service at Port Moresby offered little attraction to Australians, the lack of a real Regular Army in pre-war years reduced the base of officer recruitment for PIR, and accordingly very few Australians willingly went off to serve there. There was no career-streaming of officers towards PIR service, which was treated as a normal Australian Army unit, and consequently there was little motivation for the acquisition of Pidgin. This was in marked contrast to the old Indian Army, where officers' careers were abruptly terminated if they failed to become proficient in the vernacular of their men within a stated time (Slim 1970).

One can only conclude that disciplinary problems in the unit, which culminated in serious disorders in 1957 and 1961, were in large part due to communication failure, although other reasons outside the scope of this chapter were also contributory. This resulted in a considerable priority being given to the standard of young officers posted to PIR, extended tours of duty, and attempts to 'stream' officers towards PIR service. Increased emphasis was placed upon Pidgin-speaking capability but it seems the improved motivation of officers produced the linguistic improvement, rather than that of any official Army policy.

After ten years of existence it could be said that although possessing excellent bushcraft qualities and parade-ground discipline, PIR had made only modest progress in military skills, and that white officers often performed duties, such as marking roll-books, which even in the most 'primitive' colonial forces of British or French Africa would have been those of a corporal. So far as rapport between officers and men was concerned, it varied between extremely close to almost non-existent, with the standard of the officer's Pidgin invariably matching this rapport.

7.4.2.5.2. PRE-INDEPENDENCE EXPANSION

By 1964, tardy recognition that PIR was an embryonic national army, and the confrontation of Malaysia by Indonesia, resulted in a major expansion of the indigenous army in New Guinea (O'Neill 1971). This included, for the first time, raising of non-infantry specialist units, training of apprentice tradesmen and production of commissioned officers. These activities embraced a wide range of specialties, dental mechanics, fitters, plumbers and radio mechanics, to name but a few. With Papua New Guinea's crash-programme of civil education still in its infancy, these specialists, with the exception of the few officer trainees, had perforce to be produced from those with only primary education, but, by 1970, secondary qualifications had become the norm, and, except for specially-recruited tribal groups, are now usual even for riflemen. This sudden expansion resulted in mass training courses, initially in Australia, but the bulk are now conducted in-country, with only advanced specialist training courses outside Papua New Guinea. Ironically this upsurge in education was accompanied by an increase in expatriate staff whose motivation towards their duties was more technically than Niuginian-oriented.

This has resulted in what was a modest outstation of the Australian Army becoming a microcosm of the Australian Army itself - too much so many believe (Bell 1971a). As a result it is no longer valid to make generalisations as to Niuginian soldier's attitudes. As in any other military force the infantry, the specialists units and the officer cadre are tending to proceed on their separate institutional paths, with the resultant divergence of action, not the least of which could be that of language spoken.

7.4.2.5.3. OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS PIDGIN

Despite lip-service paid to the subject it is doubtful if the Australian Army even recognised that Pidgin was a language. This is hardly surprising when one reads a handbook, officially published for the Army in World War II which, in all seriousness, claimed that the Germans taught the New Guinean English words because of the indigenous difficulty in pronouncing German! (Helton 1940). In post-war years those Australians posted to New Guinea were exhorted in an official booklet to learn Pidgin and the subject ended there. In PIR itself Pidgin was the medium of instruction, Papuan recruits being required to acquire it quickly or not survive their initial training. Today opponents of Pidgin claim that 'many of their recruits have to be taught Pidgin' when, in fact, the proportion that had to be in the 1950s, when

fewer Papuans² knew the tongue, was ever higher. It must be remembered that the majority of basic recruit training was conducted by non-commissioned officers, usually indigenes.

Once trained the recruit went about his daily duties in a Pidgin-speaking environment, although much of the difficulties claimed to be found in giving him more advanced training must surely have been the communication gap. At least one Commanding Officer of the Regiment possessed insufficient Pidgin to translate an address by the then Governor-General of Australia, himself an ex-Ghurka officer of high renown. Another officer after eight years' total service in the country, had to have, in the very last trial he conducted, of a proficient English-speaker, interpreting assistance from the prosecutor who alone knew enough Pidgin to make the accused understand the proceedings.

Written instructions, for those who could read them, were in Pidgin, albeit of anglicised spelling, and such continued past the time of the initial influx of school-leavers. (At the time the first company of 100 men were completely literate, in 1965, the Regiment was still promoting its last illiterate sergeants.)

With the expansion in 1964, the official policy became one of promoting English. However, protracted resistance between officers who supported Pidgin and both those who genuinely believed in the promotion of English plus those too lazy to learn Pidgin, tended to confuse this policy in the eyes of the soldiery. Increased educational effort was made and, by 1967, more than half of the Army Educational Corps was stationed in New Guinea. The final result of their effort is obscure - as opinion on this subject is diametrically opposed, although it can be said that those officers who claim English fluency for their troops usually are those who cannot themselves speak Pidgin. One can only offer the opinion of the company commanders of the first two companies completely literate in English - that although written Pidgin was no longer necessary, provided instructions were written in simple English, their companies were totally incapable of functioning in spoken English.

English was made the medium of technical instruction, the students usually being the better-educated Niuginians and the instructors non-Pidgin-speaking expatriates. The despair of these instructors at the inexplicable performance failures of their charges certainly stems from the use of English, but this is not just an Army phenomenon in Papua New Guinea. However, an Army of 3,000-odd cannot hope to warrant translation of technical textbooks of Australian, British and American origin.

As nationalism finally started to rear its head, almost as those Europeans who wished it almost despaired of it coming, educated Niuginians, far from being ashamed of Pidgin, as many of their educators had led them to be, were adopting it as a form of national self-expression. Yet, as late as 1968, the Directorate of Military Training of the day in Canberra, rejected proposals for teaching Pidgin to Australian officers, on the grounds that English should be the medium of instruction. Ironically, it was the Directorate of Army Education, with a vested interest in the promotion of English, who finally wore down resistance, convinced the Australian Army that Pidgin was a language meriting serious study and, in 1973, probably 20 years too late, the Australian Army started to produce its first formally-trained Pidgin-speakers.

7.4.2.5.4. THE NIUGINIAN SOLDIERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS PIDGIN

No evidence seems available on the Papuan's enforced acquisition of Pidgin, but increasing educational standards, and consequent breaking down of tribal barriers (Bell 1967) has brought about a Papua New Guinean intermingling as yet resisting the strain of the Papua Besena Movement. Certainly Papuan² soldiers of different language groups will use Pidgin among themselves even when no New Guinean² is present. (The percentage of fluent Hiri Motu speakers is drastically dwindling, and those few Australians in the Army who wish to learn it often find it difficult to find subjects to practise upon.) The other main non-Pidgin-speaking group were the initial Highlanders, who enlisted in strength after 1957. These spoke little or no Pidgin but took to it willingly enough - in their case, of course, it was a prestige language.

With the accent on education in the expansion period, and the realisation that the products of the crash-education system would reap the benefits of higher training, English became, overnight, the prestige language. At this time, of course, soldiers could see primary-educated indigenes becoming teachers, nurses and public servants. Soldiers in PIR would attempt to initiate conversation, not only with Europeans, but among themselves, in English, usually to break back into Pidgin if emotion or hilarity prevailed. An accused soldier, on being tried, would be asked, by custom, if he wished his 'court' in Pidgin or English, and at this time many, if not most, would elect for English. But under the emotional stress of trial, one or two words of English would inevitably precede a torrent of Pidgin. (In some 200 cases I have personally never concluded a 'court' in English.) There were even cases of soldiers mutually agreeing to speak only English in their barrack

rooms, but, on their own admission, only to revert to Pidgin within a few days.

It must be remembered however that in some of the newly-raised non-infantry units, which initially had both a high proportion of white soldiers in addition to the better-educated Niuginian, use of English was more prevalent. Also, this overnight contact with the Australian private soldier, from whom the PIR soldier had been carefully shielded, produced a class of Europeans new to the average Niuginian - one on an equal social footing to himself. Later, inevitably, once the novelty of the Niuginian wore off among the Australians, and the inequities of pay and conditions became more obvious, this association waned, and with it, much of the desire for expression in English.

One cannot generalise, but the present attitude seems one where Pidgin is used between soldiers, but, where a soldier is fluent in English, Pidgin is only used to a European who is both trusted and known to be a real Pidgin-speaker. (Most Europeans delude themselves on this subject, including one officer whose shortcomings were discussed by two Highlanders, in his presence, without his awareness of his being the topic under debate!) The educated soldier tends to resent being addressed in Pidgin by a strange European, presumably on grounds that as a black man, he was automatically assumed to be uneducated. However the same man, when addressed by a trusted European in English is as often likely to reply in Pidgin. Any real Pidgin-speaker will encounter this phenomenon on the Gazelle Peninsula, despite the tourist literature which insists that the Tolai 'resents the use of Pidgin'.

It has long been a PIR custom to regard use of a local language, in the presence of men from other areas, as rudeness and the tendency was for even 'one-talks' to use Pidgin in a barrack-room. One suspects that tribal tensions arising from approaching independence has induced a reversion in this regard but even now overt use of a tribal language in public is probably still generally disapproved.

For the same reasons, use of English by well-educated soldiers, particularly if non-Pidgin-speakers initially, in front of the less well-educated tends to be resented. However, this resentment may merely be deliberately engendered by non-commissioned officers, whose age and lack of education make them unwilling to be outmanoeuvred by their better-educated juniors.

So far as written English is concerned, the Niuginian soldier is now an avid, if laborious, reader and in a country where a daily newspaper is prohibitively expensive, reads anything in print. How much is understood is debatable, but it is significant and understandable that English

texts, written by Pidgin-speaking instructors, achieve higher examination results with students under instruction, than literature originally intended for European consumption.

7.4.2.5.5. THE NIUGINIAN OFFICERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS PIDGIN

The initial production of local officers was a mere trickle (11 in the first seven years) so these, outnumbered in the Officers' Mess by Australians, had no option but to acquire an Australian cultural veneer, and it would be safe to presume that these more senior ranks virtually think in English as their first tongue and observe, to some extent, Australian rather than local values (Sundhaussen 1973).

Acceleration in officer production, which would have had to wait until the civil education programme started to produce large numbers of high school leavers, was commenced by the establishment of a Military Cadet School (MCS) at Lae. Starting in 1968 with a mixture of serving soldiers who had acquired further education in the Army, and a trickle of high school leavers, this school ran a 12 (later 18) month course to give the cadets a conceivable chance of successful completion of the Australian Officer Cadet School (OCS) course. However by 1971, sufficient form IV school leavers were enlisting in the Army to provide suitable material and the quality of the candidates greatly improved. Their preparatory course was entirely in English. Although Pidgin was not banned, the cadets were clearly told the chances of failure if their English was inadequate and they imposed their own voluntary ban on Pidgin. All staff members however, even down to the indigenous driver and storeman were obliged to address cadets in English, although they themselves invariably addressed the school commander in Pidgin, as their preferred tongue.

The result of the school was the attainment of real, as opposed to conceded, passes at the Australian course, which has finally led to the school's conversion to a full in-country commission-awarding officers' school.

However the interesting phenomenon of these later products whose basic education, military and civil, is ahead of their superiors, is a tendency towards a pride in Pidgin, without losing sight of the need for proficiency in English. At present they appear reluctant to speak Pidgin in the Mess in front of strange Europeans but alone many do not hesitate to speak it among themselves. Their general view is that the Army must operate in Pidgin, with technical advanced training being in English.

Yet another group exists, namely those commissioned from the ranks after a brief 'in-service' course. These have civil educations ranging from four years primary Pidgin to Australian Matriculation, their subsequent education being acquired in the Army. They certainly speak Pidgin when away from Europeans, and indeed when with those whom they know. Very recently at a gathering of Niuginian officers at Canberra, the senior officer present, who spoke nothing but Pidgin for three hours with his former Australian officers, concluded the reunion with an excellent vote of thanks - in English.

The overall impression gained of the officers' likely future attitude is a desire by the more senior to retain English, in order to dispel any impressions of professional inferiority to their Australian colleagues, but a different attitude from their younger, often better-educated juniors (for an example of changing values see Haurama 1971).

7.4.2.5.6. EFFECTIVENESS OF PIDGIN AS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

At the recruit level, two recent commanders of the Goldie River Training Depot agree that, given clear directions in simple English, present recruits, save some special enlistments from remote areas, could be successfully instructed in English from their day of arrival. In fact the major obstacle to this is the lack of non-commissioned officer-instructors able to teach in English. However neither commander would concede that the recruits should speak, or indeed would speak, English in their off-duty periods or day-to-day activities.

However, against their validly based claims, it can be stated that the recruits so far trained in English are no better trained than those instructed in Pidgin. In fact during 1970-71, the consistently best-trained platoon was that run by a Sepik sergeant who never completed primary school, understood English but could not speak it - and this in competition with platoons commanded by Australian officers. In fact, expansion has necessitated shortening of tours of duty of NCO instructors at the Depot and their quality is possibly lower than their less-educated and virtually illiterate predecessors. Apart from map-reading, in which lack of arithmetical education was the stumbling block, there was nothing in the standard Australian recruit military training syllabus that could not have been effectively delivered in Pidgin.

Once recruit training is concluded, the training of the riflemen can be completed in Pidgin. In fact the major portion of their training is collective tactical training in which quick unambiguous verbal contact is vital, rather than well thought out slow responses in what to them is still a difficult foreign language. However the training of

specialists presents a different story. Here it is necessary to use textbooks, wall charts, models, films and the audio-visual material needed to impart technical knowledge and it is neither feasible nor justifiable to produce them in Pidgin for such a small force. Even the British Indian Army, with its emphasis on regional vernaculars, was forced to impose a lingua franca, Roman Urdu, foreign to many of their men, in order to train specialists. An additional problem in Papua New Guinea is the present and likely future dependence on Australian technical instructors. If the South Vietnamese Army, with its million men, had to teach many of its specialists English before they could commence their training, it was inconceivable that Papua New Guinea could avoid also so doing.

It must not be forgotten however that the very earliest specialists trained in the old PIR were not trained in English. The first bandsmen read music before they read English. The first signallers learned Morse Code, and learned it well, without very much understanding of what they wrote down on a message pad. Indeed many 'old hand' Australian officers bitterly complain that more mistakes are made now that the signallers think they know what the message means! Yet the training of these men was unrealistically laborious, long, and largely rote-taught expertise incapable of permitting initiative.

Consistently, Niuginians who performed brilliantly at the Military Cadet School (MCS) in Papua New Guinea, entirely instructed in English, have done poorly at OCS in Australia. One group at MCS were given, as their Military Law examination, the Australian Captains' paper of that year, and scored creditable results. The same group went on to two thirds failure at their far more elementary Military Law studies in Australia. The answer is that at MCS they were grouped together and instructed by officers who had only Melanesians to teach and who avoided the pitfalls of television-acquired jargon, colloquial slang, the double negative and the leading question which are the downfall of the newly-arrived Niuginian at any Australian teaching institution. The top cadet of the 1970 class of MCS wrote back to say that 'after three months in Australia they understood barely half of what the instructors said and absolutely nothing of what the Australians were saying to each other'. His successor the following year, who had the added advantage of two years' trade training in Australia, prior to MCS entry, wrote 'only the fact that we had already at Lae covered the first three months of the OCS course enabled us to survive'. They, at least, after 13 years' tuition in the English language, found it no easy road to success.

Now that the officer training is divorced from the Australian environment there is no reason why it should not be effectively conducted in English, but it will be a Niuginian English. The newly-arrived Australian instructor will have to adjust to his class rather than the Niuginian cadet having to adjust to the Australian idiom, as before. And while the English will be different, it will leave the Niuginian, if he is adequately educated, at no greater disadvantage in post-graduate overseas training, than that of any other British Commonwealth Asian officer attending the same course.

7.4.2.5.7. EFFECTIVENESS OF PIDGIN AS THE LANGUAGE OF DAILY OPERATION

Here the necessity of Pidgin becomes very apparent. The same excellent English-speaker who reverts to Pidgin under the stress of a 'court' trial is even more likely to do so if he is being shot at - unless of course he reverts to his own 'place-talk'. At one stage the Army curtailed parachute-jump training of Niuginians in Australia, because of near-fatal mishaps owing to misunderstood commands. Yet no man was sent to such training unless he spoke good English. But 'good English' does not replace one's colloquial tongue in emergency situations.

This does not just only apply to the ordinary soldier. Captain X, a most capable officer, had spent two years training as an apprentice in Australia, followed by several years in a mechanical workshop where Niuginians were outnumbered by Australian craftsmen. He completed an officers' school in Australia at which he was one of the outstanding cadets at public speaking, against Australian and New Zealand competition. He thus can reasonably be expected to have a good grip of colloquial Australian. Yet one day, when preparing for a patrol to commence on a Saturday, his Company Commander said 'X, your aircraft has been brought forward a day'. On Friday the Company Commander arrived to find X not dressed for patrol. On enquiring why, the answer he received was 'but Sir, you brought the patrol forward a day - we are going on Sunday'. His understanding of a simple direction in English was the complete reverse of his commander's, and this in a non-stress situation. Had the order been passed in Pidgin (in which the commander was unusually proficient for an Australian) the misunderstanding would never have arisen. 'Balus bilong yupela i makim i kambek wanpela de' would have left no doubt that the aircraft was leaving on Friday.

It has long been impossible to convince most Australians of the inadequacy of English in a New Guinean emergency. Critics will say 'but if I say - Corporal, put the gun down there, clean it and bring it back in two hours' time - surely there cannot be any mistake about

that'. One would hardly argue with the critic. But one does not fight wars in such a leisurely manner. How does one shout, running past at the double in conditions of noise, fear and fatigue 'Corporal, take your machine gun to the top of the bushy-topped knoll over yonder and give covering fire until you see us reach the enemy's barbed wire' and expect it to sink home. Of course, the critic can say that Pidgin, no more than English, is usually not the Corporal's native tongue, but the vital point is that its grammar and concepts accord with New Guinean culture and languages, and that English does not, any more than Latin accorded with those of most Australians' Teutonic or Celtic ancestors.

It had long been a proud claim of a certain Papua New Guinea teacher training college that its student teachers 'didn't speak Pidgin'. Yet when a visiting lecturer concluded a talk he was congratulated on being the first visiting speaker that was fully understood throughout the whole of his talk. He was also the first visiting lecturer who was also a Pidgin-speaker. And after the talk, when a film was screened, the comments made in the dark, made by the teachers who 'didn't speak Pidgin' were most certainly not in English. The point is, that even in the non-emergency situation, English will only work if it is used in a form suitable to the Niuginian idiom, and this implies prior knowledge of a Melanesian tongue by all speakers involved.

7.4.2.5.8. MILITARY PIDGIN

Army Pidgin appears to fall into the following categories:

- a) Niuginian to Australian
- b) Niuginian to 'one-talk'
- c) Niuginian to a non-'one-talk'
- d) Niuginian 'slang', 'tok bokis' and 'tok hait'.

In all fairness to the Australian, his inability to attain high proficiency in Pidgin, is often encouraged by the brand of Pidgin used to him, by his men. An officer will attain a certain standard, and stop at that point. This is because his men, once they know him, lower their standard of Pidgin to make themselves understood and thus perpetuate the officer's often glaring errors. This is doubtless the reason why few 'Pidgin-speaking' Australians can overhear and understand Pidgin as spoken between Niuginians. In fact, errors made by individuals may become famous throughout the unit and in some case the officer's nickname (and they all have them) may be the particular word. 'Klostu' was an officer who never did realise that 'nearly' didn't mean quite the same thing as 'nearby'. And soldiers long ago gave up wondering why when an officer tells 'us' to gather he says 'they come', i.e. ol i kam - so

much so that one suspects even some indigenous initiates to Pidgin believe it to mean just that. Almost no European uses the word *laka* (i.e. 'true?', 'get it?', etc.) at the end of a sentence, and their men, even the islanders who use it constantly, will rarely use it themselves when speaking to a European.

Speaking to his 'one-talks', or men from a nearby general area, e.g. islanders together, the speaker uses the brand of Pidgin appropriate to his own area - the clear diction of the Madang/Morobe Pidgin, the machine-gun chatter interlarded with Kuanua of the islanders and the hand-hewn Highland variety. Speaking to men from other areas however a 'common denominator' Army Pidgin takes over.

Army Pidgin is heavily loaded with military terminology. This has in some cases displaced an original Pidgin word. It is a long time since a soldier put on his *braspen*, but he knows what a *pak* (i.e. 'pack or haversack') is. The rifleman no longer load the policeman's *katres* ('cartridge') but the soldiers' *rauns* ('rounds'). After six months of recruit training the soldier knows his 'right' and 'left' from his *hansiut* and *hankais*. Loanwords are borrowed from English, as with any language faced with describing a new phenomenon, but they do not necessarily mean the same as they did in English. *Risapli* (i.e. 'to resupply') meant to replace something already used but to the Niuginian soldier the initial issue may also be a *risapli*. New objects, if their English name is not soon explained, have their own Pidgin definition applied. The Bell-47 helicopter, with its open girder tail, soon became a *bun nating* ('skeleton') and the Lockheed Hercules could hardly have avoided the bestowal of *bikbel* (i.e. 'huge belly'). The red epaulettes of PIR, not worn by the Australian Army, are known as *brigadias* (i.e. 'brigadiers') presumably derived from the red hat band worn by Australia's senior officers, of which a brigadier is the most senior likely to be seen by the average Niuginian.

But even when a name is coined, and the original source of the name is discarded, the term is applied to its successor. The old 1937 pattern webbing equipment, quite unknown to most present-day riflemen, had two very large ammunition pouches in the front of the chest. Not surprisingly they became *susu* (i.e. 'breasts'). Today there is a set of small pouches low down on the waist, and although even the unsophisticated would recognise them as 'pouches, ammunition, 1956 pattern' he still calls them *susus*.

Loanwords may not necessarily be English derived. With most of the Army stationed at Port Moresby it is not surprising that the Motu *magani* has displaced *sikau* as the word for 'wallaby' - the local animal

(*Wallabia agilis*) being more edible, larger, numerous and, more noticeable in the savanna than the smaller species found elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. Thanks to Australian-oriented school education a soldier will describe a kingfisher as a kukabara. It is a long way from a stunned officer interpreter, on hearing the Governor-General's admonition to '*fight like lions*', telling the parade to '*fait sitrong olsem draipela pusi bilong Afrika!*'.

If this barrack room Pidgin mystifies the civilian, the reverse in other fields can do the opposite. In 1971 an officer cadet queried his instructors about the use, in the ABC Pidgin news, of a strange word called stapim. The announcer went on talking of 'Mr Hay em i stapim this, Mr Hay em i stapim that' and so on. What, said the cadet, was this mysterious word? It was the use of '*to stop*' as '*to prevent*' whatever it was that His Honour the Administrator was putting paid to. But not even a sophisticate (and that cadet was one indeed, since having become an aide-de-camp to the Queen) would use other than pasim as '*to prevent*'. On a later visit to the ABC News room the cadets saw the Pidgin news being diligently prepared - by a Papuan.²

So far as the specialist soldier is concerned, his adaptation of technology to Pidgin will increase proportionately to the disappearance of Europeans. The only real technicians in Niuginian society, in the early part of the century, were bosuns and captains of schooners, men of considerable ability; and the one technical field which is not lacking Pidgin terminology is that of boat handling. Conversely, Pidgin has few words to describe animal life, as befitting detribalised, i.e. non-hunting and gathering, communities. Such words are left to the vernaculars, depending on the tribal mode of life, ranging from that of the Oriomo people, described by Williams (1936) as '*truly indifferent hunters*' to those of the Fore whose precise zoological nomenclature exceeds that of European vernaculars (Diamond 1966). The plumber or draughtsman of the Army will borrow his technical terminology, from English (and, who knows, in the future, Japanese?) adapt it to local circumstances and use it, usually with different meanings to the original, and long after the term has died from the source language. And if the NCOs stop concentrating on their English, when talking on the radio, at the expense of their signals procedures, and speak whatever '*comes naturally*', the maddening ambiguities of Niuginian radio communication in the field may hopefully disappear.

So far as expressing oneself to convey a technical term, far from resorting to English, the reverse seems the case. The classic was the fluent English-speaking seaman, on a ship whose commander claimed

complete operation in English, who was trying to explain a shipboard device to an equally fluent Army officer cadet. All went well until the explanation became increasingly technical so the seaman triumphantly came out with 'As bilong wokim dispela samting ol i kolim CENTRIFUGAL FORCE na dispeia CENTRIFUGAL FORCE em i PRESSURIM i go aratsait!' (Bell 1971b).

7.4.2.5.9. PIDGIN SLANG

I am not able to discern the fine distinctions between tokbokis and tokhait, but the use of one or the other is quite usual if an inter-loper, be he European or indigene, intrudes upon a conversation not meant for general consumption. Few Europeans would recognise it and it is doubtful if soldiers would bother to use it in front of them unless they knew them to be one of the really proficient Pidgin-speaking minority. But it is commonly used, and indigenous informants confirm the fact.

Use of English swearing was virtually unknown until about five years ago and one gathers that it was acquired from sudden increased contact with Australians. In many cases now it is a deliberately invoked appearance of sophistication, in others it seems to have become incorporated into the vocabulary. Its future remains obscure as many soldiers disapprove of it. The Niuginian officers, in particular, seem strongly divided on the subject.

As in any language slang expressions are constantly adopted, and possibly just as quickly discarded. Some may have become enshrined in the language and spread to the civil community but only detailed study would confirm this. To tokhamarim is '*to needle someone beyond his patience*'. To siutim graun (i.e. literally '*shoot into the ground*') was to '*beat one's head against a brick wall*'. Anything sainbaga was particularly fine or beautiful, from a pretty girl to a bird of paradise. Slovenly drill at the Training Depot was once described as pislama - '*the seaslug*', a particularly sloppy-looking creature. In fact the connotation implies, one suspects, original application of the term by a European instructor and its subsequent incorporation into military folk-lore. A PIR sergeant would more likely tell the slovenly squad that their drill was olsem Mari baraks (i.e. '*the same as Murray Barracks*') in rather unfair derisory reference to the specialist units more noted for technical proficiency than parade-ground smartness.

7.4.2.5.10. MILITARY DEPENDANTS

Each Army barracks in Papua New Guinea with the possible exception of Murray Barracks, where the specialists' units are concentrated, are very much their own self-contained communities. With solely military families resident, their own schools, shops and places of recreation, and isolation out of town, they are very distinct entities emphasised as such by the lavish scale of public works financed by Australian Defence funding (Mediansky 1970). Exercise of military disciplinary powers and the institution of married quarters 'councils' also aids this distinctness by keeping at bay the residents' kinsmen. These would descend upon the military communities had the residents no convenient masters on whom to blame (often with sheer relief) their inability to provide traditional hospitality.

The result has been a tendency to throw the community upon itself as an up and coming tribe of its own. Families are deliberately allocated homes that prevent aggregations of one tribal group. The fathers work in the various sub-units and thus develop a company loyalty in competition with their tribal one. The wives, if their husband has attained rank, find the hierarchical Army system in opposition to their possibly preferred association with those wives of their own tribal group but who are married to a more junior rank. The children, for their part, rush headlong into a 'military' tribal group and the two-yearly leave back to the tribal lands, presuming the family ever goes there, is usually insufficient to impose itself upon the new culture of the barracks-born.

Previously the corporate spirit had manifested itself in many ways. The older New Guinean² wives spoke fluent Hiri Motu and the (then) Papuan² majority just as often spoke Pidgin. Wives of small minority groups, with few or no 'one-talks' present sought friendships with other wives similarly placed - a friendship between the one Buka wife and the one Telefomin wife being a typical such unlikely combination. (It was and is, a common European concept to regard all people from one Province to be 'one-talks' when often the crazy boundaries of some long-dead Australian or German surveyor threw together what were in fact traditional enemies.) Married quarters 'council' elections proved completely free of tribal, regional or religious bias. To the Army this integration was a healthy sign although outsiders long have justifiably seen sinister implications in it (Heatu 1967).

There has been, in recent times, a regression in the pattern. Unfortunately, their enlistment at one point of time, led to an overnight Highlander influx into the community. Arriving en masse (it

coincided with a massive home-building project completion), uniformly illiterate and rarely Pidgin-speaking, often with quite old children (many, one suspects, hastily 'adopted' before the move) and coming from ethnic groups large enough to maintain a tribal or clan structure in the civilian shanty settlements of the towns, they clearly presented an alien, large and thus, threatening appearance. Even those soldiers whose military relationships with Highlanders are excellent, openly express their reservations at the Highland 'invasion'. In conjunction with this, the build-up of other ethnic groupings in the towns, are, reinforced by pre-Independence anxieties, re-asserting tribal influence over the Army married communities. The prodigious production of barracks-born children is leading to the day when universal education for the Army children will no longer be a right, thus weakening the unifying influence of the 'Army' school. Add to this the position of indigenous commanders who may be less able than Australians to take a stern line against tribalism, particularly if they themselves succumb to 'one-talk' pressure, and the ingredients for fragmentation are present.

As yet, however, it is safe to say that the Army community provides a test case for the creolisation of Pidgin. The children are often trilingual, but seem to speak Pidgin among themselves, and, in many cases, do not know their parents' vernacular. Tribal intermarriage appears to be growing. In fact, of the older marriages, supposedly between 'one-talks', a high proportion involve one partner who is the product of a 'mixed' policeman's marriage, was brought up in the mother's area, and has little connection to the father's 'line' to which he or she is claimed to belong.

This creolised Pidgin tends to be of the Army variety as, particularly with the infantry units, the family identifies with the Regiment and often knows as much of military lore as the father. Not for nothing did a wife, witness at a hearing, when asked how she identified an intruder as being in an out of bounds area unhesitatingly replied 'em i putim resas, bainit, na brigadias bilong duti saden, na duti saden em i mas stap long hetkwata' (literally '*he wore the red sash, bayonet and epaulettes of the duty sergeant, who is supposed to remain at the headquarters*').

7.4.2.5.11. THE FUTURE

It seems possible that the linguistic future of the Papua New Guinea forces will be an amalgam of those in other ex-colonial territories. Despite a development of pride in Pidgin as a national language it is probable that the increasing educational standards of officer-material

offering will result in the officers' mess using English - albeit of their own style, much as does a Nigerian Army Mess (Luckham 1971). The Sergeants' Mess will probably be voluntary Pidgin-speakers to a man as will be the troops. The Army will operate on Pidgin, including the specialists units who will develop technical jargon to fit their requirements once the Australian technical element disappears.

Formal technical training and higher education will be continued in English and, presumably, English will continue to be taught to serving soldiers, on a lesser scale than the present expensive Australian efforts. However even this English will be different. In a few years the people teaching it will be all indigenous and a generation after them will be indigenes taught English by other indigenes.

As to the efficacy of using Pidgin as the language of operation it is incredible that serious debate should even exist on the subject. 30 years ago a Niuginian force, as large as the present one, operated most effectively with absolutely no recourse to English. And if one argues that the new force is more complex, as one concedes it is, than that of the war-time infantry units, then the British operated whole divisions of East Africans in World War II using Swahili as their (foreign in most cases) lingua franca. The Shah of Persia has acquired 800 of the world's most complex tanks but one imagines that his Army will not have to learn English in order to use them, and Persian, whatever its splendid literary and cultural merits, is hardly a language of 20th Century technology.

The theme, throughout the whole history of the Papua New Guinea forces, has been the inability of Australians, despite their British military traditions, to realise a truth long evident to the British (Creagh 1923:222). That is, it is easier to teach officers the troops' language, than to teach the troops that of the officers. Gurka regiments in the British Army still operate on Gurkhali, and even often the dialect of their particular regiment's area of recruitment. For those Gurkhas who had to be given higher education, language training was, of course, necessary (Masters 1956). One could hardly suggest that military standards higher than that of the Gurkhas is either needed, or even attainable, by the modest forces to be maintained by Papua New Guinea. After all, General Nogi, the conqueror of Port Arthur in 1904, started his career in the Japanese Army in the days when it used bows and arrows.

N O T E S

1. Note that this chapter was written in 1974; however, despite some changes, such as the departure of all the Australian education officers, save those at the Officers' School, the prophecies have proved surprisingly accurate.
2. Although much of the earlier information is based on this reference I have relied more on indigenous informants as sources. They display a consistency in their data which sharply contrasts the almost diametrically-opposed views of European sources.
3. Editor's Note: The terms 'Papuan' and 'New Guinean' are to be understood as respectively referring to inhabitants of the former Territories of Papua and New Guinea. Many 'Papuan', so defined, are speakers of Austronesian languages, whereas others speak Papuan, i.e. non-Austronesian languages. Conversely, the bulk of 'New Guineans' are speakers of Papuan, i.e. non-Austronesian languages, and a small minority Austronesian languages. For a discussion of the distribution of Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) and Austronesian languages in the New Guinea area see (I) 1.0.

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7.4.2.5. PIDGIN TEACHING: PIDGIN AND THE ARMY

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7.4.2.6. PIDGIN SCHOOLS IN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS: A REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE OR AN HISTORICAL ABERRATION

Calvin Zinkel

7.4.2.6.1. INTRODUCTION

Papua New Guinea has joined the ranks of an unfortunate group of independent nations who belong to what is commonly labelled as Third World Nations. This unique group of nations initially became acquainted with the necessities and luxuries of affluent Western Civilisation by observing their colonial masters. Of course, only a few native inhabitants attained what their masters expected as rights. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the population yearned for at least as much affluence as their colonial masters enjoyed.

For many people in these Third World Nations, education appeared to be the key to the necessities and luxuries of the affluent West. (They can be forgiven for this, because their colonial experts also believed in the myth.) These Third World Nations allocated vast sums each year in annual budgets for Western-oriented schools; many still do today.

Educational empires seem to operate too efficiently in churning out educated and semi-educated young people, but it does not appear to educate them for the society in which these youngsters must live. Drop-outs, Pushouts, School Leavers are but a few of the names attached to these former students. They walk the streets in towns and cities seeking white-collar employment due to their newly attained status, and they haunt the villages at home reluctant to return to the soil. Their education was not the key to the cargo of the West. Rather it was a key which alienated them from their own society - a costly key - for it has created a youthful cadre of malcontents.

Papua New Guinea has followed a similar pattern. Sections of the *Five Year Education Plan for 1975-80* (Department of Education 1975) refer to the dilemma of overproducing academically-oriented students in an economy that is basically rural and subsistent. A single quotation is presented as an illustration; however, the authors of the *Five Year Education Plan* were well aware of the problem.

On the manpower side, the massive but unevenly distributed increase in secondary outputs, together with the shrinking of wage-earning opportunities for primary leavers, has stimulated an enormous public demand for further secondary expansion. And yet the very rate of expansion has also led, in a few short years, to the prospect of hundreds of Form IV leavers being unable to find the further education or employment that they and their parents expected to follow more or less automatically from their post-primary education: in 1964 only 66 Papua New Guinean students completed a full secondary schooling; in 1974 the number was 5141. Attempts to respond to the clamour for new high school places, outstripping the country's actual needs for Form IV leavers, led to the division of the four years into two cycles of two years each, with only three of every five students continuing from the first cycle to the second. But still the demand for high school education is unabated, and a further consequence is the strong tendency for post-primary institutions other than high schools to be regarded merely as high school substitutes, so that many students in technical colleges, vocational centres and (most recently) in Skulanka seek from their learning experience a future for which those institutions are not designed to prepare them. This tendency, it must be said, has been condoned to the extent that Government has expanded those institutions also beyond the known requirements for manpower in the areas of the economy which they are designed to service: vocational centre enrolments increased at a rate of 21 per cent annually under the 1968-69 to 1972-73 Development Programme; technical college enrolments rose by 94 per cent from 1203 in 1968 to 2334 in 1972.

It is clear, then, that there has been over-expansion and some degree of distortion in the post-primary sector. It has to be accepted that this sector is a difficult one in which to effect reform over a short period. As well as there being severe constraints on curriculum modification, output levels are set by existing buildings and by enrolment patterns that are now well established. The system of two cycles of two years in the high schools, with a given wastage after Form II, cannot readily be abandoned, although it is now apparent that openings for Form II leavers, far from widening with the growth of their numbers, are being rapidly closed - partly as a direct consequence of the even greater growth in the number of Form IV leavers.
(Department of Education 1975:30-1)

This writer's task is not to write a history of Papua New Guinea education, but rather to resurrect a friendly ghost of the past - Pidgin schools as an alternative to western-oriented schools. He does this fully aware that the suggestion is unpalatable to many Papua New Guineans. Yet, sometimes, good medicine has an unpleasant taste; fortunately the taste soon disappears and the patient recovers.

Alternatives must be examined. The Five Year Education Plan for 1975 to 1980 is quite ambitious, yet Mr Alkan Tololo in his introductory comments to the plan warned that funds were to be restricted for 1976 and that revisions to educational targets would be necessary (Department of Education 1975:11). Thus, at the very moment of publication, financial constraints were developing. Social and educational constraints were also on the horizon which might impede the progress of this ambitious plan (Dutton 1976).

I will outline two types of Pidgin teacher training schools existing in the Papua New Guinea Highlands, give readers some idea of the costs, and comment briefly on the social and educational relevance of these programmes for Papua New Guinea as it approaches the year 2000.

In the Highlands of Papua New Guinea several religious organisations are attempting to provide a practical form of education for some youngsters who are not able to enter the primary school system. The language of instruction is not English but Melanesian Pidgin.

7.4.2.6.2. VERNACULAR PRIMARY SCHOOLS - EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

One of the largest projects in operation at the present moment is that of the Tok Ples Skul (vernacular or Pidgin school) supported by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (ELC-PNG, formerly ELCONG). This village-type school does give some religious instruction; but the major part of instruction is designed to develop basic literacy, basic numeracy, fundamentals of science, social studies, health and hygiene, and traditional arts and crafts. Instruction is initially in the vernacular, but most of the instruction is in Melanesian Pidgin.

Most of the schools are one-teacher schools. Schools are usually made of bush materials constructed by villagers. The teachers' houses, too, are of native materials. The teacher normally enrolls a class the first year he arrives and then teaches them through to class four before enrolling a new intake in class one once again. Thus, he is only teaching one class rather than a mixed group of four classes, and he enrolls pupils every three or four years rather than every year. It is reported that villagers accept this arrangement - perhaps because they know no other system or perhaps their philosophy is 'something is better than nothing'.

The new village school teacher has received two years of post-secondary teacher-training at either Rintebe in the Eastern Highlands Province or Heldsbach in the Morobe Province. The training is in Melanesian Pidgin at these centres and consists mainly of reviewing the

materials that are to be taught. At Heldsbach the Kâte language is also used as a medium of instruction. Currently teaching materials for classes 1-6 have been completed and are now being used in the training programme.

One unique aspect of an ELC-PNG village school is that the teacher receives no fixed salary from the church. The villagers in his area voluntarily contribute to his salary. Salaries range from \$10 to \$60 per year. The church encourages the villagers to help the teacher work his garden, provide for his housing, and pay a minimum salary of \$30 per year; but this is not mandatory. Thus where no help is received, the teacher must grow his own food in order to survive. Truly this becomes a labour of love.

The cost of training one teacher for one year at Rintebe or Heldsbach is difficult to ascertain due to the nature of church and mission budgets but a fairly reliable estimate by Lutheran Mission education officers suggests it cost between \$150 and \$300 per year to train one prospective teacher.

The cost of teaching one pupil in a village school per year is also difficult to identify. Pupils are required to purchase school materials. This is not exorbitant - perhaps \$1 a year per pupil. School fees also average about \$1 a year per pupil. The mission gives a subsidy of approximately \$1 per year per pupil. Thus the cost of training one pupil per year in a village school is approximately \$3. There are no expatriates involved in village schools at this moment, and only a few expatriates are involved in the teacher-training programme.¹

District vernacular schools (similar to secondary schools) are able to train students at a cost of \$50 to \$55 per student per year.

Figures for schools operated by the Lutheran Mission (ELC-PNG) are listed in the following table.

PIDGIN SCHOOLS - ELC-PNG¹

Year	Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Teacher Trainee Graduates
1964	274	292	8,206	84
1965	295	311	8,950	103
1966	481	501	14,487	117
1967	631	685	19,572	113
1968	609	662	19,355	61
1969	601	648	15,250	107
1970	590	617	16,300	28
1971	-	-	-	79
1972	-	-	16,634	62
1973	551	559	16,264	145

The vast majority of the pupils (85.8%) are in village schools (classes 1-4). Circuit schools (classes 5-6) have 8.9% of the pupils. The remaining 5.3% are enrolled in district schools (classes 7-10).

7.4.2.6.3. VILLAGE BIBLE SCHOOLS - ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

The Roman Catholic Missions of Papua New Guinea operate village schools similar to the Lutherans. In fact, materials developed by the Lutheran teacher training schools are being used in some Catholic village schools. The training programme and the village schools use Melanesian Pidgin as the language of instruction.

Unlike the Lutheran village school teacher, his Catholic counterpart receives a salary from the mission. This salary ranges from approximately \$100 per year for new teachers to \$240 per year for more experienced teachers. Villagers are requested to provide food for the teachers and their families. The mission also supplies limited teaching aids (valuing approximately \$40) and constructs a house for the teacher. A mission construction team has been organised to build these low-cost homes.²

The Catholic village school is similar to the Lutheran school. It is constructed of bush materials and is usually a one-room school. The cost of educating a child in one of these schools is approximately two to three dollars per year.

A Catholic catechist training centre is located in Erave, in the Southern Highlands Province. It began its first course in 1969 and had its first graduation of trainees in 1972. It has a programme very similar academically to that given at Rintebe. The training is conducted in Pidgin. Materials are on the whole quite simple, but over the years much work has been done by the various staff members to compose and translate basic texts used at the centre in Pidgin as often these are only available in English. One difference at Erave is that they take the man's entire family into the training programme. The centre can accept 42 families. Thus, there is no family separation as the husband and/or father receives further education, during the three-year programme. The wife of the Catechist becomes literate in Pidgin, learns child care, health and hygiene, nutrition, and more scientific gardening methods. Thus the wife is educated to a level comparable to her husband. The training centre also emphasises self-supporting agricultural projects. It costs approximately \$100 a year for the education of each adult (both husbands and wives) attending the Erave centre.²

7.4.2.6.4. ASSESSMENT OF MELANESIAN PIDGIN SCHOOLS

There are three serious problems which confront village schools. First, the level of instruction in the village school is not high. Some of these pupils eventually enter the teacher training schools. Their previous learning experience influences the level of their own learning during teacher training. If you select mediocre persons to become teacher trainees and these eventually join the ranks as mediocre teachers, you perpetuate mediocrity. However, each year an attempt is made to increase entry standards. Today many entrants to the teacher training programme have several years of secondary education.

The second problem is financial. Little money is invested in these schools, thus the investment return in levels of educational attainment is not high.

The third problem is related to the primary purpose of the village school. Some suggest it should be religious. Others suggest the emphasis should be placed on the educational part of the curriculum.

However, when one visits Pidgin training schools, one is immediately impressed by the students' abilities in Pidgin. They speak, read and write with clarity and understanding that is rarely evidenced in students who have had twice the number of years of education - but in English-medium schools. Linguists who are familiar with Melanesian Pidgin report that an adult can become literate in Pidgin in one year. Proponents of English can make no similar claim.

7.4.2.6.5. IMPLICATIONS FOR PAPUA NEW GUINEA IN THE 1980s

Papua New Guinea is vitally involved in development - a development which spans the Stone and Space Ages. This type of rapid change is not easy in any society. Much pressure is placed upon educational systems to ease tensions accompanying rapid development and actually assist in the development process. Education is expected not only to be an agent of social change but it is to be an agent of rapid economic development. Neither is possible for education alone. Education must be considered as an integral part of the total development process.

Due to the fact that Papua New Guinea has limited resources, it must insist that resources be used properly. Education cannot be in isolation from the newly emerging society of Papua New Guinea. Therefore, education must be completely relevant to the society it serves. For example, primary schools tend to be preparatory institutions training pupils for secondary schools. Yet some young people never enter a primary school; and of those who do, the majority may never complete

secondary. Thus, primary school should, of necessity, be complete in itself. It should be a preparation for life and not a preparation for secondary schools.

Primary schools must also assist the nation's youth to live in their own society in their own times. It must not alienate youth from their own people and their own culture. This does not imply that primary education should be designed to restrict pupils to a subsistence, stone-age existence. On the contrary it must recognise reality. Most of the people in Papua New Guinea will remain on the soil. The nation will remain agricultural for many many decades. The primary school should not encourage unattainable aspirations. Rather the system should encourage a reasonable attainment of a better life on the soil. The system should encourage the development of modern yet realistic methods, techniques, skills and knowledge which will enable the youth to enjoy a moderately better form of life than did his parents. Or if one wishes to use the term 'affluent' subsistence farming, it may be equally appropriate, descriptive terminology.

The schools should provide basic permanent literacy, basic numeracy, basic health and hygiene, basic science, basic social studies, and basic traditional and cultural studies. When a person emerges from primary school, he should have acquired the above; and with some occasional use, he should be able to retain basic literacy, skills, knowledge and attitudes during his entire adult life.

These primary schools need to be 'community learning centres' rather than schools for primary-aged children. They should provide facilities for the adults to acquire basic literacy, skills, knowledge and attitudes similar to those acquired by the youth. In addition to serving the community as a learning centre, the centre would need to be self-supporting or community supported. Papua New Guinea's central government could not possibly support financially all such schools or centres.

If one accepts the preceding paragraphs as basic premises upon which one builds an educational system, one could conclude that the village schools using Melanesian Pidgin as the language of instruction is a possible approach to resolving this aspect of the development dilemma.

Pupils and adults can gain relatively permanent literacy in Pidgin. Also other basic skills, knowledge and attitudes acquired in Pidgin-medium schools would be relatively permanent acquisitions. The agricultural component which encourages a realistically obtainable level of farming and self-supporting operations assuredly is relevant to Papua New Guinea in the 1980s.

Melanesian Pidgin may become the communication vehicle which will enable 700 or more language groups to communicate and interact effectively. It may eliminate the communication barrier which now exists in Papua New Guinea.

Pidgin will not become a modern technical language tomorrow, but neither will Papua New Guinea become a modern technical nation tomorrow. But the people do need a common language for national unity and national understanding. They need an educational system that is relevant for their todays and tomorrows.

Melanesian Pidgin is the language that is the best choice for today. Pidgin schools such as those described in this chapter are the best choice for today.

7.4.2.6. PIDGIN SCHOOLS IN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS

N O T E S

1. Estimates and statistics from ELC-PNG were collected by personal interviews and private correspondence during 1971, 1973 and 1976. Individuals contacted were Rev. H. Hage, Rev. C.S. Rohrlach, Mr E. Gware, and Mr D. Osmers, all of ELC-PNG.

2. Estimates and statistics from Roman Catholic Missions were collected by personal interviews and private correspondence during 1971, 1973 and 1976. Individuals contacted were Bishop J. Cohill, Fr J. Steirer, Fr A. Bulla, Fr R. Caesar, all S.V.D. missionaries in Papua New Guinea, and Fr D. Jones, Capuchin Mission, Erave.

(N.B. It is well to remember that most statistics in Papua New Guinea are more estimates than actual facts. Transportation and communication are but two handicaps which impede proper collection of data. Estimates and statistics indicate trends rather than absolutes. The writer remains deeply in debt to all who assisted him in preparing this chapter.)

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(N.B. The above are introductions to the question of language and literacy. Most have useful bibliographies included.)

7.4.2.7. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TEACHING: TRAINING OF MEDICAL STAFF IN PIDGIN

L.R. Healey

7.4.2.7.1. INTRODUCTION

The island of New Guinea, by the turn of the century, was partitioned between three countries. All the island to the west of the 141° meridian was under Dutch administration. To the east of the 141° meridian a common border between German New Guinea to the north and British New Guinea to the south was determined. At the level of the eighth parallel, the border travelled west to the 147° meridian, north-west to the 144° meridian and west of north-west to the Dutch border. From 1884, British New Guinea (the south-eastern part of the island) was administered as a protectorate by Britain. In 1906 it was renamed Papua and placed under Australian control.

The German government administered the north-eastern part from 1883 until 1914 when it was captured by the Australian army and administered as New Guinea, a League of Nations Mandate.

New Guinea and Papua were united into one administrative unit by the 'Papua and New Guinea Provisional Administration Act 1945-46', an Australian item of legislation, achieved Self Government as Papua New Guinea in 1973, and Independence in 1975.

Tok Pisin is the lingua franca of New Guinea and in what follows the distinction between the north and south will be maintained by referring to the north as 'New Guinea' and the south as 'Papua' and the whole as 'Papua New Guinea'.

From about 1903 onwards, the Germans being concerned about the annual population decline, trained what they designated as 'Heil Tultuls', to assist their health services. Heil Tultuls were trained for three months and then placed in their villages to treat wounds and slight illnesses

and report serious illnesses to the authorities. From 1913 onwards, the training of female heil tultuls was undertaken to 'promote the health of nursing mothers and babies...' (Bell 1973:437). The takeover of German New Guinea by the Australian Military Government reduced the efficiency of the health services largely because the first military administrator, Colonel W. Holmes, was not permitted to retain the German medical staff which consisted of 12 medical officers and there were insufficient numbers of experienced Australian health staff to maintain the services already operating. Training of indigenous health workers as a result stood still and it wasn't until 1922 that the training of 'medical tultuls' (the Australian equivalent of the heil tultul) was re-introduced (Bell 1973:438).

In 1921-22, there were eight hospitals operating (New Guinea Report 1922-23). This number by 1928-29 had increased to a total of 15 administration hospitals, eight in the charge of a medical practitioner (five of these had facilities for the treatment of European patients), and seven for native patients in the charge of a European medical assistant.

Health institutions by 1973 in New Guinea, both government, local government council and mission, totalled 24 hospitals and 123 health centres supported by 1,177 village aid posts (Bell 1973:523). These institutions in 1973 employed an estimated 1,223 hospital orderlies (of all kinds) (Papua New Guinea: Public Health 1973) and aid post orderlies trained in and still using Tok Pisin as their working language. Only a very small number of this group spoke any English. Thus from German times there have been four different eras of medical training in Tok Pisin. The German era commencing about 1903 when heil tultuls on the basis of one to each village with a Luluai and a few hospital orderlies received training; a second era after the takeover by the Australians in 1914 up until 1922 when there was no training; a third era from 1922 to 1946, an era which includes the activities of the wartime 'Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit'¹ when medical tultuls and hospital orderlies (including females) were formally trained and the fourth, a post-war era when medical tultuls and hospital orderlies continued to be trained and two additional categories, viz, 'Native Medical Assistants' and 'Native Hygiene Assistants' (their designation was changed to 'Aid Post Orderly' in 1950) were also trained. Tok Pisin was the language of instruction for all categories and for each era. By 1914 Tok Pisin was well established though biased towards the German language. Since 1914 there has been a progressive change and Tok Pisin now has an English bias.

7.4.2.7.2. TRAINING OF MEDICAL TULTULS BEFORE WORLD WAR II

The systematic and formal training of various categories of medical orderly has been, in Papua New Guinea, primarily a post-Second World War development, although in Papua some orderlies in the 1930s undertook, in English, a six months' special course of medical training at the University of Sydney in Australia. Prior to the Second World War the training of medical tultuls in New Guinea consisted mainly of courses conducted at Native Hospitals lasting from six weeks to two months.

... In the Territory of New Guinea another type of indigenous practitioner, known as a medical Tul-Tul is used by the Administration to encourage village natives to seek medical aid. He has a limited training and is not expected to provide attention for other than the most minor ailments. He is a recognised official within the village and assists in sending villagers to hospital for attention. (New Guinea Report 1948-49, Section 176:69)

The training of Native Medical Tultuls has been actively carried on, and the system of obtaining a volunteer from every village, even in newly patrolled areas and areas under partial influence, to come in to an out-station Hospital for three months' training in elementary medical and first aid work, in village hygiene and sanitation, and in hospital discipline, has resulted in later peaceful medical penetration of extensive new areas. This medical penetration is as in all tropical countries in which framboesia is prevalent, largely assisted by the spectacular results of *Novarsenobillon*, especially in the case of children in the secondary stage of the disease. (New Guinea Report 1927-28, Appendix C, Section 3:87)²

The training system brought medical tultuls to the closest hospital to their home village to be instructed by a doctor or medical assistant. In 1929 there were 2,495 trained medical orderlies, and their relative efficiency was, as determined by an examination of 1,952 of them stated to be 40% classed as good, 39% as fair and 21% as bad (New Guinea Report 1930-31, Section 87:33).

For medical tultuls training consisted of learning the names of a few drugs and their practical use in village treatments. Training was achieved in most hospitals by having the medical tultuls chant in Tok Pisin the names of drugs and their usage. Led by a senior hospital orderly, they would repeat over and over again something like this: 'aspirin em i marasin bilong het i pen'. 'Kwinin em i marasin bilong skin i hat, het i pen na skin guria'. 'Sol marasin em bilong pekpek i pas'.³ This method, though elementary, was effective and taught medical tultuls the names of drugs and did much to indelibly imprint on their minds the basic use of a particular drug in the treatment of a recognisable disease. In addition the medical tultuls, as part of their training, were given experience in routine hospital work, such as

distributing medicine in correct doses, dressing sores, treating skin complaints and learning to recognise illnesses and the need to nurse the sick. Training was popular and it was not difficult to get most medical tultuls to return regularly to the hospital for a few weeks' refresher course and to have their stock of medicines replenished. The issue of drugs was much the same for each orderly though a greater range was issued to the brighter orderlies, especially if they came from large villages or if their villages were far from the hospital. The issue of drugs consisted of quinine, cough mixtures, potassium permanganate (an economic antiseptic) for cleaning and bathing sores and ulcers, acriflavine and various unguents (such as ammoniated mercury ointment) for the treatment of cuts and abrasions, and as a preventive treatment against tropical ulcers; magnesium sulphate (in later years sulphaguanadine) for use in the treatment of dysentery and diarrhoeas; eye and ear drops and aspirin as a general anti-pyretic and adjunct to other treatments. These drugs possibly considered inefficient in the 1970s were the best available for use by medical tultuls for village treatments in the 1930s. In the years following the Second World War, when better chemotherapeutics were available, the medical tultul kit for the few who understood their use and who could give injections, mostly former hospital orderlies, was expanded and drugs such as atebrine, sulphapyradine, penicillin and a wider variety of antiseptics and dressing materials were issued. Generally the accepted principle was to give a basic supply of medicines to all medical tultuls and additional drugs to those with the knowledge of how to use them. By administering anti-biotics and more effective anti-malarials to patients about to make the journey to hospital many patients lived who otherwise would have died.

The medical tultul as part of his training was taught to recognise illnesses serious enough for the sufferer to be sent to hospital. The Native Administration Regulations of New Guinea empowered medical tultuls to order villagers to transport a patient to hospital. Failure to do so if ordered by the medical tultul was an offence against the Native Administration Regulations and punishable at court. In the hierarchy of village life the medical tultul had official standing and ranked third after the 'Luluai'⁴ and 'Tultul'.⁵

In the between-war period and for some years following the Second World War the word *Dokta* in Tok Pisin was invariably used by village people when referring to males working as medical tultuls, hospital orderlies or aid post orderlies, whilst other workers such as dentists, for example, were referred to as *Dokta Bilong Tis*⁶ and surgeons as

Dokta Bilong Katim Skin.⁷ Where there was more than one qualified doctor or medical assistant it was common to describe each in order of authority, first, second, third and so on which in Tok Pisin was Nambawan Dokta, Nambatu Dokta and Nambatri Dokta, irrespective of whether the hospital had a medical assistant or a medical officer in charge. It was not until the early 1950s, that is, the period coinciding with the arrival of some 50 additional medical practitioners who moved for the first time, out into the sub-district hospitals and thus came into more contact with orderlies and medical tultuls, that the term Nambawan Dokta became the Tok Pisin title of a qualified medical practitioner and the difference between a medical officer and a medical assistant generally understood by medical tultuls and village people.

7.4.2.7.3. TRAINING OF HOSPITAL ORDERLIES

The second group of orderlies trained by the use of Tok Pisin were those employed in hospitals and designated officially as 'hospital orderlies'. The training of these orderlies as well as village medical tultuls was initially a matter for the district medical authorities with few formal guidelines and dependent for quality in training on the ability and knowledge of the medical assistant or the enthusiasm of the doctor in charge. That training was undertaken more vigorously post-war than pre-war resulted from the development of specific and effective chemotherapeutics in the treatment of diseases such as malaria using chloroquine, pneumonia using sulpha drugs or penicillin, dysentery using sulphaguanadine, and penicillin or sulphas for other acute infections. These specific drugs enabled orderlies with only rudimentary training to be extremely effective in treating diseases and saving lives. The new drugs seemed almost miraculous in effect compared with the less effective pre-war drugs. Hospital orderlies in the course of their training were exposed to a wide variety of medical experiences in the larger native hospitals and many of those taught in Tok Pisin developed impressive skills. I can recall a senior orderly, Mr Wakio Paun, who in the 1940s through to the 1960s was the senior orderly in a number of district hospitals in the Papua New Guinea central highlands. He could apply correctly plaster of paris casts for uncomplicated fractures of lower legs and arms; give open ether anaesthetics competently; make split skin and pinch grafts for the treatment of large healing tropical ulcers; suture wounds; prepare the body and some kinds of specimens for post mortem examinations; recognise malarial parasites and the type of malaria by microscope; test urines; give blood transfusions and saline infusions and carry out other medical and paramedical tasks seldom even

nowadays undertaken by trained nurses. He was initially illiterate. I taught him to read and write Tok Pisin when he was about 45 years of age. He spoke no English and had almost forgotten his mother tongue, but was very fluent in Tok Pisin. He instructed hospital orderlies daily on medical and hospital matters based on his own practical experience and what he had earlier been taught as an orderly. He was a splendid practical example and an inspiration to hospital orderlies in the early advancement of health services.

7.4.2.7.4. MEDICAL ORDERLIES TRAINING

In 1958 the 'Administration Servants Ordinance' was passed. This ordinance recognised ancillary workers who were allied to but not members of the Public Service. Administration Servants however were admitted to the Public Service when the Public Service (Papua New Guinea) Ordinance 1963 became law.

The Administration Servants Ordinance benefitted medical orderlies by providing a career service for them which set down training requirements and recognised specialist categories such as Dental orderlies, X-Ray orderlies, Laboratory orderlies and generalist Hospital orderlies. There were three grades for each designation, grades one, two and three. A schedule of training was introduced in which years one and two of service were probationary years when practical training was undertaken, followed by training either in general hospital work or in the specialist orderly categories leading to barrier examinations which were set to qualify orderlies for promotion to grades two and three.

The use of Tok Pisin in the medical training of orderlies was more of a necessity than an advantage because many orderlies spoke no language other than their own or Tok Pisin and because at that time English was practically unknown in New Guinea. Consequently the only means by which orderlies could be trained was by using Tok Pisin, the use of the vernacular not being possible because training groups and classes were composed of people speaking a variety of languages.

Although the quality of Tok Pisin spoken by the trainees was generally good, it was essentially rural and there were few specific words which could handle even the most rudimentary training in anatomy, physiology or pharmacology even at low levels. For example, in rural Tok Pisin there were only a few specific words used to name parts of the body, such as het, lek, am, han, pinga, banis, ai, iyo, maus, kru, tis, kepa bilong pinga,⁸ and for the internal organs five expressions: rot bilong kaikai, rot bilong pispis, rot bilong blut; liva, wait liva and klok.⁹ The names of drugs issued to village medical tultuls were also

taught in Tok Pisin, for example, aiyadin for 'iodine', pomet for 'potassium permanganate', kwinin for 'quinine', emenbi for 'sulphapyridine' and several others.

Because of the low literacy level in some areas, bottles of medicine were sometimes labelled in both Tok Pisin and by a symbol which identified the bottle's contents. The symbols varied from hospital to hospital and were designed mainly to safeguard against barely literate orderlies dispensing the wrong medicine. Mistakes did occur of course, but surprisingly very few. There were some disadvantages in using Tok Pisin to teach medical orderlies but most of the disadvantages were overcome by using medical terms adapted for Tok Pisin whilst at the same time resorting to simplification in description of medical procedures and aspects of anatomy and physiology. For instance in discussing the aetiology of malaria it wasn't too much of a simplification to refer to forms of the malaria parasite such as for example, the merozoites as pikanini jirm bilong malaria and to explain that malarial parasites unlike bacteria had a sexual form (man na meri jirm). These words and many like them were vigorously taught and their meanings demonstrated wherever possible by microscope or by photographs in medical journals and textbooks. Similarly, the composition of blood was in simple terms taught as being composed of wara bilong blut, ret sel and wait sel and the orderlies were given the opportunity to see stained specimens under the microscope. The function of the components was described in terms something along the following lines - dispela wara bilong blut, wok bilongen long karim kaikai i go long ol masel. Wok bilong ret sel em bilong karim oksijen i go long ol masel na long ol arapela hap tu bilong bodi. Wait sel em i wampela liklik samting, olsaim bipo yu lukim long maikroskop na wok bilongen long kilim na kaikai ol jirm i save bringim sik long ol man na meri. The different kinds of white cells, as a matter of interest, were stained and shown under the microscope and the intra-cellular ingestion of bacteria demonstrated to show how white cells 'kaikai' bacteria to rid the body of the sickness the germs caused.¹⁰ This technique helped to avoid the coining of lengthy Tok Pisin descriptive phrases for medical terms and the orderlies were proud of their technical knowledge as a result. For later reference purposes orderlies were encouraged to take down notes and copy diagrams or illustrations.

Most expatriate hospital staff, both professional and sub-professional, did not speak any local language fluently but most were fluent in Tok Pisin. In consequence, the interrogation of patients to identify illnesses was mostly done through an intermediary and in some instances,

where the patient came from a remote area, by two interpreters, one enquiring, then passing on the message to a second interpreter fluent in Tok Pisin who related the message to the enquirer. This practice posed a number of problems necessitating careful training of the interpreters so that they would phrase the enquiries correctly as put to them by the enquirer and not give their own interpretations, which they were prone to do otherwise. Interpreters also were trained to mention when they made a straight literal translation or when they had interpolated more than what the patient said because of their knowledge of the idiom of the patient's language. Olsem wanem, em yet i-tok stret olsem no yu harim tasol insait long toktok bilongen? Nogat, em i-tokim mi olsem stret long maus bilongen.¹¹ Despite these problems, an interpreting rapport was developed between the interpreter and the enquirer if they were together long enough which prevented, to a large degree, mistaken diagnosis based on bad information. Also it was often possible for an enquirer to corroborate what the interpreter said, by observation, auscultation and where appropriate, pathological examination. In most hospitals the constant use of the same orderly interpreter, fluent in the use of Tok Pisin and trained in the importance of relaying even the smallest item of relevant information was essential. For certain types of questions it was better to have a female interpreter with the regular interpreter standing modestly by to confirm if necessary what was said. The problem was greater with people from primitive areas where questions concerning bodily functions were often not answered or not answered honestly unless the interpreter had their confidence and was trained to explain the need and reason for the questions being asked.

7.4.2.7.5. AID POST ORDERLY TRAINING SCHOOLS

The first formal medical training by special instructors in New Guinea was instituted during the war by the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit known more commonly as ANGAU.¹² This unit commenced administrative operations in place of the civil administration in 1942 and expanded considerably during 1943 and 1944. ANGAU conducted a training school for Tok Pisin-speaking orderlies at Malahang in the Morobe District of New Guinea. As soon as the war ended, this school was taken over by the civilian government and converted to a school training 'Aid Post Orderlies' for village aid post work.¹³ Initially this training was a reward for men who had contributed to the successful conclusion of the war and was thus in the nature of a post-war reconstruction training programme.

In 1949 the government opened additional aid post orderly training schools at Mt Hagen, Goroka, Wewak and Rabaul. Tok Pisin was used exclusively for teaching in these schools and all lesson notes, diagrams, charts and other teaching aids were prepared in Tok Pisin. Some of the earlier notes were written using the English word with English spelling for medical terms but later it was customary to use phonetic spelling. The materials were produced by expatriate instructors selected from the better medical assistants who were interested in being medical instructors. They in turn trained the native instructors.¹⁴ The training of hygiene assistants was discontinued because villagers did not understand the nature of the work that native hygiene assistants were trained to do. The responsibility for achieving an adequate level of hygiene and sanitation in a village as a result was given to the aid post orderly who was taught to keep his home clean and live cleanly himself, as an example to the people of the village who were encouraged to copy his example.

Many aid post orderlies were illiterate at the beginning of their training, but because there was time to do so they were taught to read and write Tok Pisin sufficiently to enable them to read manuals and to take down lesson notes. The degree of their formal education varied considerably because most of them were recruited from their home districts many of which in those days had few or no schools operating. The senior and experienced orderlies who came from urban areas however were mostly literate and better educated.

The teaching of written Tok Pisin to mature intelligent but illiterate men was often achieved in a matter of a few weeks due mainly to the diligence with which they approached their lessons and the time they were prepared to put into learning to read and write. So enthusiastic were the learners that in one instance I can recall a trainee during a lesson writing his notes in Tok Pisin using only consonants, which were invariably taught first, and dots in lieu of the vowels which he had not as yet learned. Surprisingly this was readable despite the lack of vowels and of course he went on later to learn his Tok Pisin vowels and diphthongs. This is an example however of the zeal and thirst for knowledge often displayed by trainees.

7.4.2.7.6. MEDICAL ORDERLY TRAINING MANUALS

The following are extractions from three manuals used in the Tok Pisin training of medical orderlies. It is interesting to note that the styles and spellings vary and that some medical words have been given their English spelling as this was the style in 1950 but is not so now.

The spelling of Tok Pisin was and still is phonetic and consequently words have been given the spelling which sounded most appropriate to the writer at the time. There is currently a move towards standardising Tok Pisin spelling (see 7.4.1.4.6.3.1., 7.4.1.5.3. and 7.8.3.1.2.).

- (a) ROT KAI KAI. Kai kai i-mas kamap long man bai i-gat laif, na em i-ken makim work. Kai kai tu i-wok long alivim skin we i-bagarap, or bun i-bruk, na alivim pikinini by i-kamap bigpela. Sampela kai kai i-olsem paiauwud na oksisin i-kukim insait, bilong hatim skin bilong man.¹⁵
- (b) STAMAK. Kai kai i-stap long stamak na wara i-kamap long skin bi-long stamak na wasim em. Wara bilong stamak i-pait olsem muli wara na i-wok long alivim abus. Blut i-kamap long stamak na kisim sampela maresin bilong kaikai. Stomak i-wok long tanim kai kai. Sapos kaikai i-no strong em i-ken lusim stamak kwiktaim. Sapos kaikai i-strongpela olsem abus, em i-no ken lusim kwiktaim.¹⁶
- (c) CATARACT - (KATARAK) - SIMOK INSAIT LONG LENS BILONG AI. Yu ken lukim long ai bilong sampela lapun. Skin bilong ai i-wait, tasol insait long peles we i-gat raunpela hol bilong lukluk yu ken lukim i-gat simok. Simok i-pasim rot na rot bilong lukluk i-no klia. Cataract i-no pen. I-kamap isi isi, na man i-no inap long luk luk. Sapos simok i-strongpela tumas, em i-blind. Sampela taim sik i-mekim kamap. Sampela taim samthing i-siutim ai, na bihain i-gat cataract.¹⁷
- (d) ARTERIES. Artery i strongpela rop bilong blood i go long oltogeta hap body. Wok bilong artery yu ken filim long pulse. (Yu filim pulse i kikim finger long hand bilong yu). Artery i rod bilong bringim ol klinfela blood i kariim:

1. Oxygen
2. Kaikai
3. Samfela taim medicine tu.

Blood i kariim ol disfela samting nabaut long oltogeta skin, mit, body inaf.

Artery i gat wok long bringim pipia tu long lung bilong rausim (expiration) autim win.¹⁸

- (e) GOITRE

Cause - as: Supos yu stap long wonfela hap graun, nau long disfela graun kaikai i kamap long garden bilong yu ino gat liklik skel bilong iodine, yu ken faindim disfela sik - Goitre.

- Symptoms:
1. Thyroid gland i solap long neck isi isi, bihain igo bigfela moa.
 2. Eye bilong samfela goitre patient i laik solap ikam autsaid.
 3. Supos patient i stretim hand, hand na finger i save nais tumas.
 4. Pulse i save hariap tumas.

- Treatment:
1. Supos patient igat bigfela sik na fever wontaim, bringim long bigfela hospital.
 2. Nambawon doctor yet i mas wok long disfela patient, tekawe goitre long naip.
 3. Givim plenti salt (sol) wontaim kaikai.
- Prevention:
1. Kukim kaikai wontaim salt (sol).
 2. Supos yu stap long nambis, kukim kaikai solowara, i gudfela tu.¹⁹

7.4.2.7.7. SELECTION OF TRAINEES

Although trainees immediately post-war were selected on the basis of their military service, in later years they were selected, where possible, on the basis of schooling and literacy in Tok Pisin. Nevertheless selections were made from remote areas where there were no schools and few Tok Pisin speakers. The programme to train aid post orderlies for service in villages and in village aid posts which operated throughout Papua New Guinea aimed at having one aid post orderly for approximately 1,000 village people in the Highlands and for a lesser number in the coastal and less populated areas. The aim was achieved only in a few areas. In 1962 the number of aid posts in Papua New Guinea was 1,400 and of this number approximately 1,013 were located in New Guinea. By 1973 the ratio had altered to 1,633 and 1,177 respectively. The total population of Papua New Guinea in 1973 was 2,523,000 of which 1,828,700 was the population of New Guinea and 694,700 the population of Papua.

The relative efficiency of aid post orderlies was a reciprocal of such influences as their basic education, the efficiency of their training, their understanding of modern medical services and the role of doctors, nurses, hospital and ambulance services observed in their home areas. For instance, those in the Highlands spoke little or no Tok Pisin and came from areas with little outside contact and they knew little of the concept of modern medicine. Those in urban areas on the other hand generally spoke Tok Pisin fluently and were acquainted with the work of hospitals and doctors.

7.4.2.7.8. RECENT YEARS

With the quickening of the pace of development more especially in the Department of Health, the need for more orderlies with better training increased considerably. Commencing in the late 1940s, a desire for education and knowledge by all strata of native society was most marked and resulted in part from native people's horizons being broadened, having seen army technology and the variety of skills exhibited

by soldiers. Tok Pisin was an excellent vehicle for the training of New Guinean orderlies by those who were sufficiently fluent themselves. Additional Tok Pisin words were needed but there was no difficulty in adapting English words where necessary.

The introduction of aid post orderlies was a gigantic step forward in the middle 1950s despite the fact that the efficiency of the aid post orderly system was often criticised by both professional and lay workers. The aid post orderly was the first government health practitioner to bring a degree of medical security and comfort to the village people, many of whom previously were prepared to suffer their illnesses in the security of their village, rather than make a long journey to an impersonal and seemingly unfriendly hospital. Prior to the training of aid post orderlies and their activities in village communities, the treatment of villagers by medical tultuls was simple and many not seriously ill patients were sent to hospital who would not have been sent if a trained aid post orderly had been working in the village.

By using Tok Pisin in the training of others, expatriate doctors, medical assistants, instructors and other health workers were able to pass on their skills to indigenous staff who in turn passed on their skills to others. This would not have been possible without the aid of Tok Pisin which was, for the type of person undertaking training, a comfortable medium of instruction and allowed the trainee to learn without being saddled with learning the more difficult English at the same time as his medical training.

Although the aid post system was never officially discontinued there was a halt in the training of aid post orderlies from 1962 until training recommenced at a new school opened at Mt Ambra in the Western Highlands District following requests from members of Parliament and local government councillors as mentioned in the report on 'Disease and Health Services of Papua New Guinea' as follows:

in response to requests made by members of the House of Assembly and Local Government Councils, the Public Health Department recommenced the training of aid post orderlies after an interval of three years.

... because the aid post orderly is necessarily engaged in curative medicine, emphasis in the syllabus has been placed on the treatment of common illnesses and injuries. ... Basic education ... English, arithmetic, etc. is also covered.

Under the new arrangements an aid post orderly before commencing training must be at least 17 years of age and have passed standard VI and it is intended that there will be future programmes of training. Training will be given in both English and Tok Pisin (depending on the language of the trainee). (Bell 1973:618)

It would be reasonable to say that the role of the aid post orderly was not fully understood by many of his immediate superiors although their value to the health services of the country was very apparent to health administrators. Dr Wright, the Assistant Director of Medical Training in the Public Health Department, said in 1960 that

No group of people ever faced greater difficulties in the practice of medicine than do Aid Post Orderlies. With meagre education, limited experience and no literature, they form the first line of attack against disease. They should receive "the best possible support".²⁰

There is no doubt that the aid post system provided the only practitioner service to a large number of people.

7.4.2.7.9. THE ROLE OF TOK PISIN IN TRAINING MEDICAL STAFF

It is interesting to speculate as to what standard of medical and health services would have developed in New Guinea without the aid of Tok Pisin. To provide the resources for those services requiring enquiry and interrogation even in a country with only two or three vernacular languages would have been a difficult feat. In Papua New Guinea, which is stated to have more than 700 languages, the task would have been costly in time and manpower and the level of medical services would not have been as advanced so soon in the development of the country as was possible using Tok Pisin as a training lingua franca. The expatriates who provided most of the training for medical staff would have had to learn more than one language and their sphere of influence as a result would have been much smaller and an adequate level of treatment in hospitals, where there were often patients from 10 to 20 different language groups, would have been a far more difficult operation. The use of Tok Pisin enabled staff to be trained quickly in relatively large numbers for hospitals, rural aid posts and village clinics. Thus as early as the 1920s those areas which were then under administration, were provided with relatively quick access to first aid services by medical tultuls and were exposed to the benefits of preventive medical services by patrols which carried out preventive treatments to suppress disease such as Framboesia, Dysentery and Hookworm and introduced rudimentary village hygiene. These same agencies prepared patients for evacuation to hospital when admission was warranted. Fortunately, coastal village people using their canoes and boats could make relatively long journeys quickly to hospital even if suffering from acute illness. With the introduction of aid post training schools and career opportunities for hospital staff utilising adequate Tok Pisin training facilities together with an increased number of health institutions all of which were made

possible in Papua New Guinea by the aid of Tok Pisin, medical services were made available for village people with a minimum of cost and effort.

By 1960, many English-speaking secondary school leavers were offering for medical and hospital training. With these better-trained students who spoke English with fluency, a higher degree of medical training was possible and so the country could derive full benefit from this class of student. The Papuan Medical College was constructed and commenced operations in 1960, offering courses which included diploma courses in medicine and surgery (there had already been some 13 Papua New Guineans graduated as doctors at the Suva Medical School) and courses for rural medical assistants, and nurses, medical technologists and other para-medical categories to staff the increasing needs of hospitals and clinics.

The output from the Papuan Medical College through the years increased both in numbers and the types of courses offering but there are still insufficient numbers of doctors graduating and the turnover of nurses is high. Nevertheless the College now provides most of the medical staff the country requires.

Despite the development of medical training in English there is still a considerable number of health workers trained in Tok Pisin. There remains one aid post orderly training school at Mt Ambra in the Western Highlands which trains aid post orderlies, and in all Papua New Guinea hospitals there are still orderlies, both male and female, receiving their basic training in a wide variety of medical subjects from trained operators fluent in the use of Tok Pisin.

Tok Pisin has played a major role in the provision of medical services of all kinds throughout Papua New Guinea and continues to be a medium for the training of a large group of medical workers. It is inevitable that in the future the language will undergo development as many of those using it daily have already been taught and are fluent in English and thus are able to introduce into Tok Pisin English words when required. It seems reasonable to anticipate that Tok Pisin will continue to be a medium of training and instruction for rural medical and health workers, for some years to come.

7.4.2.7. PIDGIN TEACHING: TRAINING OF MEDICAL STAFF IN PIDGIN

N O T E S

1. Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit - the wartime Military Government of Papua and New Guinea, known widely as ANGAU - which among other administrative functions operated native hospitals and organised medical patrols by trained Army Medical Assistants from 1942 to 1946. Many members of the Unit were pre-war government officials.
2. *Novarsenobillon* is an arsenical preparation formerly used to treat framboesia (yaws) now replaced by the use of Penicillin. So dramatic were the effects of one injection in clearing the skin of lesions that sufferers vigorously sought treatment and any health officer who could give injections of *Novarsenobillon* was welcome even in primitive villages.
3. Translation of the Tok Pisin passages is: '*Aspirin is the medicine for headaches*'. '*Quinine is the medicine for the symptoms of fever, headache and shivering*'. '*Magnesium Sulphate (Epsom Salts) is for constipation*'.
4. 'Luluai' is the Tok Pisin name for the village headman selected by the people of the village and appointed by the government. His badge of office is a dark blue peaked cap and with one 3/4" Red band around it (much the same as the cap worn by Salvation Army officers). There are only a few 'Luluais' remaining in office. Most have been supplanted by councillors within the local government council system.
5. 'Tultul' - the second village official in rank, appointed because of his knowledge of Tok Pisin and the ways of the government. Like the Luluai he is now being replaced by local government councillors. He also wears a dark blue cap distinguished from that of the Luluai by

having two narrow red bands instead of one broad band. (N.B. Medical tultuls also wear a cap with a white band which has on the front above the peak, a small red cross.)

6. English translation: *'Doctor of teeth'*, i.e. a dentist.

7. English translation: *'Doctor who cuts the skin'*, i.e. a surgeon.

8. The English translation of the Tok Pisin examples are: *Head, leg, arm, hand, finger, chest wall, eye, ear, mouth, brain, teeth, finger nails.*

9. The English translation of the Tok Pisin examples are: *Alimentary canal, urinary system, circulatory system, the liver, lungs, pancreas and heart.*

10. English translations: Pikanini jirm bilong malaria: *The baby malaria germ.* Man na Meri jirm: *The male and female germ.* Wara bilong blut: *The water of the blood, i.e. the serum.* Ret sel and wait sel: *Red cell and white cell.* Dispela wara bilong blut, wok bilongen long karim kaikai i go long ol masel: *This serum, its work is to carry the food to the muscles.* Wok bilong retsel em bilong karim oksijen i go long ol masel na long ol arapela hap tu bilong bodi: *The work of the red cell is to carry oxygen to the muscles and all other parts of the body.* Wait sel em i wanpela liklik sampting, olsem bipo yu lukim long maikroskop na wok bilongen long kilim na kaikai ol jirm i save bringim sik long ol man na meri: *The white cell is a little thing which you have seen through a microscope and its function is to kill and eat the germs which bring illness to men and women.*

11. English translation: *'Did he actually say that or did you only gain the impression from what he said?' 'No, he actually said that to me'.*

12. See Note 1. ANGAU is now a word in common use in Papua New Guinea both in English and Tok Pisin when referring to the government of the wartime period which in Papua New Guinea was from 1941 to early 1946 when the civil administration returned.

13. ANGAU conducted a training school in New Guinea at Malahang near the present township of Lae in the Morobe District. Under ANGAU this

school trained orderlies in Tok Pisin for hospital and patrol work. The concept of aid post orderlies operating aid posts in villages was a post-war development.

14. The medical assistants who were at some time aid post orderly training school instructors included the following: R. Fowler (who wrote the Department of Public Health Tok Pisin training manual), E. Tschärke (a mission instructor who also wrote a Tok Pisin training manual), and Messrs R. Collins, D. Carroll, Hugh Smith, H. Nelson, A. Gow, C.B. Walsh, J. Irvine, G.N. Blythe, C.W.C. Thomas, L.J.M. Fisher, H. Bromley, T. McCraill, K. Adair.

15. English translation: *'Man must eat to live and work. Food helps to strengthen a man if he is ailing, or if he has a broken bone, it helps a child to grow big. Some food is like firewood and oxygen helps it to burn inside the body so that man's skin is warm'. (Extract from Aid Post Medical and Hygiene Training Book (Fowler n.d.)).*

16. English translation: *'Food when in the stomach is "washed" by the stomach fluids. The water of the stomach is acid like the juice of a lime and helps to digest meats. Blood comes to the stomach and picks up the nutrition in the food. The stomach mixes the food. If the food is not strong it will pass through the stomach quickly, but if it is strong, such as meat, it takes longer to leave the stomach'. (ibid.)*

17. English translation: *'Cataract (cloudy lens of the eye) you can see (cataracts) in the eyes of elderly people. The skin of the eye is white but inside the pupil the lens is cloudy. The clouding prevents the light from getting through and the person can't see clearly. Cataracts don't pain and they develop slowly. If there is much clouding the person is blind. Sometimes sickness causes cataracts, sometimes it is caused by something piercing the eye'. (ibid.)*

18. English translation: *'Arteries'. 'The artery is a strong vessel which takes blood to all parts of the body. The pulse shows that the artery is working (you feel the pulse beat with the finger of your hand). The artery circulates clean blood which carries oxygen, food and at times medicine. Blood carries these things to all parts of the skin, muscles and every other part of the body. Vessels bring waste products to the lungs to be expired when breathing'. (Extract from Army Tok Pisin medical training manual).*

19. English translation: 'Goitre'. 'Cause - if you reside on land where vegetables are grown which haven't got a little bit of iodine in them you will get Goitre. Symptoms - (1) the thyroid gland swells slowly and eventually gets very big. (2) the eyes of some goitre patients are swollen and protrude. (3) if the patient opens and shuts his hand the joints creak. (4) the pulse is fast. Treatment - (1) if the patient is very sick and has a fever as well, take him or her to hospital. (2) the surgeon will remove the goitre with a knife. (3) give the patient plenty of (iodised) salt with his food. Prevention - (1) cook food using plenty of iodised salt. (2) if on the coast cooking with sea water is also good'. (Extract from Lutheran Mission Tok Pisin training manual edited by Mr E. Tscharke).

20. 'O, APO' faculty lecture, University of Papua New Guinea, A.J. Radford.

7.4.2.7. PIDGIN TEACHING: TRAINING OF MEDICAL STAFF IN PIDGIN

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7.4.2.8. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TEACHING: AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS AND PIDGIN

Robert P. Scott

7.4.2.8.1. INTRODUCTION

When foreign explorers first ventured into the bush areas of Papua New Guinea to contact its native people, communication between the discovered and the discoverers was of a simple, concrete nature. The people's rhythm of life was inevitably entwined with the progress of the seasons and the growth of food crops - whilst the European visitor's movements were dictated by the weather and the availability of food.

The conversations between indigene and European therefore centred mainly around what was visible, concrete and of importance to the daily needs of each party. The Europeans were especially interested in carbohydrate foods and thus they learned native names for these, whilst the indigenes were interested in learning the white man's names for such things as axes.

Thus commenced the vocabulary of the agricultural worker - from the concrete things of farming - and, unfortunately, thus it remained to hinder agricultural development for many years. For whilst farming techniques were to develop over the years, the Pidgin language was not to develop parallel to it and communication between the farmer and the agricultural field officer was to remain at an unsophisticated level until the most recent years.

The reasons for this phenomenon are numerous and an attempt to deal with each in detail would result in a tome of great extent. However, this chapter will briefly discuss the following aspects:

The spread of agricultural terms.

The role of the Klap (Administrative Officer).

The role of the Didiman (Agricultural Officer).

Non-involvement in the village.

The goals of the Didiman.

Technical agriculture.

Role expectancies and the modern Didiman.

7.4.2.8.2. THE SPREAD OF AGRICULTURAL TERMS

The attitude of expatriates towards the agricultural production methods, products and techniques of the indigenous farmer was one of utility and not education. Except in isolated instances, the expatriates were not concerned with the indigenous viewpoint and therefore limited the development of agricultural terminology to the naming and description of crops, tools, etc. The Germans, Americans and Australians gave pidgin many words and the people naturally seized on learning such words as being necessary to their trade with foreign planters and officials and to their employment as indentured labour.

Movement of labour from the Sepik and Highlands areas to coastal plantations accelerated the spread of an 'acceptable' Pidgin terminology - acceptable to the expatriate who needed a limited vocabulary to utilise his suppliers in the food trade, or to utilise labourers in his form of production; and acceptable to the indigene who could see advantages in trade and employment.

The language of agriculture thus grew around the needs of the expatriates as they saw them, and around the felt needs of the indigene whose horizons were limited by what the expatriates wished to teach him - and this was very little.

The indigenous farmer needed little Pidgin to fulfil his limited role in the commerce of the country: a role limited by his own ignorance and the dominance of the expatriates.

7.4.2.8.3. THE ROLE OF THE KIAP (ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER)

But gradually the colonial administrators perceived a need for the indigenous people themselves to establish permanent tree crops and to contribute to and become part of the future of their country.

The Germans were active to a limited but successful degree in pursuing such a policy in certain areas, but, it was not until Australia was given responsibility for the lands once known as German New Guinea, that this policy received any impetus.

Owing to reasons of politics, communication, soil types, climate and existing developments, much of the progress in this area of agricultural

development was made in the northern part of the country, called New Guinea. Kiaps, or government officers, were the agents of change in executing the policy and their approach was usually not too dissimilar from the approach they traditionally employed in their police and administrative duties.

Village people were selected to develop agricultural ventures and either by direct coercion or the fear of what might happen if they did not co-operate, they established small plantings of such crops as cocoa and coconuts. In many cases, of course, the kiap took great pains to explain the advantages of a cash economy and how cash crops would help the village to participate in this, but it was usually a matter of a one-way flow of information and little or no feed-back.

The language, in so far as agriculture was concerned, developed slowly as a result of this rather direct and 'directive' approach to agricultural extension. Pidgin was developing in other areas of thought, but agriculture was viewed as being of economic or technical significance only and its role in the social structure of the people was not readily seen by those involved in the practicalities of agricultural development.

Trade between indigene and European developed further and indentured labourers continued to travel between coastal plantations and their homes. The language spread.

7.4.2.8.4. THE ROLE OF THE DIDIMAN (AGRICULTURAL OFFICER)

The kiap had made the first thrust in the development of indigenous cash cropping. He had a limited knowledge of agriculture and thus failed to add very many new words to the lexicon of agricultural Pidgin; but didimen soon arrived with the prime aim of aiding indigenous agricultural development.

The first didimen arrived with university degrees and diplomas obtained in, mainly, Australian universities and agricultural colleges and they had a limited knowledge of tropical agriculture. They first had to learn what this country's cash agriculture was all about. Much of this learning took the form of research of a nature not designed to help the indigenous farmer - a situation which still exists in Papua New Guinea.

But gradually a service built up to encourage and assist indigenous farmers as well as the already entrenched and expanding expatriates.

During this era one can see the further development of Pidgin and the addition of many terms and words of an agricultural origin. But again, the indigene was limited to learning the names of agricultural

things and methods without gaining much insight into the reasons for various practices and techniques or any understanding of the alternatives available to him. The didiman was usually responsible for a large area of land including many thousands of people, and direct meaningful contact with individual farmers was necessarily limited. Often contact comprised little more than a brief inspection followed by specific technical advice - advice often assumed by the farmer to be an order - or of information passed on to the farmer by the kiap who had in turn received the information from the didiman.

Numbers of didimen increased rapidly, contact was improved and farmer-training of a formal nature was instituted on a large scale. But, unfortunately, the style of agricultural extension instituted by kiaps and expanded upon by the early didiman persisted. The didiman remained the reservoir of agricultural knowledge from whom droplets of information percolated down to the indigenous farmer as 'needed' by the farmer. Thus the language of farming slowly developed; new words and phrases were added to signify and describe new crops, tools and techniques actually seen or used by the indigenous farmers.

7.4.2.8.5. NON-INVOLVEMENT IN THE VILLAGE

The village farmer was gradually learning more about the process of law, the new society that was developing in his land and the role of the foreign government whose officers visited him frequently. He learned to perform the rituals of roll-calls, meetings and the selection of a village luluai (village headman), but his conceptual involvement in the whole process of change was limited. Learning was by rote, not as a result of involvement and conceptual expansion.

7.4.2.8.6. THE GOALS OF THE DIDIMAN

The lack of involvement became even more obvious when one looked closely at the plans the didiman had for him. The village farmer had developed a system of agriculture admirably suited to his ecological and social environment. His land tenure system developed around the agricultural potential of his land, his concept of ownership, the need for defence and certain socio-religious influences of which expatriates are still largely ignorant. His gardening methods were influenced by practical and ecological needs: crops were mixed to reduce the incidence of insect pests and diseases, they were not planted in rows and this reduced erosion, etc.

Our early didimen (of which the writer was one), failed to recognise these factors, or if they did they maintained a messianic attitude towards

their role and tempered this by a paternal attitude towards the traditional indigenous agriculture. The didiman had certain technical rules he needed to adhere to: coconuts must be planted on a 27 foot triangle, nurseries must be constructed (and in a certain way) and so on. The approach was an inflexible one which took little cognisance of the input needed by the farmer; and the rate of agricultural development suffered.

If the didiman had used the opportunity of coming to understand traditional agriculture a little better he would have found ways of introducing cash cropping in a way more acceptable to the village farmer and more successful agriculturally. But he did not, and his communication through the common language, Pidgin, developed to a minimal degree and only to the extent needed by the didiman to communicate the concrete matters of his task.

The result of this approach was that management decisions concerning agricultural ventures were necessarily taken by the didiman and not the farmer. The didiman had a particular view of how a particular crop and project should develop whilst the farmer was merely a source for labour and land. As techniques became more complex involving such things as pruning, thinning and the development of crude village production centres (such as coffee fermentaries) the farmer became even less involved in decision making for he did not have the knowledge to make the decisions, nor the words to convey his decisions to the didiman.

7.4.2.8.7. TECHNICAL AGRICULTURE

Agriculture had become a technical area of activity divorced from the villager's mental activities but grafted onto his lengthening list of work and time obligations.

The didiman told the farmers, and the low level village worker, little of the technicalities, and the development of a technical agricultural lexicon within the Pidgin language was slow. That is, until the advent of the Agricultural Colleges (see below 7.4.2.8.8.).

To give an example of how technical matters were avoided here is an incident concerning coffee fermenting.

The coffee cherries are harvested when the colour is a deep red and when the outer skin is thus easily detached from the inner beans. After the process of pulping, i.e. removal of the outer skin, the inner bean is then placed in a fermentation trough (usually a hollowed out canoe or garamut, i.e. slit-drum) and allowed to ferment for about 30 hours. This ferment both removes a glutinous covering from the bean and thereby promotes drying and storeability of the bean, and develops flavour. Too short a ferment will reduce flavour development and drying properties, whilst too long a ferment will adversely affect flavour.

On this particular occasion the didiman was attempting to explain to the farmers how to test whether the ferment had been completed. This is usually done by taking a handful of the still-wet beans and grinding them together in one hand. The presence of too much glutin (representing more ferment time is needed) will allow the beans to slip around loosely in the hand, whilst an absence of glutin (meaning the ferment is complete) will cause the beans to rub against each other harshly and produce a squeaking sound.

The didiman was having difficulty in explaining the matter (having no coffee with him) but a villager solved his dilemma. He simply said that one should 'skrapim kopi long han bilong yu na sapos em i skwik olsem waitsan em i redi nau', i.e. *'rub the coffee in your hand and if it squeaks like sand it is ready'*.

One can't help thinking how brave that farmer was to use such a word as *'squeak'* when the didiman no doubt felt that the introduction of such a word into Pidgin was not part of his role. He felt limited to the Pidgin of the past.

Even more importantly, the didiman did not see fit to prepare himself thoroughly with samples of well fermented and poorly fermented coffee to show the farmers precisely how important the little lesson about fermenting would be to them. The didiman obviously felt constrained by the language but not motivated towards developing it. This is further borne out by the fact that in describing the new process to the villagers he searched his knowledge of Pidgin at length to select the word *sting* (i.e. *'rotten'*) to describe the fermenting process, rather than choosing the word *'ferment'* and thus adding a certain precision to his lesson and a feeling of knowledge gained to his audience. As it was, the medium of communication, Pidgin, was not developed, except by the contribution by the villager, and the task of developing conceptual thought towards agricultural production was hindered by creating another mystery rather than developing clarity of thought.

7.4.2.8.8. ROLE EXPECTANCIES AND THE MODERN DIDIMAN

As a result of these incidents of the past, the didiman came to fill a certain role in the eyes of the village agriculturalist. The didiman showed new skills and introduced new crops, new varieties and improved livestock. He used the existing knowledge of the farmer to describe these new things, but introduced little to the language except perhaps to name things such as *bulamakau* (*'cow'*), *kopi* (*'coffee'*), etc. The didiman was the decision-maker in regard to management of *'farms'* and the villager merely followed meekly and understood little.

Then came two things which contributed to the change. One was the introduction of 'extension methods' and the other was the advent of Agricultural Colleges.

Senior officers in the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries became more and more aware of the need for Agricultural Officers to involve farmers more fully in the management of agricultural projects in the village. Whereas in the past, criteria of success had involved precise measurement of trees planted, projects started and produce sold and exported, the new approach involved an appreciation of the degree of involvement the farmer had in his project and the lessening amount of dependence he placed on the didiman to make his decisions for him.

But the new look didiman had his self-created hurdles to cross. By virtue of his past method of extension he had created a well-defined role for himself and it had become difficult to change this role in the eyes of the farmer. A didiman who left decision-making to the farmers was seen as one shirking his responsibilities and the farmer became suspicious of this new approach. In addition, the didiman was inadequately trained in the new methods and tensions inevitably developed between extension agent and farmer. The old methods were often (and are still often) reverted to, but certain far-sighted didimen saw the need to make the farmer responsible for his own success and to do this he had to develop and teach the farmer new words and new ideas.

Many of the words needed came straight from the English, such as '*profit*' (instead of win moni), '*market*' (instead of bung) and '*Development Bank*' (instead of haus moni bilong kisim dinau long en).

Much of this work was done by expatriate didimen whose limited knowledge of and experience with the indigenous intellect and society were impediments to the new experiment. But at this stage (mid-1960s) the Vudal Agricultural College and the Popondetta Agricultural Training Institute (now a fully-fledged College) started to produce graduates to swell the number and quality of indigenous extension agents. These people came in, admittedly, with a propensity for aping the worst attributes of the expatriates, but also with the potential of communication with the indigenous farmer.

Many of these first graduates were Papuan, i.e. from the Territory of Papua, and many spoke Motu. But to many Motu was a foreign language (even to the Papuans) and English, or a broken form of English, was their main means of communication. Their teachers were, in the main part, Australians who spoke English or Pidgin and to a lesser extent Motu. It would have seemed reasonable that Pidgin could have provided an excellent teaching language, but it was 'policy' that English should be used and, at any rate, many of the teachers thought Pidgin inadequate

to the task of teaching a technical subject. For example, it was seen to be better that such English words as '*non-glabrous*' or '*hirsute*' were used to describe a hairy leaf than the more direct Pidgin phrase of em i gat musen long en or em i gat gras long en. But whilst the students were expected to use such words in class one must suspect that in the dormitories and fields such names and ideas were quickly given Pidgin words and descriptions.

After some time 'policy' was loosened and Pidgin became a more acceptable language for instruction though it seems as if it was more acceptable in field instruction than in the classroom. In addition, the strictures of technical agricultural English were loosened and '*non-glabrous*' became '*hairy*', a word much closer to the Pidgin simplicity and less difficult for the students to learn and remember. Problems arose in that many of the students experienced difficulty in reading English publications, but their grasp of the basics of the subjects gave them the confidence to read such publications more frequently and to expand their knowledge as well as their rate of learning.

Pidgin became a language which breached the gap between the learning of basic agriculture and more advanced learning needed by agricultural extension workers, though one doubts that it will ever completely fill the vacuum unless the language develops and grows. And it becomes more and more the role of the Niuginian agriculturalist to aid in this growth of the language and to be somewhat courageous in innovating as the demands and needs of farmers dictate.

These indigenous agricultural extension workers have contributed much to this task as they have gone to work in different areas about the country. In Papua, where Pidgin is used widely by farmers, and in New Guinea we now see new words and phrases appearing in the conversation of farmers. A farmer often knows how many '*acres*' he has under '*pasture*', what his pasture mixture consists of - setaria, desmodium, and puraria, not just gras wantaim sampela rop. He knows how many '*heifers*' he has and which '*steers*' he will sell.

Admittedly many of these new words and phrases are merely names and labels for concrete visible objects, but concepts are also creeping into an intelligible form with the aid of the new extension approaches and the new indigenous agricultural extension worker. Farmers are learning more and participating more.

But the picture is not all rosy. Students entering agricultural colleges are becoming younger and their pride in their command of English is quite obvious even to the casual observer. They will often use unnecessary English words in explaining things to farmers, and, though

they may have succeeded in exhibiting a detailed knowledge of English and technical terminology, they often fail to get the message across. This characteristic is more frequent in the higher-educated diploma-level students than those of the certificate colleges, but does present a source of concern in both groups.

One can only hope that nationalistic feelings will erode such developments and that an increased professionalism amongst agricultural extension agents will place the need for successful communication ahead of short-lived prestige. The Vudal Agricultural College Board of Studies has recently suggested that students must master a vernacular before graduation. This will aid in reducing the problems of the future.

This does not mean of course that Pidgin in its present form will satisfy the needs of the future, nor that it satisfies the needs of the present. The Pidgin of the past will be adequate to the task of concrete and action-oriented things, but it will need a massive infusion of simple and uncluttered English and adapted English terminology to meet the needs of our farmers. Without such growth and development the farmers of this country will find that they are limited in their ability to participate in the formulation of plans of development in much the same way as they were limited by the language of the original expatriate settlers.

7.4.2.9. THE TEACHING OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TO EUROPEANS

T.E. Dutton

7.4.2.9.1. INTRODUCTION¹

The history of teaching New Guinea Pidgin to Europeans² dates back to mid-1948 when Mr C.P. Livingston of the Department of Education in the new post-World War II Civil Administration began conducting public courses in Port Moresby. Prior to that, attitudes towards the language and the history and nature of German (initially) and Australian (subsequently) involvement in New Guinea (as distinct from Papua) militated against the provision of organised courses for Europeans wishing to learn the language. For one thing the numbers of Europeans entering the various sectors (government, mission, private enterprise) of the expatriate community were generally so small as to make the provision of classes impractical;³ for another, nobody regarded Pidgin as a real language anyway – certainly not one worthy of being given some sort of status by being taught publicly. However, since World War II both circumstances have changed considerably and there has been an increasing demand for instruction in this increasingly important language. This demand is manifested by the sudden expansion in the 1970s of the numbers of courses being offered inside and outside of Papua New Guinea as well as by the amount of language-learning material being published – see the Bibliography below. A brief account of these developments is given in the next section.

7.4.2.9.2. THE COURSES

As already noted, courses in New Guinea Pidgin were only a post-World War II development, the initiatives for which came from Colonel J.K. Murray, the Administrator for Papua New Guinea in the immediate post-war reconstruction period.⁴ Colonel Murray had been one of the

'experts' co-opted to assist Mr Alfred Conlon, head of the Directorate of Research, which had been set up to advise the Australian Army on its wartime administration of Papua New Guinea. He had had considerable experience in administration and in the early days of his administration of the newly established Territory of Papua New Guinea tried unsuccessfully to have a system of incentive bonuses introduced into the Public Service to encourage the learning of local languages.⁵ However, undisturbed by official refusal to recognise the need for such a system he proceeded to set up language-learning classes in the administrative capital of the new Territory of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby. To be able to do this successfully, however, he needed someone with a knowledge of some of the local languages and some experience in communicating with Papua New Guineans. He was singularly fortunate in having at hand such a person in the form of Mr C.P. Livingston, then sole representative of the Department of Education that had just been formed. Livingston had come to Papua New Guinea to join the Papuan Infantry Battalion during the war and had learned Pidgin, Police Motu (now Hiri Motu), and 'true' Motu (or 'classical' Motu as Colonel Murray used to call it) from Papua New Guinean friends and had broadcast in these languages during the war for the Australian Army.⁶ He began classes for Murray in 1947, first of all in Hiri Motu and 'true' Motu, and in the following year, in Pidgin as well. He continued taking classes in these languages as numbers and interest determined until about 1955 when the demand for classes had increased to such an extent that it was impossible for him to continue teaching all three languages alone. At that point he decided to concentrate on teaching Hiri Motu and to share the 'true' Motu and the Pidgin classes with Mr T. Dietz, then Research Officer in Linguistics and Literacy in the now somewhat enlarged Department of Education. Initially all classes were free and remained so until costs began to rise and the Public Service Institute, which had taken over responsibility of organising the classes, was forced to begin charging attendance fees, albeit nominal ones (e.g. \$2 per head per course), to offset some of their expenses. Still later all courses were made self-supporting financially. Meanwhile, Dietz was taking two or three courses per year with between 30 and 40 students in each, and as there were no published grammars available in Pidgin at the time (except for Hall's (1955) material) and certainly no published language-learning courses upon which he might base such courses (if he so desired) he, like Livingston before him, was forced to write his own. Parts of these, issued to members of his classes as 'notes', still survive, but none in publishable form. At that time too there were no

such things as tape-recorders, language laboratories, and closed-circuit television aids for the teacher so that much more than now the success of classes depended very much on the personality of the teacher and the quality of his teaching.

In the early 1960s, responsibility for these courses was transferred from the Public Service Institute to the Adult Education section of the Department of Education, and since 1964, lessons in New Guinea Pidgin have been conducted by Mr L.R. Healey, director of that section. Between 1964 and 1966 Healey, assisted from time to time by others, conducted three 12-week courses a year, but reduced those to two in 1967, 1968, and 1969, and eventually to one in 1970. Fees for these courses were determined by the numbers taking them and the costs involved. They have also gradually become more effective as teaching materials have improved and language laboratories have become available. These courses are based on Healey 1972, but students are advised to consult other now-standard reference works by Mihalic (1971), Murphy (1943), Steinbauer (1969), Laycock (1970), Wurm (1971), and other published courses by Litteral (1969), Dutton (1973) etc. Students are also encouraged to read as widely as possible in Pidgin⁷ and to practise speaking with Papua New Guineans whenever and wherever possible. These courses are very popular and Healey expects the programme to continue and to expand in the future. Since 1972, classes have also been conducted at the Y.W.C.A. in Port Moresby and in other centres through District (now Provincial) and Regional Adult Education Offices throughout Papua New Guinea, but few details of these are available except that curricula are based on Healey 1972 and/or Dutton 1973 already referred to, and that they suffer somewhat from shortages of suitable teachers.

Most mission groups now also conduct classes as part of orientation courses for expatriates in their own missions in centres throughout Papua New Guinea but most of these are of post-1971 vintage. In Goroka, the Melanesian Institute has been taking collective courses for Anglican, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and United Churches in that area. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has also conducted instructor-directed internal courses for its incoming field and support staff at its headquarters in the Eastern Highlands District (now Province) since the late 1950s and developed its own course materials which were published by Litteral (1969) as *A Programmed Course in New Guinea Pidgin*. When Litteral's course became available the instructor-directed courses were discontinued as new members were able to study individually and at their own speed. In 1972, Elementary courses were reintroduced and Advanced-Level courses added.

Since 1968 too courses have also been offered intermittently at the University of Papua New Guinea. At first these were organised by the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea⁸ and subsequently by the newly formed Department of Language.

The Linguistic Society courses were primarily designed for staff members and their families but were also open to the public as well. These were fee-paying courses held at the University. Most were taught by university staff members (but especially by Dr A. Balint, Foundation Secretary of the Society, and Mr W.E. Tomasetti, Warden of Students at the University for several years) but the Society consistently tried to involve Papua New Guineans in this as well. These courses continued until 1974 when Dr Balint left the University.

Towards the end of that same year I was appointed Foundation Professor of the new Department of Language and after my arrival in early 1975 immediately set about reorganising courses in the language at the University. These courses were designed for students and staff but were held after working hours. Subsequently these courses were accepted as official Department of Language ones and are now included as optional and compulsory units in certain Faculty of Arts degree and diploma courses.⁹ In 1977 the range of these courses will be extended to other courses within the Faculty of Arts and, circumstances permitting, to other faculties within the University. For economic reasons they will also be opened up to the public as fee-paying courses. All these courses are taught by Papua New Guineans.¹⁰

Other courses that have been offered in Papua New Guinea include a series of Australian Broadcasting Commission Radio broadcasts by Superintendant H.S. Thomas of the Papua New Guinea Armed Constabulary, for which a small volume of listener's notes was published by the Australian Broadcasting Commission under the title *Learning Pidgin* (Thomas 1969), and a series of in-service lectures conducted by Chaplain K. Osborne and Captain R. Davy for members of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force at Goldie River and Murray Barracks, Port Moresby. Subsequently the Australian Army established a special language-learning section within their Education Corps in Australia to train members of the Forces posted to Papua New Guinea in New Guinea Pidgin. The training wing of this section is presently located at Kapooka Army Camp near Wagga Wagga, New South Wales, and is headed by the aforementioned Captain Davy.¹¹

Outside of Papua New Guinea, New Guinea Pidgin has been taught only in Brisbane and Canberra.

In Brisbane courses have been conducted annually at the Institute of Modern Languages since 1966. These courses are usually conducted on a part-time basis by someone from Papua New Guinea who is studying at the University and run for a total of 45 hours. Students generally include those with some interest in Papua New Guinea who intend going there on a visit or to work. Over the ten years that the courses have been running, the average number of students has been approximately 13.

In Canberra courses were begun informally by Dr S.A. Wurm (now Professor Wurm) of the Australian National University as far back as 1959 when he conducted short induction courses for research workers from the University intending to go to Papua New Guinea for fieldwork. These courses were based on materials he devised for eliciting language material in Papua New Guinea languages and subsequently published as Wurm 1971.¹² Public courses in Canberra did not begin, however, until 1970 when Dr D.C. Laycock (one of Wurm's former students and now a staff member in Wurm's Department) began courses for the Centre for Continuing Education of the Australian National University. Subsequently I took over the running of these courses until seconded to the University of Papua New Guinea in 1975. Initially they were of the chalk-and-talk type but gradually changed to ones designed to make maximum use of the excellent language laboratory facilities available at the University. Over the years, I developed a series of language-learning lessons suitable for a year's part-time course or a month's full-time intensive course. The basis of this course is a set of 16 one-hour taped lessons with accompanying handbook entitled *Conversational New Guinea Pidgin*. This course is now published (Dutton 1973) and provides a set of materials designed for class-room work where there are modern language-learning facilities and competent instructors available, though it can be (and has been) used quite successfully for self-teaching purposes. Several one-month intensive courses were offered as part of the Continuing Education programme within the University and several special courses were taken in Canberra by me for the Australian Army and the Canberra College of Advanced Education. The open intensive courses were generally attended by persons with some practical interest in Papua New Guinea (e.g. university research workers, public servants, businessmen) though several attended for other reasons. Each lasted four weeks and consisted of 20 full working days with opportunities for students to do private study at nights and on weekends. Papua New Guineans acted as informants and added realism to the courses whenever opportunity arose. These courses were very popular and very successful (instanced by low 'wastage' or 'dropping out') principally

because the motivation and general standard of students was high. Fees for the course were designed to cover costs and were set by the University. Since 1975 these courses have been discontinued.

To recapitulate briefly then, following World War II New Guinea Pidgin has been taught to Europeans in a variety of courses increasing in number and sophistication. Most of these are expanding and are in certain circumstances (e.g. at the University of Papua New Guinea) catering for Papua New Guineans who have not already learned the language through other means. All courses concentrate on developing oral fluency though other communicative skills are also generally taught incidentally. Teaching methods and materials vary considerably depending on the facilities and instructors available. Papua New Guineans are beginning to become more involved in this and it is hoped that this trend will continue. However, because of the nature and variety of the courses offered, the differing facilities available, and the variations in experience and training of teachers, it is difficult to make comparisons between the results or effectiveness of these courses. In general, however, there appears to be little difference between teaching New Guinea Pidgin to Europeans (especially English-speakers) and teaching any other foreign language to them - if the motivation is there and the teacher reasonably good, the success rate (measured in terms of drop-out rate) is usually high. Yet there are some differences peculiar to the present state of the art that most teachers have to face and that are therefore worth mentioning, if only briefly. Some of these have to do with the nature of the language and the learner's attitude to it while others are more general and have to do with developing communicative competence in the language. These are discussed briefly in the next section under the two headings 'Pidgin and the English-Speaker' and 'Developing Communicative Competence' respectively.

7.4.2.9.3. SOME PROBLEMS IN TEACHING PIDGIN TO EUROPEANS

7.4.2.9.3.1. PIDGIN AND THE ENGLISH-SPEAKER

Pretty well every student who decides on his own initiative that he would like to learn Pidgin does so because he thinks that the language is some kind of quaint or simplified English that he can learn quickly and without undue effort. Most are surprised, and not a few depressed, however, when they find that there is more to the language than just putting in a few longs and bilongs here and there, that it is a language in its own right with its own structure, and that one has to approach it like any other foreign language. Yet we should not lay the blame entirely at the feet of the newcomer for he is generally merely

expressing the attitudes towards the language that have been current for a long time and that are bound up with the history of development and use of pidgins in general and of New Guinea Pidgin in particular. There is, moreover, some linguistic basis to this also, for New Guinea Pidgin is closely related to English in some ways (e.g. in vocabulary and some structures) and one cannot be blamed for being misled by the superficial resemblances to English especially when these are the points generally used to illustrate the quaintness or simplicity of the language. Consequently the thing that the newcomer has to realise, especially if he is a native speaker of English, is that New Guinea Pidgin is subtly different from English in lots of ways so that he, the English-speaker, more than any other, has to be careful what he is about, for he will find it difficult to keep himself orientated to the differences and hence to know when he is speaking 'real' Pidgin and not some more English-like version of it that is known locally throughout Papua New Guinea as *tok masta* (lit. '*European speech*'). The non-English-speaker does not have this problem because he approaches the language from a different language background and learns it like any other foreign language and in consequence generally ends up being a far better speaker of New Guinea Pidgin than the learner with the English background. So the English-speaker must be made aware of this problem otherwise he will simply carry over his English-speaking habits into Pidgin without realising that he is doing so. And to do that is not only detrimental to language-learning but tends to perpetuate the old but dying attitude that the language is nothing more than broken English, or baby talk, which can virtually be made up as one goes along.

The teacher, of course, must be sensitive to these problems and be prepared to assist his students overcome them, but often these are not as simple as they may sound since they generally involve differences in culture and ways of viewing the world and how does one teach those things? There is also the problem of dialectal and idiolectal variation and students' confusion of conventions (like orthographies) and 'correctness'. Obviously the more the teacher knows about the language and general linguistics the better able he will be to provide explanations and 'solutions' to students' questions about them, but we are only now beginning to get a clear idea of the types and ranges of variation in the language so that for the time being each teacher has only his own experience and accumulated knowledge to turn to.

7.4.2.9.3.2. DEVELOPING COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Anyone who has taught any foreign language will know that the central problem of this kind of teaching is how to get the student to relate

what he learns or is taught in the controlled situations of the classroom to new and uncontrolled situations in real life. In other words, how does one teach students to produce new sentences for new occasions, for it is physically impossible to teach all possible sentences for all possible occasions, and it is highly unlikely that any situation learned in the classroom (no matter how true to real life it is) can ever be used in the outside world without some modification? Somewhere, somehow the student has to learn how to be 'creative' (to use Chomsky's (1965:6) term) - how to make the linguistic 'leap' between what he has been taught and new sentences that he must make if he is to respond appropriately or communicate effectively in any given real-life situation.

Of course this is not a problem peculiar to New Guinea Pidgin as such, though it is somewhat more difficult in the present state of the art where there is no teacher-training, little communication between teachers, and general lack of good language-learning materials upon which to draw. Not only that but the teacher in Australia is worse off than his counterpart in Papua New Guinea. For one thing he does not have the same resources at hand for the production of materials, and for another he does not have the opportunity of bringing the student into direct contact with the culture and real-life situations involving Papua New Guineans. Of necessity therefore he becomes much more dependent on audio-visual materials of various kinds (e.g. films, tapes, books, recordings, etc.) and on his own ingenuity in using these. Elsewhere I have discussed some of the techniques that have been used in attempting to improve the communicative competence of students at the various courses I have conducted in New Guinea Pidgin in Australia over the years.¹³

7.4.2.9. THE TEACHING OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN TO EUROPEANS

APPENDIX

The Teaching of New Guinea Pidgin and/or Hiri (Police) Motu
Survey Questionnaire

1. Course Details

COURSE NO.	PIDGIN OR MOTU?	DATE(S)	LENGTH	NO. OF STUDENTS	NAME(S) OF TEACHER(S)

2. Nature of Course(s)

1. Was the course primarily a reading or speaking one?
- ii. What course materials were used? (List published and unpublished materials.)

PUBLISHED	UNPUBLISHED

- iii. If there were any unpublished materials used would you state whether you would be prepared to send me a copy either for keeping, copying, or temporary loan only.
- iv. Were the courses taught on behalf of or sponsored by some institution or company etc.? (Give details).
- v. Who were the courses for? Were they open to all comers or restricted? (Give details).
- vi. Were the classes free?
- vii. Is the programme continuing?/expanding?/changing? (Give details).
- viii. What is your estimate of the success of the course(s)?
- ix. What problems, if any, did you experience in teaching this course?
- x. Have you any other things you'd like to comment on or add to what you have already said above?
- xi. Do you know of anybody else that you think should be contacted but who is not included on the attached list of persons and institutions that I am currently writing to?

.....
Date:

N O T E S

1. This report is restricted to 'public' courses of various kinds and does not cover those privately arranged and run courses conducted by individuals for friends and/or acquaintances, except where this is relevant to the discussion at hand. For reasons already given in the Preface by the editor of this volume much of this report itself is based on replies received to a questionnaire sent out in mid-1973 to the persons and institutions who have been involved in, or were thought to have been involved in, the teaching of New Guinea Pidgin to Europeans in Papua New Guinea over the years. The questionnaire is attached as an appendix to this chapter. It was sent to the following most of whom subsequently replied - and to those I am most appreciative of their assistance:

Superintendent H.S. Thomas, Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary,
Mt Hagen

Dr A.J. Taylor, United Bible Societies, Lae

Mr H. Bell, Department of the Army, Canberra

Mr W. Tomasetti, Office of the Chief Minister, Port Moresby

Dr A. Healey, New Guinea Branch, Summer Institute of Linguistics,
Ukarumpa

Rev. G. Renck, Lutheran Mission, Goroka, Papua New Guinea

Mr A.E. Randell, The United Church, Port Moresby

The Director, Department of Education, Konedobu, Port Moresby

Dr P. Brennan, New Guinea Lutheran Mission, Wabag

Dr J. Z'graggen, Anthropos Institute, Madang

The Director, Australian School of Pacific Administration, Sydney

Mr T. Dietz, House of Assembly, Port Moresby

Mr A.K. Neuendorf, Department of Education, Port Moresby

Mr P. Chatterton, Badili, Port Moresby

Pastor L.N. Lock, Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh
Day Adventist Church, Lae

Mr J. Lynch, Department of Anthropology, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby

Mr H. Littlewood, Australian National University, Canberra

The Adult Education Officer, Department of Education, Lae

Mr L.R. Healey, Regional Adult Education Office, Department of Education, Port Moresby

Dr H.A. Brown, The United Church, Port Moresby

Dr A. Balint, Department of English, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby

The Director, Institute of Modern Languages, University of Queensland, St Lucia, Brisbane

Rev. R. Pech, Lutheran Mission, Lae, Papua New Guinea

Mr C.P. Livingston, Elizabeth Bay, Sydney

Fr H. Janssen, Melanesian Institute, Goroka, Papua New Guinea

Fr F. Mihalic, Catholic Mission, Wewak, Papua New Guinea

The Supervisor, Board of Adult Education, Adult Education Centre, Brisbane

Regional Adult Education Officers at Goroka and Rabaul, Papua New Guinea

District Adult Education Officers at Kimbe, Jomba, Mt Hagen and Sohano, Papua New Guinea

Richard W. Adler, Executive Director, Kristen Pres Inc., Madang, Papua New Guinea

Chaplain Ken Osborne, Australian Military Forces, Goldie River, Port Moresby

2. Throughout this chapter I use the terms 'European' and 'Expatriate' as cover terms for all non-indigenous residents of Papua New Guinea.
3. Except for gold rushes, where, although the numbers were large, time was more precious.
4. Colonel Murray was actually Administrator from 1945 to 1952.
5. My understanding of this is very much 'service' knowledge. It deserves further substantiation from Public Service records - something I have regrettably been unable to do in the time available.
6. The Army set up radio station 9AA (Army Amenities) which later became 9PA when eventually taken over by the Australian Broadcasting Commission in 1946.

7. See list of available literature in Laycock's review (chapter 7.4.1.6.) above.
8. See chapter 7.9.3.3. for further details of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea and of its involvement in the teaching of New Guinea Pidgin and in Pidgin studies generally.
9. For further details of these courses see the University of Papua New Guinea *Handbook of Courses* for 1976 and 1977.
10. The first of these was Mr O. Nekitel, who is presently completing his Honours Degree in the Department of Language.
11. For additional details see Bell's account of teaching Pidgin in the Army in chapter 7.4.2.5. above.
12. See Wurm 1971:1 and Laycock 1970:vii-ix for further details.
13. See Dutton 1976.

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7.4.2.10. 'PIDGIN FOR PAPUANS': MATTER OF EXPEDIENCY

Lois Carrington

7.4.2.10.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The general training centre for public servants in Papua New Guinea (excepting, of course, those specially provided for in such institutions as the Forestry College and the Posts and Telegraphs College) is the Administrative College at Waigani. Over a period of years from 1969 I was among those teaching English as a foreign language at the College; I quite deliberately use 'foreign language' rather than 'second language' not only because English to the majority of the students was certainly not a L_2 , but rather a L_3 , L_4 or even L_5 , but also because those few to whom English was indeed a 'second language' were among the students for whom 'Pidgin for Papuans' was a matter of expediency.

7.4.2.10.2. LANGUAGE USE AT THE ADMINISTRATIVE COLLEGE

There is little point in outlining here the scope and purpose of training at the Administrative College;¹ it is sufficient here to say that the majority of the more than 800 students whom I taught were newly recruited in to the public service from Year 10 (Form IV) of secondary school, that they came from every District of the country, and that they were destined to become, the following year or the year after that, Trainee Patrol Officers (the greatest number), Local Government Officers, Local Court Magistrates, Community Development Officers, Police Prosecutors, Administrative Clerks, Library Officers or, in the earlier days, steno-secretaries.

In those earlier days, in 1969 and 1970, reflecting to a large degree the state of development of secondary education in the Districts, there were few Papuan students from the Western District, only one or two from the Southern Highlands, some from the Northern District, more from

the Gulf and Milne Bay Districts and, repeating the pattern of public service enlistment in Port Moresby at the time, a preponderance from the Central District. Most of these were unable, or claimed to be unable, to speak Pidgin. Konedobu was still 'Murray country';² 1969 was still a year when ambitious young Papuans, along with Dr Gunther, felt it prudent to be 'cats among the Pidgins'.³ Even girl counter clerks, in the Konedobu offices, showed all too clearly that it was beneath their dignity to speak any better Pidgin than a kind of 'tok misis'.⁴

Among the New Guinean students, such things did not occur, except, for example, that there were young Tolais from girls' secondary schools who had had little opportunity or need to acquire any Pidgin, but who learnt readily from the peer group within the College, that is, from Manus, New Ireland, Sepik girls within their dormitories, sporting teams, etc.

There was in those years a reluctance on the part of almost all students to use Pidgin within the classroom precincts or within the hearing of staff; this was largely a carryover from the secondary education process (see chapter 7.4.4. in this volume). It appears, from what secondary teachers told me in later years, that Pidgin did not begin to assert itself in the school context as early as it did in ours - again, this is quite understandable in terms of the acceleration, both political and in the training situation, which began to happen in the very early 1970s.

In 1971, the 'climate' among the students changed; perhaps it was easier to have your ear to the ground, in Port Moresby, even though you could rarely, on a Trainee Patrol Officer's pay, afford to admire the lights of Town. Annually, of course, especially with the Trainee Patrol Officers, we witnessed the arrival in February of little groups of shy, suspicious, regionally-minded lads. As predictably as the advent of complaints about the food on board ship, came the settling-down together, and then the nickname stage - Pomio!, Kero(wagi)!, Sunam! - and finally, six months on, the knitting together into as close a band of blood-brothers by occupation as one could ever hope to find in Papua New Guinea. But in that year, 1971, we perceived that the disinclination to own yourself as a Pidgin-speaker largely disappeared as the months went by. The reasons have been analysed elsewhere; those of us most concerned with oral English, such as myself and Dick Jeffreys, who was in charge of language laboratory programmes,⁵ found Pidgin creeping more and more into the practical work, in the stress of the moment. 'Real situations' were indeed occurring - the schoolboy (see Keith

Johnson's explanation of the connotations in chapter 7.4.4. in this volume) was giving way to the fieldworker. And the non-Pidgin-speakers wanted to join in!

7.4.2.10.3. NEED FOR FORMAL PIDGIN TRAINING

7.4.2.10.3.1. GENERAL REMARKS

By Easter 1972 it was clear that there were about 30 among the 180 students on the course who spoke no Pidgin, but who wanted to learn. Their 'mates' from the New Guinea side were only too willing to help them, but it was obvious to everybody that a brief, fairly formal introductory course, to start the Papuans off with some knowledge of good usage, was urgently required.

What was available? Nothing, as far as we could ascertain, that was not designed for Europeans, or for those who already spoke Pidgin. Papuans, and New Guineans, for that matter, were attending Pidgin courses at which various of the available textbooks and/or tape courses were used (see Dutton, chapter 7.4.2.9. in this volume); however, it seemed that to use extracts from one or more of these courses, and to put them together to form a 'short course' suitable to our needs would require more time and effort than was available, and, in any case, this would not have amounted to a course that was actually designed for Papuans. We did not care to use primers - the students were, after all, educated to post-secondary level - and the various (although, sadly, not numerous) newspapers, readers, tracts, etc. that were available in Pidgin, while they would be useful a little later as extension material, were not suitable as course material and in any case many suffered from what the 'New Guinea side' students felt was a weakness or a lack of quality - their orthography varied considerably.

7.4.2.10.3.2. THE PRODUCTION OF A COURSE

So we decided to write our own course. Everybody took part in this, New Guinea side and Papua side alike; anybody could contribute his opinions on what was required. The matter had to be settled quickly: we had begun to know that feeling, which grew stronger and stronger as Independence approached, that 'time was running out'. In the end, the following was decided on: manifestly, it seemed unnecessary to teach the Papuans the elements of Pidgin grammar, or structure, as it would have been with Europeans; all suggestions were debated, briefly in class when the scheme was first mentioned, and then by a broad 'committee' of the more interested Papuans and New Guineans. I examined these

suggestions in terms of the design (not, however, the content) of short courses for particular needs, with which I had had a deal to do in the heyday of Australia's immigration programme in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The students contributed from their own varied experience of learning Pidgin, using Pidgin in the work situation (not all were school-leavers: some, such as trainee Local Court Magistrates and Police Prosecutors, had had quite wide job experience before coming to the Administrative College) and helping others to learn it. Acquiring new languages was something of a pastime with some students: it was not unusual to find two lads, one, say, from the Sepik and the other from West New Britain, sitting under a shady tree in the lunch-break, swapping languages.

In effect, the Pidgin-speakers took that eminently practical 'Concise Grammar of Neo-Melanesian' which forms the first four pages of F. Mihalic's *Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin* (Mihalic 1969:3-6) and said 'that must be in', 'leave this out', 'they don't need this'. They indicated the kind of vocabulary that was required (elements of structure might be dispensed with, but the students had been educated in English, and words that were pitfalls for Australians might well equally be so for Papuans). The 'correct spelling' must be used - they all felt this was essential. They suggested that vocabulary extension might profitably be done in our customary classroom way, by making wall charts: a photograph of a chair, labelled *sia*, is a worthy counter to other, perhaps confusing, variants.⁶

The group was firm in its emphases; it was felt that as actually we had only two monolingual speakers (Trobriand Islanders), not counting a Hohola⁷ girl who, perforce, spoke some Motu even though her native language was English, the Papuans would need no more than, say, ten half-hour lessons 'to start them going'. To aid the refining process, I produced for their perusal lessons from my immigrant-camp and ship-board teaching days of some years before; we had copies of the *Jacaranda Dictionary* (Mihalic 1971), of the *Authorised Pidgin Spelling List* (Mihalic and Sievert 1970), of Murphy, of S.I.L. triglot readers, of Healey (Healey 1969) and *Litteral* (Litteral 1969), and of the two *Pacific Linguistics Materials* books (Wurm 1971, Laycock 1970). We browsed through them all. We wallboarded census posters in Pidgin, record covers in Pidgin, comics⁸ in Pidgin, advertisements for */mitpais/*.⁹ Then we designed the course. The Papuans probably, in the first stages, had just as much to say as those from the New Guinea side. Paul Bloomfield, a research officer with D.D.A. (the Division of District Administration, to which the Trainee Patrol Officers belonged)

contributed some 'situational conversations'; Jack Baker, the Trainee Patrol Officers' training officer, and David Chenoweth, the Principal of the College, gave the project their blessing. Ronald Ribao, the president of the Students' Representative Council, with whom I shared an office, became our sternest and most valued critic, bringing his Wapenamanda viewpoint and a wealth of experience in the field to our aid.

Six lessons were written, a student's workbook designed, and tape-scripts prepared - these were designed to be recorded with a native English-speaker (myself) reading the introduction and any instructions in English, and three 'native' (a nice point, but one that I trust is readily taken) Pidgin-speakers, a North Coast man, a Highlander and a man from the Islands, either taking turns as Reader, or each repeating the one phrase, to illustrate the variety of regional Pidgin. Trainee Patrol Officers, Community Development Officers, etc. were generally, then, given their first permanent posting in an area far from home, and could count upon moving about the country, particularly during their junior years in the service. Because of this very fact, indeed, it was felt that 'Pidgin for Papuans' (the course title just arose, and was acceptable to all) was expedient in that it gave the necessary start at a time and in a place where there was plenty of help and opportunity to learn Pidgin, not merely because the 'learning climate' was optimum, but because among the peer group, especially around the dormitories and communal areas, learning a few phrases of Pidgin was well-nigh unavoidable.

By July, motivation was high, and the various vocational training officers had had time to explain how knowledge of Pidgin could be vital, on the job. Patrol Officers on more senior level courses estimated for us that perhaps 60-80% of a Trainee Patrol Officer's or Patrol Officer's work might be done in Pidgin, if he spoke none of the local languages of his Patrol Post Area or Sub-District. The last shreds of reluctance went.

7.4.2.10.4. CONCLUSION

This, then, is the short tale of a co-operative effort to meet a pressing need when there was not, as far as we could ascertain, anything else that would serve. Perhaps the need is diminishing now, as Pidgin is becoming more universally known in the independent Papua New Guinea. Conversely, it may well be that in the future a greatly expanded version of such a course will become of the greatest usefulness possible. To me, the small miracle was the way in which it all came to be done.

N O T E S

1. See papers by College staff in Brammall and May, eds 1975, between pages 468 and 511.

2. And an Australian Department of Territories recruiting brochure (1968:4) could declare:

In the meantime Melanesian 'pidgin' became a widely understood language in New Guinea and 'motu' in Papua. However this is a temporary phase. English is the official language of the Territory - all school children are taught in English - and it will ultimately be used by everyone.

3. See *New Guinea* 4/2, June-July 1969, which announces on its cover: Cats Among the Pidgins? Papers (by John Gunther, Geoffrey Smith, Stephen Wurm and Don Laycock) of the Council on New Guinea Affairs Pidgin Seminar March 7-9, 1969.

4. Example 122 in 'Eyewitness Reporting' (Carrington 1978) provides an illuminating example of this.

5. Richard Jeffreys was later in charge of the English Department at Goroka Teachers' College, and later still Curriculum Advisor to the Department of Education.

6. This, too, is evident in the 160 examples in Carrington 1978, where although /sia/ occurs most frequently, /chair/, /chia/, /cher/, /sea/, /siar/, /char/, /cheya/ and /seya/ are also found.

7. Hohola is a suburb of Port Moresby, largely peopled by indigenous occupiers of low-covenant housing. The girl's parents, one a Papuan, the other a New Guinean, had only English as their common tongue; theirs,

in local terminology, was a 'mixed-race' marriage. Such examples of creolisation are of course becoming less and less a matter for incredulity among such students as I describe in this paper.

8. Of which the favourite was Gwyther-Jones 1971!

9. We even listened to Superintendent 'Mike' Thomas's *Tripela Liklik Pik* and - more useful to us - Radio Telephone schedules in Pidgin. Needless to say, practical work during the year's Oral/Aural English course was designed to be applicable in any language: the medium of instruction was English, but more and more over the years Pidgin and vernaculars were used, e.g. in Radio Telephone practice, telephone training, the conduct of meetings, etc. Of the 'extension material' in written form, we found the Reverend John Sievert's excellent little books (Sievert 1970a-d) most useful, mainly by virtue of the familiarity of the stories to everyone.

L. CARRINGTON

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7.4.3. HIRI MOTU

7.4.3.1. THE LANGUAGE ITSELF

T.E. Dutton and H.A. Brown

7.4.3.1.1. INTRODUCTION

Hiri Motu is the name currently used to refer to the principal lingua franca of Papua, which is a pidginised form of Motu, the Austronesian language spoken in and around Port Moresby.¹ Today this language is spoken throughout most of Papua and serves as the unofficial language of administration as well as the principal means of communication between Papuans (and to some extent New Guineans and Europeans)² speaking mutually unintelligible languages. In recent years it has assumed increasing importance in national politics in Papua New Guinea³ and is receiving increasing attention by linguists interested in the formation and development of pidgin languages.

This chapter discusses the origin, development, nature, and use of this language. It is based on published and unpublished material as well as on the authors' own knowledge of the language.⁴

7.4.3.1.1.1. HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF HIRI MOTU

When Europeans arrived to settle in Papua, the Motu were involved in a network of trading relationships with linguistically related and unrelated groups east and west of their present position. The keystone of this network was the hiri,⁵ or annual trading voyage to the Gulf of Papua some 200 miles to the west. During these voyages, the Motu visited such groups as the Elema (or Toaripi) around Freshwater Bay at the eastern end of the Gulf, and the Koriki⁶ around the Purari River delta

in the heel further west. These groups speak non-Austronesian languages unrelated to Motu and markedly different from it.

On these visits (and on return visits by the same groups)⁷ the Motu exchanged clay pots, shell ornaments and stone axes/adzes for sago, canoe logs and other Gulf products, but the primary purpose was to obtain sago which the Motu and others in the drier areas around Port Moresby needed to supplement their diet during the periodic shortages of food that generally accompany the fall-off in rainfall during the South-East Monsoon season. Although the origin of these visits is unknown it is generally agreed that it lies with the Apau Motu section of Boera⁸ just west of Port Moresby who are supposed to have migrated to their present position in stages from somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Possession.⁹ This tradition is embodied in a myth which tells how knowledge of the hiri was revealed to one, Edai Siabo, a Boera man, by a spirit in an ocean cave.¹⁰

But even though the hiri were the most spectacular of the Motu trading voyages, they did not represent the only ones they entered into: they also engaged in shorter ones to such neighbouring groups as the Doura and Gabadi to the west and the Hula and Aroma to the east, all of which speak Austronesian languages very closely related to Motu. These shorter voyages were known variously as gaura, daiva, and hirilou (< hiri + lou 'return')¹¹ and like the hiri were stimulated by the periodic shortages of food experienced during the South-East Monsoon season.

Thus the Motu and other groups around Port Moresby and in the Gulf spent much of their time visiting and being visited by their trading partners. During these visits, the Motu and their partners from the Gulf apparently (that is, as far as we can tell from the presently available sources) communicated with each other in a trading language which was never properly recorded but which seems to have been some kind of mixture of Motu and Toaripi. There are no records of the language used by trading partners involved in the more local voyages such as the hirilou but presumably this was of a different kind since those involved were speakers of closely related Austronesian languages. However, we shall return to these questions in the next section where the possibilities are discussed in more detail.

7.4.3.1.1.1. The hiri Trading Language

The first references of any sort to any 'unusual' language spoken by the Motu is that contained in references to W.G. Lawes' early attempts to learn Motu from villagers in Port Moresby harbour where he and his wife first settled in 1874. According to several recent reports,¹² the

Motu were never keen on teaching him their 'true' language but instead attempted to communicate with him in and later to teach him 'a simplified form of their language' (Chatterton 1970:96). However, it was not until some time later that his son, Frank, who played with the boys of the village and learned the 'true' language from them drew his father's attention to the deception. Even so it was only with difficulty that Lawes was able to learn the true language, because many of the villagers were still opposed to imparting this knowledge to strangers, a position some of the older men maintained until the 1920s (Chatterton 1970:95).¹³

Unfortunately there are no records of this simplified language taught to Lawes although it might be possible to reconstruct some of the features of it from a careful study of some of Lawes' early translations, especially his first one *Buka Kunana: Levaleva Tuahia Adipaia* which appeared in 1877 (Lawes 1877b), before he had become fully conversant in the 'true' language.¹⁴ Nor is there any indication of how widespread the use of this 'simplified Motu' was. However, judging by some of the comments in Lawes' letters to the headquarters of the London Missionary Society to which he belonged, it, or something between it and the 'true' language, was known at least amongst the Hula on Hood Point 60 miles to the east, for on one occasion Lawes notes (Lawes 1877a:197): '... we anchored ... off one of the villages of Hood Point ... I preached to a large and very attentive congregation in the Port Moresby dialect, which they understand pretty well.'

Something different, however, was apparently spoken between the Motu and the Elema tribes to the west for Lawes was unable to communicate with them very effectively and noted (1877a:199) that 'for any satisfactory communication we want a Port Moresby chief as introducer and interpreter. The tribes a long way along the coast have a savage character but are on friendly terms with the Port Moresby people.' Although Lawes did not know it at the time, what he needed was a knowledge of the special hiri trading language which Motu tradition also associated with the hiri - knowledge of both having been revealed to Edai Siabo already mentioned - and which had apparently developed out of the contact between the Elema and other Gulf tribes with the Motu.

Many of those Europeans living and working in Port Moresby and surrounding districts soon after, if not at that time, undoubtedly knew of the existence and use of such a language, but judging by the extant record most of these apparently never thought it worth their while mentioning it, let alone recording it or discussing it in a serious way. Consequently the little that we now know about it has had to be reconstructed from a few incomplete and passing references to it in the

available early literature cross-checked whenever possible with present-day informants.

There are three references to the language in the early records. Two of these (MacGregor 1891:xxv, and Chalmers 1895:94) merely indicate that a trading language was spoken between the Motu and the Toaripi but do not discuss it beyond casually mentioning, as MacGregor (op.cit.) did, that it was 'a jargon ... blended from both languages'.

The third observer, Barton, was a little more helpful although he too leaves much to be desired. His reference to the language is in a chapter on the hiri that he wrote for C.G. Seligman's book *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* in 1910 (Barton 1910). In this he baldly presents, as though as an afterthought, a 182-word 'vocabulary of the trading language (used) by the Elema natives and their visitors (the Motu)' under the rubric 'Lakatoi Language'. This list is very interesting not only because it is the only extant linguistic record of the language but also because approximately 87% of its items are from Elema or Elema-related languages and only 13% from Motu, most of which in turn are those for items associated with trading (e.g. 'bundle' (listed as 'bale'), 'beach', 'belly', 'cooking pot', 'drum', 'farewell', 'hunger', 'no', 'payment', 'pig', 'river', 'sleep', 'South-East', 'strike (or fight)', 'tobacco', 'yam', and 'yes'). The annoying thing about this list is, however, that Barton did not indicate how typical he thought the vocabulary in it was of the language as a whole so that much of its value is lost. However, knowing what we do of contact languages elsewhere and of the Papuan trading situation in particular, it is likely that the proportion of Motu to non-Motu elements of vocabulary in the speech of any two individuals at any one time was not fixed, but varied (within limits) according to the situation and the linguistic abilities of the speakers involved at that time. Thus, for example, if a Motu man were talking to a Toaripi partner in a Toaripi village it is highly likely that he would use as much Toaripi as he could muster. On the other hand if a Toaripi man were talking to a Motu partner in a Motu village he would be likely to air all the Motu he knew. Yet a certain amount of Motu must have been involved in all contacts, and the Motu must have been held in reasonably high regard, for all the languages and dialects around the Gulf of Papua today have Motu loans embedded in them whereas Motu shows little or no borrowing from Gulf languages in return. Consequently Barton's list should be treated with caution and probably taken as no more than indicative of the sort of Motu to non-Motu elements that one could expect in the circumstances. It is regrettable, however, that Barton did not spell this out definitely for us. So far present-day

informants have added nothing new to the hiri vocabulary picture but this source has hardly been little more than casually tapped as yet.

Structure-wise we have even less to work with than for vocabulary but from what evidence there is it is probably safe to conclude that the structure of the hiri language was something between the 'simplified Motu' taught to Lawes and a combination of elements from Motu and Gulf District languages. It could not have been 'pure' Elema otherwise Chalmers (1895:94) would hardly have complained that 'I have been trying to translate two hymns, but I find the Motuans do not know a word of the true Elema dialect ...' (suggesting that they knew something less, such as would be the case if the trade language contained some(?) a considerable amount(?) of Elema vocabulary but was different grammatically) and it could not merely have been 'simplified Motu' as he was himself, like Lawes, fluent in the 'true' language. Certainly present-day Hiri Motu contains elements which are non-Motu and which probably came from this source though they need not have. For example, whereas 'true' Motu verbs have a complex negative conjugation, Hiri Motu simply uses the form *lasi* 'not' as a negative marker after the verb. For example 'true' Motu *se kamonai* 'he does not hear' would be said as *ia kamonai lasi* in Hiri Motu. Now because this construction is similar to ones in both Toaripi and Kiwai languages which use *kao* and *tato*¹⁵ for 'not' respectively, it is probably true that *lasi* in Hiri Motu represents a continuation of an old construction used in the trading language since it would have been easily assimilated by the Kiwai-speakers who formed the backbone of Sir William MacGregor's newly formed Armed Constabulary in the early 1890s and from which time Hiri Motu in its present form dates.¹⁶ Similar comments can be made about the use of *vadaeni* as a sentence connective meaning 'and then, well' which corresponds with the use of *soka* and *aime* in Toaripi and Kiwai respectively.¹⁷

The other *point de départ* is aspect. In 'true' Motu the suffixes -*va* and -*mu* are attached to the verb to indicate continuous action in the past and continuous action in the present respectively. Of these two Hiri Motu has only a counterpart to the second. This is *noho* 'stay, dwell' which is placed after the verb, e.g. *ia helai noho* 'he is sitting down'. A similar structure is used in Toaripi to express the same idea except that the form used is *pea* and not *noho* which is a Motu form. Thus whereas in 'true' Motu one says *e kirimu* 'he is laughing', in Hiri Motu and Toaripi one says *ia kiri noho* and *are area laipea* respectively. As there is no corresponding form to this in Kiwai it must be that this construction derives from the trading language.¹⁸

However, to return to the trading language, there is one further point and that is the question of the range of use of the trading language. The only reference to this in the published and unpublished literature so far examined is Barton's (1907:16) reference to the 'curious trading dialect in vogue between the Motu and Gulf tribes'. This statement was made by Barton in the course of explaining how he induced three Kaimare (i.e. Purari Delta) visitors to Port Moresby to return with him to the Gulf of Papua in the government launch 'Merrie England' and how he also took along as interpreter 'an elderly Motu man who was well acquainted with the curious trading dialect in vogue between the Motu and Gulf tribes'. This is interesting from the point of view that the observation about the distribution and use of the language corresponds well with the known distribution of hiri trading partners. On the other hand there is no indication in this of whether essentially the same language as he later described for the Elema-Motu contact already discussed above was used by the Motu in talking with the Kaimare as with the Elema. In other words was the trading language a fairly uniform variety or did it consist of a number of dialects? Chatterton (1970:95) has argued that it must have consisted of several dialects/varieties because of the different and unrelated languages involved and this would seem to be a reasonable expectation in view of all that has been said so far. It would be interesting to know however, what the relationship between these was and how they developed - whether independently or via mutual (intermediate) contacts.

So much then for the hiri trading language. But what of its relation to those used in more local trading, e.g. such as in gaura, daiva, and hirilou contacts? Unfortunately, here again, there are no extant records. From what has been said about the hiri language, however, it is unlikely that such groups as the Doura, Gabadi, and Hula, which as already noted, speak Austronesian languages very closely related to Motu, would have found it necessary to learn special vocabulary suited to trading with Gulf District peoples, if in fact they never traded directly with those people themselves, but only with the Motu. Besides, if they had learned this special vocabulary, surely someone among the early missionaries and government representatives would have commented on this since these were the first groups of peoples to be contacted and have their languages studied by Europeans after the Motu. What is more likely is that they used some variety of Motu, more or less simplified, according to their frequency of contact with the Motu.

In review then it is probably true to say that at contact, the Motu had developed - or at least were using - a range of contact languages

which they found suitable for trading with various groups along the Papuan coast. These languages, or varieties of one language, were based on their own language but probably varied considerably in vocabulary and to a lesser extent, grammar, over time and distance. The two extremes of this range are represented by the hiri trading language (characterised by much Elema vocabulary) and the 'simplified Motu' taught to Lawes, about which little is known, but which was probably something like the Central or Austronesian variety of present-day Hiri Motu discussed below.

7.4.3.1.1.1.2. Hiri Motu

As already noted, when Europeans first arrived as missionaries in 1874 they were lucky enough to land in the very centre of a Papuan world dominated by the Motu with established contact languages and themselves 'favoured nation' along much of the coast of Papua. When the Government arrived ten years later and also settled amongst the Motu, the London Missionary Society was firmly established and had already reduced Motu to writing, knew something of the peoples around about, and had begun formal schooling for local Papuans. It was natural to expect, therefore, that Motu in one form or another would serve as a contact language and lingua franca for the development of this new colony.

In the beginning the Government relied heavily on the mission,¹⁹ the Motu, and others who may have preceded it and had learned something of Motu,²⁰ for assistance and guidance in communicating with local peoples. However, as Government control and contact expanded this situation gradually changed until by 1904 Barton was acknowledging the existence of a 'pidgin Motu',²¹ and Murray, soon afterwards, was complaining about the use in the police force of 'a kind of dog Motu - hardly intelligible to those who speak Motu as their native language'.²² Although there is no record of the stages by which this change came about, nor of the varieties in use, it is clear from the record that the principal agents in this change were members of the police force (serving²³ and retired²⁴) and 'discharged convicts',²⁵ from gaols in Port Moresby and on outstations dotted around the country.

Initially this force consisted of 'a dozen Solomon Islanders ... two Fijian non-commissioned officers ... and some eight Papuans',²⁶ seven of whom were from the Kiwai area of the Western Division of Papua and the remaining one from the (then) Eastern Division. Subsequently all of the Solomon Islanders and Fijians were replaced by locally recruited Papuans from the various districts being opened up. Initially many of these belonged to the Western District

chiefly to the islands of Kiwai and Parama, at the mouth of the Fly River ... (because) these men come into frequent contact with white people (and) ... many of them have worked aboard pearling luggers ... (and) speak English ... (although) equally good men belong to the Central and Eastern Divisions, ²⁷ but they are in most cases handicapped by not speaking English.

Later, however, recruits were added from the Northern and North-Eastern Divisions as these were opened up and by 1905 recruits from these areas outnumbered those from the Western Division and represented more than one-third of the total force of 150 members.

Right from the beginning the languages of the force were English and Motu²⁸ and even though English was regarded as the official language and attempts were constantly made to suppress Motu,²⁹ Motu continued to be used as the means of communication between members speaking different languages, because, as MacGregor (1891:xxx) noted, Motu, for Papuans, was 'more easily acquired than English'. However, at some point between then and 1904 the Motu of the police force had generally 'degenerated' into the kind of 'pidgin Motu' that Barton (1904:16) had noted and the 'kind of dog Motu' that Murray (1907:21) had complained of. Whether this was a completely new development unrelated to the varieties of trade language existing before the coming of the White Man as already outlined, or whether it was merely a continuation of one or more of these or a modification of them, is difficult to say with any certainty given the lack of evidence. It would seem most likely, however, that, given that the police force largely consisted of Papuans from outside the Central District,³⁰ that some form of the hiri trading language, relexified with Motu vocabulary to suit the new circumstances, would have formed the basis of their new language which became generally known, through its association with the police force, as Police Motu. Through time and the interaction of this language with 'true' Motu, which was widely used throughout Central Papua as a church language, this language developed its own variants which today fall into two clearly distinguishable dialects which are described in the next section.

Meanwhile the name Police Motu (and to a lesser extent Pidgin Motu) continued to be used to refer to this unofficial lingua franca³¹ until about 1970 when there was a growing feeling amongst Europeans in Papua interested in the language that this title was no longer appropriate and should be changed. These views were expressed publicly by Chatterton in a paper to the Third Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea and later published in the society's journal *Kivung* as follows:

Assuming that Police Motu will have a continuing usefulness as a lingua franca in the foreseeable future, the question of

finding a more suitable name for it arises, especially as, following the post-war amalgamation of the Papua and New Guinea police forces, it has largely dropped out of use as a *lingua franca* within the police force, though of course, used extensively by police in their contacts with Papuans. I hope that in the discussion which follows this paper someone will come up with a bright idea for a new name for this language.³²

Sometime afterwards a Conference on Police Motu was convened by the Department of Information and Extension Services, Port Moresby, in May 1971.³³ At that conference it was decided to recommend that the name Police Motu be changed to Hiri Motu in all future references to the language. As part of a campaign to help publicise this name Chatterton's little grammar and vocabulary of 1950, *A Primer of Police Motu*, was revised and reissued under the new title *Hiri Motu* (1972). Other authors have since followed suit³⁴ so that now there is quite wide acceptance of the new name - at least amongst Europeans and most educated Papua New Guineans. For most others, however, Hiri Motu is still simply Motu or Motu gado (lit. '*Motu language*'). Those who know the difference between this language and 'true' Motu make the distinction as necessary by referring to Hiri Motu as polis Motu (lit. '*Police Motu*'), pisin Motu (lit. '*Pidgin Motu*') or gwau nao (lit. '*speech foreign/European*')³⁵ and/or to 'true' Motu as Motu korikori. Note, however, that Hiri Motu of today is not the same as the trading language of yore although the name may suggest so.

7.4.3.1.1.2. DISTRIBUTION AND VARIETIES

A survey of the distribution of Police Motu (now Hiri Motu) by Brett et al. in 1962³⁶ showed that Police Motu was at that time spoken throughout the whole of Papua except for those areas which have had little contact with the Administration (as in distant parts of the Western, Gulf, and Southern Highlands Districts) or where there were competing church languages (e.g. in the Milne Bay District (see Wurm 1970)). The highest percentage of speakers is, understandably, to be found in the Central District with the percentages diminishing as one moves away from Port Moresby and inland except for the Purari River delta area where it has almost become a vernacular following the Tommy Kabu Movement there in the 1950s.³⁷ At that time the number of speakers was estimated to be approximately 65,000 although this did not include 12,000 Motu and Koita villagers around Port Moresby who speak 'true' Motu as first or second languages. In the 1966 Census, however, something like 110,000 persons over ten years of age in Papua claimed to be able to speak 'simple Police Motu' (that is, could answer census questions in it)³⁸ but others have suggested the figure could be as high as 200,000.³⁹

Understandably then if the language is spoken by such a large number over a wide area it is natural to expect that there will be some variation in it from one area to another. Thus there is no such thing as standard Hiri Motu but a series of varieties (distinguishable chiefly by their sound systems) representing varying degrees of difference within two dialects - the Central, or Austronesian, dialect and the non-Central, or non-Austronesian, dialect. The first of these is that used mostly by speakers from the Central District (now Province) whose native languages are Austronesian; the other variant is the Hiri Motu used by speakers from other parts of the Central District and from other districts (now provinces) of Papua where the languages are mostly non-Austronesian (or Papuan). This latter variant is much more widespread and several authors have advocated that it (or selected parts of it) should be regarded as the standard variety for purposes of general communication throughout Papua.⁴⁰ It differs from the Central or Austronesian variant in having a number of grammatical features which are not typical of that variety. For example, whereas the Central dialect generally follows the 'true' Motu manner of indicating possession with parts of the body and kinship terms, as well as in its manner of marking pronoun objects in the verb, the non-Central dialect does not. Compare for example, the following:

English	'true' Motu	Central Hiri Motu	non-Central Hiri Motu
<i>my father</i>	tama- <u>gu</u>	{ <u>lau-egu</u> tamana tama- <u>gu</u>	<u>lau-egu</u> tamana
<i>your father</i>	tama- <u>mu</u>	{ <u>oi-emu</u> tamana tama- <u>mu</u>	<u>oi-emu</u> tamana
<i>his head</i>	kwara- <u>na</u>	<u>ia-ena</u> kwara-na	<u>ia-ena</u> kwarana
<i>I saw you</i>	na ita- <u>mu</u>	lau lta- <u>mu</u>	{ <u>oi</u> lau ltaia lau ltaia <u>oi</u>

Generally too, the phonology and grammar of the Central or Austronesian dialect is closer to 'true' Motu. As already suggested, the reason for this is to be found in the linguistic history of the area. This area is occupied by Austronesian-speakers whose languages are very similar in structure to 'true' Motu. It is therefore natural to expect that in using Hiri Motu they will use language forms that are already familiar to them from their own linguistic background unlike speakers of non-Austronesian languages to whom these forms are strange. Not only that but as 'true' Motu is used as a church language throughout much of Central Papua this also helps to keep speakers oriented towards the

'purer' forms. Further differences will be pointed out in the grammatical and phonological descriptions which follow.

7.4.3.1.1.3. THE LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF HIRI MOTU

No descriptive grammar of Hiri Motu has yet been attempted and none will be attempted in this chapter.⁴¹ However, since Hiri Motu is similar in many ways to 'true' Motu from which it is derived it will be convenient to discuss its structure in terms of that language. The following notes therefore represent a summary account of the main features of Hiri Motu particularly as they distinguish it from 'true' Motu.⁴² These notes are based on material contained in Brett et al. 1962a, Wurm 1964, and Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974.

7.4.3.1.1.3.1. Phonology

Consonants: Hiri Motu has the following consonants:⁴³

		Bilabial	Dental-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	plain	vl	p	t	k
		vd	b	d	g
	labialised				gw
Nasals			m	n	
Fricatives		vl	f	s	h
		vd	v		
Flaps				r	
Laterals				l	

Of these the voiceless plain stops are unaspirated, and /f/ only occurs in English loanwords like faiv 'five', foto 'photo'. In some varieties of the Central dialect the distinction between /r/ and /l/, /f/ and /p/, and /b/ and /v/ may not be maintained, and /h/ may not occur. Similar variations may also be heard in the non-Central dialect as well as the following:

- i) /r/ may be replaced by /d/ word-initially;
- ii) /l,r/ may be replaced word-medially by /n/;
- iii) voiced stops may be devoiced;
- iv) /gw/ will generally be replaced by /kw/.

Consonantly, Central Hiri Motu differs from 'true' Motu in having:

- i) a voiced velar stop /g/ corresponding to both a voiced velar stop /g/ and a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ in 'true' Motu, e.g. guria

'to bury' and *γuria* 'to pray to' in Motu are both *guria* 'to bury, to pray to' in Hiri Motu;

ii) free fluctuation, in most varieties, between /r/ and /l/ so that *lau* 'I' and *rau* 'leaf' of 'true' Motu are both heard as *rau* (or *lau*) in Hiri Motu for both 'I' and 'leaf'.

Vowels: Hiri Motu has five vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

There is little variation in vowel quality across dialects and between varieties within dialects. Length of vowel is not significant. All sequences of vowels occur within words but *ae*, *oe*, *ao* only occur across morpheme boundaries, e.g. the sequence *ao* occurs in the bi-morphemic word *haorea* 'to complete (something)' but only across the morpheme boundary *ha-* 'causative' and *orea* 'to finish'.

Thus, whereas Motu has the following pairs of phoneme sequences within words, Hiri Motu does not, both pairs being realised by the same sequence, e.g.:

Motu		Hiri Motu
<i>ae</i>	}	<i>ai</i>
<i>ai</i>		
<i>ao</i>	}	<i>au</i>
<i>au</i>		
<i>oe</i>	}	<i>oi</i>
<i>oi</i>		

Thus Motu *lao* 'to go' and *lau* 'I' both become *lau* 'to go, I' in Hiri Motu. The same is true of the non-Central dialect except that *au* never occurs in any environment since it is replaced by /o/ in words that contain *au* in the Central dialect, e.g. *koraia* in the non-Central dialect.

Syllables: All syllables in all varieties of Hiri Motu are open and the following syllable patterns occur:

V	o	'or'
CV	diba	'know'
CVV	tau	'man'
VV	oi	'you'

In sequences of vowels stress determines the interpretation of syllable structure. For example *táu* 'man' is regarded as one syllable because stress falls on the first vowel, but *niú* 'coconut' would be regarded as consisting of two syllables because stress falls on the second vowel.

Stress: Each Hiri Motu word contains only one stressed syllable, the placement of which is not predictable.

i) words consisting of two syllables of which the second begins with a consonant have their stress (marked ' in examples) mostly on the first syllable, e.g.:

<i>gíni</i>	'to stand'
<i>áne</i>	'song'

Exceptions:

<i>idáu</i>	'different'
<i>dogái</i>	'widower'
<i>metáu</i>	'heavy'
<i>niú</i>	'coconut'
<i>heáu</i>	'to run'
<i>heái</i>	'to fight'

ii) words of more than two syllables never have their stress on the final syllable, e.g.:

<i>bogakúnu</i>	'full (with food)'
<i>dábarere</i>	'dawn'

iii) words of more than two syllables are variously stressed depending on morphemic structure, e.g.:

<i>kubórukubóru</i>	'round'
<i>dogoatáo</i>	'to hold'
<i>magánibada</i>	'ridge pole'
<i>dúrua</i>	'to help'
<i>taunimánima</i>	'people'
<i>hadikáia</i>	'to spoil'

iv) in a few instances the position of the stress in a word undergoes regular changes when a suffix is added, e.g.:

<i>námo</i>	'good'	<i>namóna</i>	'(a) good one'
		<i>namódia</i>	'good ones'
<i>néga</i>	'time'	<i>negána</i>	'(a) time'
		<i>negádia</i>	'times'
<i>héreva</i>	'talk'	<i>herevána</i>	'the thing which is said'
		<i>herevadia</i>	'the things that are said'

Except for the following cases, the stress patterns of Hiri Motu are similar to those of 'true' Motu. These cases concern only a small subset

of words in Motu. In these different stress placement (marked ') distinguishes between singularity and plurality of the noun, e.g.:

hahíne 'woman' versus háhine 'women'
kekéni 'girl' versus kékeni 'girls'

In Hiri Motu there is no change in the position of the stress to indicate number so that both these words would appear as hahíne 'woman, women' and kekéni 'girl, girls'.

7.4.3.1.1.3.2. Grammar

This is the area of principal difference between Motu and Hiri Motu. Compared with 'true' Motu, Hiri Motu has a much reduced structure, particularly as regards verb morphology, as well as several features not found in 'true' Motu. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

The principal difference between Motu and Hiri Motu is that the many Motu words and affixes indicating tense, aspect, mode, person, and number do not occur in Hiri Motu. Thus in Motu, tense is always indicated by one form or another but in Hiri Motu the words vadaeni (and in some cases vada) indicating past tense and dohore or do indicating future tense are the only ways of showing tense, e.g.:

Hiri Motu	lau itaia vadaeni	} 'I saw it'
Motu	Na itaia(va)	
Hiri Motu	Dohore	} lau itaia
	Do	
Motu	Baina itaia	

} 'I'll see it'

If neither of these is used the tense may be read as either present, past, or future depending on other elements in the same or neighbouring sentences, e.g.:

lau itaia 'I see it' or 'I saw it' or 'I'll see it'
depending on circumstances.

There are two suffixes of continuous action in Motu, notably -va indicating past continuous action and -mu indicating present continuous action.⁴⁴ These suffixes are not found in Hiri Motu although Hiri Motu uses the form noho (lit. 'stay, remain') after the verb to indicate continuous action, e.g.:

Hiri Motu	lau helai noho	} 'I am sitting down'
Motu	na helaimu	
Hiri Motu	lau itaia	} 'I see it'
Motu	na itaia	
Hiri Motu	lau itaia noho	} 'I am watching it'
Motu	na itaiamu	

Although mode can be expressed in Hiri Motu there are few special forms. Whereas Motu has several words expressing adjunctive mode, only one - bema - occurs in Hiri Motu. However, while in Motu this is used only for the third person singular and plural forms of verbal expressions, in Hiri Motu it is used with all persons in both singular and plural, e.g.:

Hiri Motu	Bema lau helai...	} 'If I sit down...'
Motu	Bama helai...	

Similarly Hiri Motu uses only lasi 'not' as the negative mode marker after the verb⁴⁵ whereas Motu has a number of variant forms depending on tense, person, and number, which come before the verb.

Hiri Motu	Do lau itaia lasi	} 'I'll not see it'
Motu	Basina itaia	
Hiri Motu	lau itaia lasi	} 'I did not see it'
Motu	asina itaia	

Again in Motu, objects of transitive verbs must be referred to in the verb by one of a number of suffixes which agree with the object in number and person, e.g.:

(ia) e ita- <u>gu</u>	'he saw <u>me</u> '
(lau) na bota- <u>ia</u>	'I hit <u>him</u> '
(idia) e utu- <u>mui</u>	'they cut <u>you</u> (pl.)'

In the Central variety of Hiri Motu this system is retained while in the non-Central variety the object is merely placed before or after the verb, which usually ends in -a (a fossilised form of the Motu third person singular object), except for third person plural objects when -dia (which is the same as the Motu form) is added to the verb and replaces the final -a on those transitive verb forms on which it occurs, e.g.:

lau itaia oi	'I saw you'
boroma lau itadia	'I saw pigs'

Standard Motu also has a complex system of marking possessive case. There are different classes of nouns (generally referred to as 'inalienable' and 'alienable') and rules for changing vowels from e to a when foods are possessed, e.g.:

lau-egu ruma	'my house'
lau-agu aniani	'my food'
adavagu	'my spouse'
adavana	'his spouse'

None of these distinctions is made in Hiri Motu - one construction is used for all cases and so there are no noun classes although there is some variation again between the Central and non-Central varieties and

some exceptions for certain kinship words, e.g. while *lau-egu tamana* 'my father' is the term of reference, one uses *tamagu* (the normal standard Motu possessive form) as a term of address.

Standard Motu adjectives too take the suffixes *-na* and *-dia* to indicate whether the nouns they qualify are singular or plural in number but this is not generally carried over into Hiri Motu except for a few common adjectives like *namo* 'good' and *dika* 'bad' but again with variations from area to area, e.g.:

<i>kekeni namona</i>	'a good girl'
<i>kekeni namodia</i>	'good girls'
<i>hereva dikana</i>	'bad language'
<i>hereva dikadia</i>	'bad things that are said'

Also in standard Motu there are four nouns which have a special form for plural number. These are *tatau* 'men' (from *tau* 'man'), *memero* 'boys' (from *mero* 'boy'), *háhline* 'women' (from *hahfne* 'woman') and *kékeni* 'girls' (from *kekéni* 'girl'). Few speakers of Hiri Motu maintain this distinction in Hiri Motu, however.

Finally, as already noted in section 7.4.3.1.1.1.1. above, Hiri Motu uses *vadaeni* (lit. 'enough, sufficient') as a sentence connective whereas this is not a feature of standard Motu. There are other differences which have been treated in some detail by Wurm (1964) (e.g. irregular verb forms, reflexive forms, temporal clauses, *dekenai* or *dekena*) and need not be elaborated upon here.

7.4.3.1.1.3.3. Vocabulary

Hiri Motu has a restricted vocabulary compared with 'true' Motu. This has several consequences for the language. On the one hand it means that the same form has to serve many functions and cover a wider range of meaning than the corresponding form in 'true' Motu in which the vocabulary is more specialised. For example, *atoa* in Hiri Motu may mean 'to contribute (funds) to, to put, to put on (clothes or paint), to place' depending on context, whereas the same form in 'true' Motu merely means 'to place or set (something)'. On the other hand, it also means that many of the ideas expressed by particular vocabulary items in standard Motu can only be expressed in Hiri Motu by circumlocutions, paraphrases and roundabout explanations. This is particularly true of specialised technical vocabulary. In basic vocabulary, however, Hiri Motu shares approximately 90% with Motu, the difference being made up principally by borrowings from English, New Guinea Pidgin, Polynesian, and for two special items, *nakimi* 'any relative or close friend' and *kiki* 'story', from Papuan languages in the Gulf of Papua and the Northern

District respectively.⁴⁶ In general these go hand in hand with new cultural ideas introduced by the white man and/or his assistants. So historically, a few words like pakosi '*scissors*', tamaka '*shoes*', auri '*iron*' found their way into the language via South Sea Island pastor-teachers that came with the early missionaries of the London Missionary Society; others like motuka '*car, truck*', plein or plaimasin '*aeroplane*', gavamani '*Government Administration*', sitoa '*store, shop*', sisima, sitima, bouti '*ship, steamer, boat*', soka bolo '*soccer ball*', etc. indicate the range of European industries and services introduced; others again like baibel '*Bible*', basileia (from Greek) '*kingdom*' are part and parcel of new religious concepts. A few words like didiman '*agricultural officer*', sikuru '*joint*' and balusi '*aeroplane*' and cardinal numbers 4 to 10 (poa, paip, sikis, seven, et, nain, ten) and ordinal numbers (namba wan, namba tu, etc.) used in some areas, have come in from New Guinea Pidgin, though not necessarily directly, since they are also popularly used by English-speakers in Papua New Guinea. On the other hand, some of the English words in Hiri Motu may have come via New Guinea Pidgin especially in the Southern Highlands and the northern parts of the Central and Northern Provinces where the two languages are in close contact. Elsewhere, however, this is unlikely as Hiri Motu has been in contact with English for almost a century while it has been in contact marginally with New Guinea Pidgin for only the past two decades. However, this contact is increasing as more Papua New Guineans become fluent in both these lingue franche.

One interesting effect of this growing contact is that some speakers are beginning to use Pidgin verbs in their Hiri Motu. This is especially noticeable when Pidgin verbs are simpler (in the sense that a single form conveys the same sense as several Hiri Motu words) than the corresponding Hiri Motu ones. For example, Pidgin skelim conveys the same sense as Hiri Motu atoa sikeli dekenai (lit. '*to put (something) on the scales*') '*to weigh or share out (something)*'. Now if this kind of borrowing continues it could eventually have important consequences for the language by way of complicating its transitive verb formation rules. Thus whereas Pidgin transitive verbs are normally marked for transitivity by a final syllable -im (e.g. skelim, lukim), similar verbs in Hiri Motu are normally marked by a final a or ia (e.g. atoa '*to put*', itaia '*to see*'). Consequently when Pidgin verbs are taken over into Hiri Motu their transitivity goes with them and so they are not marked in the normal Hiri Motu way and thereby constitute exceptions in the language.

A short vocabulary of Hiri Motu was published by Chatterton (1946, 1972) and a dictionary of approximately 2,000 items by Brett et al. in 1962 (Brett et al. 1962b). This latter is being revised at the present time by a group of interested persons in Port Moresby which includes (or included in the case of Brown) Messrs P. Chatterton, F. Wood, R. Brown, T. Dietz, R. Lean and several Papuan advisers.

7.4.3.1.1.4. *THE LINGUISTIC STATUS OF HIRI MOTU*

Hiri Motu is constantly contrasted with 'true' Motu (the standard variety of which is taken to be the speech of the large village of Hanuabada in Port Moresby Harbour) and because it is generally simpler in structure than 'true' Motu in ways already indicated, it is often described pejoratively as 'barbarous', 'debased', etc. The question thus arises as to the scientific status of Hiri Motu - is it a dialect of Motu or is it a separate language? and as a follow-on to that, if it is not a dialect of Motu what kind of language is it?

The first problem has been examined and answered in some detail by Wurm (1964) who came to the conclusion that although Hiri Motu shares 90% or more of its vocabulary with 'true' Motu, it is nevertheless not immediately nor necessarily intelligible to speakers of 'true' Motu, and therefore cannot be considered a dialect of it. Hiri Motu is a language in its own right with an established grammatical structure, in some ways similar to, but in other ways markedly different from 'true' Motu as already illustrated.

The second problem is answered more or less by the same observations. Thus since Hiri Motu is structurally derived from more than one source and is reduced in structure compared with its principal source, 'true' Motu, it is technically a pidgin language, albeit closely related to Motu. Moreover, whereas Motu is the vernacular or mother tongue of the Motu people, Hiri Motu is no one's (except for some isolated cases) mother tongue but is instead generally only learned as a second language for communicating with others outside one's own language.

7.4.3.1.1.5. *USE OF HIRI MOTU*

As already indicated, Hiri Motu is the major lingua franca of Papua and is spoken in most provinces. For many years it was despised and discredited as a corrupt form of 'true' Motu partly because of the attitude towards pidgin languages in general at that time, and partly because of its particular illegitimate beginning (that is, born out of the contact between non-Europeans in a government police force where

English was the only recognised language of instruction and communication). Although these attitudes are not yet dead they are changing as Papuans have begun to assert themselves and their ideas more⁴⁷ before and after the independence of Papua New Guinea, and as the language is used more and debated more in public.⁴⁸ It has also probably profited from the growing prestige of Pidgin which has always tended to receive more attention than Hiri Motu (outside of Papua that is) because of its wider use, the greater number of publications in the language, and the public debates about its potential as a future national language.⁴⁹

Government-wise Hiri Motu has always been recognised as a useful service tool and has served as the unofficial language of contact and administration since about the mid-1890s when its existence was first reported - see section 7.4.3.1.1.2. above. Today the Government sponsors classes in the language⁵⁰ and supports local and national broadcasting stations that use the language daily for news broadcasts, items of general interest, music request programmes and story telling. Hitherto it was responsible for the publication of Chatterton's little introduction to the language *A Primer of Police Motu* (1946) and produced until recently a fortnightly newspaper *Iseda Sivarai* ('Our News') and a number of small departmental publications on medicine, agriculture, and education.⁵¹

Mission attitudes to the use of Hiri Motu vary according to the size and/or state of development of the mission. Generally most ignore it or use it only as a crutch or contact-language-cum-lingua-franca until such times as they are able to learn and use a local language as a church language. About the only exceptions to this are the Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church (hereafter simply the Seventh Day Adventist Church Mission) and the Jehovah's Witnesses who use it more generally in their work for reasons peculiar to their own missions.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church Mission is an old mission in Papua having begun at Sogeri in 1908 but now with stations scattered throughout southern Papua at Marshall Lagoon, Efogi, Vailala and Domara in the Central Province and Karaisa and Isurava in the Northern Province.⁵² It is a small organisation with staff spread over a wide area and in many languages so that it has been impractical for them to use anything other than *lingue franche* for church purposes. In Papua this was Hiri Motu and this was used for all purposes until about 1955 when, in keeping with government policy on education, English was used for education. Of course indigenous members of the church were/are free to use their own vernaculars in their own areas but they would naturally use Hiri Motu at larger meetings involving people from a number of languages.

As was the case everywhere before World War II, it was anathema to publish in Hiri Motu, the accepted thing being to use only the 'true' language in print. After World War II, however, Pastor L.N. Lock insisted that Hiri Motu be used instead, because the reception of the 'true' Motu material they had previously printed (notably lesson pamphlets) was naturally enough (because 'true' Motu is not intelligible to Hiri Motu speakers) not good enough. In general the Central dialect is used as the standard for this mission. For those non-Austronesians outside of the Port Moresby area this means that they have to learn to use the Central dialect as a church language.

The following are publications in Hiri Motu by the Seventh Day Adventist Church Mission in Papua:

Keriso Laohenia Dalana, (Warburton, Victoria: Signs Publishing Company) n.d. Translated from an English text written by Ellen G. White. Name of translator not given.

Sabati Sikulu Lessoni, a quarterly, published by the Papua New Guinea Union Mission.

S.D.A. Ekalesia Harina Papua New Guinea Lalonai, a quarterly, published by the Papua New Guinea Union Mission.

Jehovah's Witnesses on the other hand began work in Papua in areas along the coast from Port Moresby in the post-World War II developmental period. Initially they used 'true' Motu but found it unsatisfactory for some areas and so now concentrate on Hiri Motu. However, some of their missionaries have learned local languages and have published some literature in some of these, e.g. in Hula (Keapara), Toaripi, and Kiwai. Their publications in Hiri Motu include:

Gima Kohorona, (Brooklyn, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York), appears monthly.

Mauri ia lao henia Hereva Momokanina, (Brooklyn, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York) 1969.

Finally, it is worth noting in the present context that the former London Missionary Society (now part of the United Church) which was in a singularly good position to promote the use of Hiri Motu in Papua in fact made little use of it. After World War II the Society did experiment with 'simplified Motu' (as distinct from Hiri Motu) in a newsletter called *Harina*, but this only survived for three years. However, the Mainland Region of the United Church (which covers the south coast regions of Papua from the Irian Jaya border to Milne Bay and includes

the former London Missionary Society) now uses Hiri Motu as the official language in its Synod meetings. English is also allowed but it must be translated into Hiri Motu.

7.4.3.1.1.6. PUBLICATIONS IN HIRI MOTU

Many of these have already been listed in the previous section dealing with the use of Hiri Motu. However, there are several other publications which should be mentioned but which do not come within the categories so far used. These are:

1) *Poroman* - (New Guinea Pidgin for 'companion') - the newspaper of the United Party in Papua New Guinea which is published by Kantri Press, Port Moresby. This paper contains political articles in English, Hiri Motu, and Pidgin and appears irregularly. It was commenced in 1973.

11) the following translations by Messrs R. Lean and Abe Mamata (with the help of others) published by branches of the United Bible Societies:

- 1964 *Mareko* [Mark's Gospel]. London: British and Foreign Bible Society. Revised edition published in 1973 by The Bible Society in Papua New Guinea, Lae, Port Moresby, Rabaul.
- 1970 *Aposeolo Edia Kara* [Acts of the Apostles]. Canberra and Port Moresby: British and Foreign Bible Society in Australia.
- 1973 *Genese Bona Esodo*. Lae, Port Moresby, Rabaul: Bible Society of Papua New Guinea.

Work is also proceeding towards a complete translation of the complete New Testament into Hiri Motu.

111) the following Missionary Association of Papua New Guinea publications:

- (a) *Dala ia Lao Guba* (= The Way to Heaven). Port Moresby 1959.
A diglot prepared by Freda Lea.
- (b) *Sivarai Momokani* (= True Stories). Port Moresby. First published in 1952 as a quarterly diglot. Later changed to *Kamonai*. In 1961 was replaced by *Onward* in simple English but still with a few Hiri Motu items. Still continuing in simple English.
- iv) two books by Nigel Gore:
 - (a) *Guba Hanua Dekenai Lao Tauna Ena Kiki* (= Pilgrim's Progress). Auckland, New Zealand: Wentworth Press - no date. This is basically in the non-Central variety of Hiri Motu.

- (b) *The Rhyming List of 2,100 Common English Words with Explanations in Police Motu*. No publication details on book.
- v) The following Scripture Gift Mission publications:
 - (a) *Gau Hani Dirava ia Ura Oi Diba*. London 1964.
 - (b) *Dirava Ena Haere* (= God's Answer). London 1969.
 - (c) *Tanobada Ena Hamauria Tauna* (= Saviour of the World). Forthcoming.
- vi) *Iesu Ena Mauri Sivaraina* (= The Life Story of Jesus). Printed and produced by David Cook Foundation, U.S.A. 16pp. in coloured comic form.
- vii) A booklet *Sivara'i Momokani* (= True Stories) containing six diglot stories was printed by Stanmore Mission Press for MAPANG. (Date unknown).
- viii) *Evanelia Buka*. A 65-page Harmony of the Gospels by P. Chatterton (1946). More 'simplified' Motu than Hiri Motu.

7.4.3.1. HIRI MOTU - THE LANGUAGE ITSELF

N O T E S

1. See Dutton 1973a for a listing of Motu villages. Also see Pawley's description in chapter (II) 4.4.2.
2. 'Europeans' is used here and elsewhere throughout this chapter to cover all non-indigenous inhabitants of Papua New Guinea.
3. For example it is one aspect of Miss Abaijah's *Papua Besena* (or Papuan Separatist) Movement. See Griffin 1973. Speaking knowledge of it has become (along with New Guinea Pidgin) one of the prerequisites for Papua New Guinean citizenship.
4. We should like to express our thanks to the following for supplying information upon which this account is based: Professor S.A. Wurm, The Australian National University, Canberra, for information about, and material in, Kiwai and related languages; Mr P. Chatterton, Port Moresby, for discussing with us his views on the origin and development of Hiri Motu and for comments on a first draft of this chapter; Dr A.J. Taylor, United Bible Societies, Lae, and Mr R. Lean, Commonwealth Department of Works, Port Moresby, for so kindly helping to compile lists of publications; Mr J. Smith, of the Jehovah's Witnesses Organisation, Mr W.G. Merriweather of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission, Pangoa, and Pastor L. Lock of the Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Lae, for information kindly supplied through Dr Taylor; and finally, but by no means least, Mr N.D. Oram of the University of Papua New Guinea for supplying further corroborative information from Boera village.
5. For descriptions of the hiri see Barton 1910, Turner 1878, and Wedgwood 1955 for example.

6. 'Koriki' is the name commonly applied by the Motu to various groups of people living around the Purari Delta (e.g. I'ai, Koriki, Kaimare, Barai, Vaimuru, Maipua) although, as Chatterton (1970:95) has previously pointed out, the name, strictly speaking, only applies to one of those groups.

7. See Barton 1910:118-19, Turner 1878:471, 473, and Williams 1932. for descriptions of various aspects of these visits. Note, however, that Williams' (1932) account relates to trading voyages from Orokelo begun there after the Vailala Madness, i.e. in the 1920s. Williams' article is misleading too in that nowhere does he seem to realise that the Toaripi and Moripi-Elema, in contrast to other Elema groups, began the practice of making hiri voyages in imitation of the Motu long before European contact. There were Toaripi vavaea (= Motu lagatoi) in Port Moresby Harbour when Captain Moresby entered there and gave the place his family name.

Whereas the Motu set out for the Gulf at the end of the laurabada (or South-East Monsoon) season (i.e. September-October) and returned about the end of the year during the lahara (or North-West Monsoon) season, the Toaripi-Moripi made their sariva, as they termed it, towards the end of the lahara season (called in Toaripi avora (< Motu lahara), i.e. March, and returned westwards at the beginning of the laurabada season (called mauta (< Motu laurabada) in Toaripi), i.e. April. A description of the Toaripi-Moripi sariva is given in Brown 1956.

8. Boera is a mixed Motu-Koita village. Koita is a non-Austronesian language spoken around Port Moresby - see chapter (II) 2.0., especially (II) 2.9.5.2.1.1.).

9. Chatterton (personal communication) has suggested that if this is true then the origin of the hiri may have been due not so much to the discovery (or revelation!) of the techniques of building the large canoes required (called lagatoi) as to the fact that they knew about the sago lands which lay beyond Cape Possession. This is a very important point and suggests that it is also at least a possibility that the language of the hiri predated the hiri itself and began as the language of communication between the Apau Motu and their Elema neighbours.

10. Cf. Barton 1910 and Chalmers 1895:94.

11. Cf. Taylor 1970:4 and Brown 1974:8.

12. Viz. Chatterton (1970:95-6) and Brown (1974:2).

13. Brown (1974:2) also makes the point that there was obviously a decided advantage for the Motu in maintaining this position in that while they could understand the simplified version, 'true' Motu remained unintelligible to speakers of the simplified version.

14. We have to say 'might' here because we have not yet seen a copy of this book. We do know, however, from a study of his first grammar, that by 1885 when he published it he was well beyond the 'simplified Motu' stage.

15. tato is still used as the normal form for 'not' in Wabuda but represents an 'old' form in Kiwai itself (Wurm, personal communication).

16. Actually, of course, it could represent a Kiwai innovation but that would seem a little too coincidental given the other evidence.

17. Brown (1974:6) gives the following as illustrative material:

At the end of a Toaripi sentence there will often be found the verb in a finite form. When it is desired to carry forward the thought of the completed sentence into a new sentence, the latter will begin with the verb repeated in its converb form; e.g. Are oroti evoe voa forea au avope. Avi... 'She boarded the canoe at the stern and sat down. Seating herself...' Should there be a break in thought between the two sentences, then soka will introduce the new sentence, and it will in effect say 'enough!' to what has preceded it. Thus: Marai miri voa kavai vei maea leiye. Soka karikara karu arero taiape, 'Marai set off to go to the beach. Well, the village people were waiting for him.' In the second sentence there is a change of subject and of location; hence the soka.

18. Kiwai uses the suffix -diro 'continuous' which is not related to their form omioi for 'to stay, dwell' (Wurm, personal communication).

19. See, for example, mention in Stuart 1970 of Erskine (page 30), Sir Peter Scratchley (page 35), and Musgrave (page 36). Lawes also published his first grammar of Motu in 1885 in anticipation that

it will be of the first importance that all who have to do with the natives in an official capacity should be able to speak with the people in their own language. This little work will, I hope, be of some use to those who may be located in the Port Moresby district. (Lawes 1885:iv).

20. For example, the government employed (to the disapproval of the Colonial Office) men like the Hunter brothers who first came to Papua in 1881 'as traders of sorts' (Stuart 1970:24), Frank Lawes, son of the first missionaries in Papua, and A.C. English, a young naturalist who had arrived in Papua just before Chester's annexation in 1883. All of these (except Robert Hunter) served as government agents for various periods at Rigo, the first outstation established in Papua.

21. Barton (1904:16).

22. Murray (1907:21).

23. For example, Barton (1905:16) noted that:

The police force has done a great deal by way of disseminating a knowledge of the Motu dialect which they readily pick up whilst serving the first period of their engagements as recruits at Port Moresby, and which is now rapidly becoming the most widely diffused of all the native dialects.

24. Many retired policemen became village policemen in their own villages and served as useful go-betweens between the Government and the local population. See Legge 1956 for a discussion of the Village Constable system.

25. MacDonald (1898:95; 1903:43).

26. MacGregor (1898:xxv). The Armed Constabulary was formed in 1894 by Sir William MacGregor. See MacGregor 1890.

27. Barton (1901:103).

28. MacGregor (1894:xxx).

29. Green (1897:77); Bramell (1898:63); MacDonald (1898:115); Murray (1907:21).

30. Initially 'no native of the Central District, which includes Port Moresby' joined the force (MacGregor 1892:xix) but by 1905 they made up approximately a quarter of the contingent.

31. See for example Brett et al. 1962a; 1962b, Chatterton 1950; 1970, Wurm 1964, and Wurm and Harris 1963.

32. Chatterton (1970:97-8).

33. The actual impetus for this conference came from Mr T. Dietz, then Chief Interpreter, House of Assembly, who was keen to have the Brett et al. *A Dictionary of Police Motu* (1962b) revised. He wrote to the Department of Information and Extension Services and the Director at the time, Mr L. Newby, then decided to hold an open conference to test attitudes. This conference was opened by the Administrator Mr L. Johnson and was attended by all who were interested in the question including Dr J. Guise, former Speaker of the House of Assembly. No papers were presented but the proceedings were recorded on tape by the Department.

34. For example, Livingston (forthcoming), and Dutton and Voorhoeve (1974), a revised version of Dutton and Voorhoeve (1974) - see chapter 7.4.3.2.1., and Chatterton (1975).

35. According to Chatterton (personal communication), this expression gwau nao is applied not to the language as such but to the mispronunciation of Motu words by foreigners, particularly Europeans. Latterly the word nao has been used almost exclusively for Europeans, but originally it presumably meant non-Motu.

36. Brett et al. (1962a).

37. This movement stressed the use of Hiri Motu as part of the means to achieve a better life that the movement was aimed at. See Maher 1958:79, 1961:60.

38. Note that this figure is for Papua only; there were reputed to be a further 10,000 speakers in New Guinea.

39. Balint (1973:2).

40. For example, Brett et al. (1962a:11) recommended that the type of Hiri Motu spoken in the Western District should be adopted as standard in preparing material for mass communication. Chatterton (1970:98) however, thought that the Purari Delta (or Koriki) variety should be, for a number of linguistic reasons which he listed.

41. There is, however, an increasing body of descriptive material becoming available in the form of a growing number of relatively recent language-learning publications, viz. Chatterton 1950, 1972, 1975, Wurm and Harris 1963, Livingston (forthcoming), Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974, and a revised version of Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974 - see chapter 7.4.3.2.1., and *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* (Port Moresby: The Office of Information, 1976). These publications contain explanatory notes and hints on the structure of the language arranged and presented in various ways according to the aims of each and generally (except for *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* and Chatterton's little primers) accompanied by illustrative tape recordings of increasing sophistication and scope.

42. For descriptions of 'true' Motu see Lister-Turner and Clark n.d.a and Taylor 1970. The standard variety is taken to be that described by Lister-Turner and Clark.

43. Note that the phonemic script used here is not to be confused with the orthography used in publications. In this section phonemic symbols are used to better bring out the differences between Hiri Motu and 'true' Motu. In published material the 'true' Motu script is largely used to maintain parallelism with 'true' Motu and to help distinguish between homophones like lau, lao, etc. in Hiri Motu.

44. Cf. discussion of aspect in section 7.4.3.1.1.1.1. above.

45. Cf. discussion of lasi in section 7.4.3.1.1.1.1. above.

46. Chatterton (1970:96).

47. Cf. the Papua Besena movement mentioned in section 7.4.3.1.1. in this chapter.

48. As exemplified by the Conference on Police Motu already mentioned and the subsequent name change 'Police Motu' to 'Hiri Motu'.

49. See the chapters 7.4.1.4.5.-6. above.

50. For further details see chapter 7.4.3.2. below in this volume.

51. See Brett et al. 1962a:10 for further details.

52. The church also has stations in New Guinea.

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7.4.3.2. THE TEACHING OF HIRI MOTU TO EUROPEANS

T.E. Dutton

7.4.3.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The history of teaching Hiri Motu to Europeans,¹ like the history of teaching New Guinea Pidgin to Europeans (see chapter 7.4.2.9.), really only dates back to the late 1940s when Mr C.P. Livingston began taking classes in Police Motu (now Hiri Motu) for residents of the administrative capital of the (then) Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Prior to that there was no organised assistance for persons wishing to learn this language. Like New Guinea Pidgin too the reasons for this tardiness in establishing courses lies in a combination of factors related to the particular history of growth and development of the area where this lingua franca was spoken, in this case Papua (as distinct from New Guinea), that affected the various sectors (government, mission, and private enterprise) of the expatriate community in Papua differently. In what follows, these events and the attitudes that developed and/or were imported into the country and helped shape them are sketched briefly before proceeding with a survey of the nature and variety of courses themselves that have been offered so far. And as the missions were the first to establish themselves in this new country it will be simplest to begin there and proceed to the Government and private enterprise sectors in that order. In each case I shall attempt to give a short description based on my own experience as a former Education Officer in the Administration of the (then) Territory of Papua and New Guinea and on discussions I have had with present and former Administration Officers, mission representatives and others.² Details of the actual class programmes were obtained by questionnaire.³ In this discussion I use the term Motu to refer to the mother tongue of the people of the same name and Hiri Motu for that of the present-day lingua franca - see chapter 7.4.3.1. above.

7.4.3.2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

7.4.3.2.2.1. THE MISSION SITUATION

The first mission to establish itself in Papua was a branch of the London Missionary Society. This Society had been active in the Pacific since 1797 and had reached Papua by way of Cape York and the Torres Straits in the early 1870s. A permanent station was finally established at Metoreia in Port Moresby Harbour near the large Motu village of Hanuabada in 1874 by Rev. and Mrs W.G. Lawes, who, in accordance with the policy of the former Society in Papua (now part of the United Church) immediately set about learning Motu, the major vernacular in the area of the mission station.

As time went on new stations were established up and down the coast of Papua and inland, and in each case, except for the initial period when Hiri Motu was used as a contact language, the individual missionary concentrated on learning and using the major vernacular in the vicinity of his station as a church language. In this way it was considered that a closer approach could thereby be made to the people than would be possible through the medium of Hiri Motu.

More or less the same attitudes and approaches were adopted by other missions entering and working in Papua except for the Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Jehovah's Witnesses who, as already noted in 7.4.3.1.1.5. above, because of their small size and scattered distribution have largely concentrated on using Hiri Motu as their church language.⁴ Consequently either because of these attitudes or because of the low numbers of new appointees entering the mission none of the missions has felt urged to conduct courses in Hiri Motu as a means of inducting these appointees into their new positions. Not even the Summer Institute of Linguistics which is very sensitive to language situations in Papua New Guinea has conducted classes for its members (although as already noted in 7.4.2.9.2. above, it has done so for some time for New Guinea Pidgin) even though it has had teams located in Hiri Motu-speaking areas for over a decade now.⁵ However the situation is changing and the Institute now encourages members working in Hiri Motu-speaking areas to know something of the language. A short part-time course was also conducted by Fr T. McCrill in 1972 in Port Moresby for some 35 nuns and priests of various Roman Catholic orders.

7.4.3.2.2.2. THE GOVERNMENT SITUATION

In 1884, ten years after the establishment of the London Missionary Society's headquarters in Papua, the British Government reluctantly proclaimed Papua a British Protectorate and formally established government influence over the land. At that time Britain had little idea of what to do with the new possession. Consequently it was left very much to the successive Special Commissioners, Lieutenant-Governors and Administrators to develop their own policy in the light of conditions in the country and their experience of it.

Initially these administrators and their staff were naturally much dependent on mission knowledge of the local people and their languages. Gradually, however, and largely as a result of the experience and endeavours of Sir William MacGregor a policy of 'government by patrol' was developed.⁶ This system depended largely on a small but dedicated and energetic band of field officers, or 'outside men' as they later became popularly known, who spent most of their time on isolated outstations or on patrol away from main centres.⁷ Of necessity these men had to learn to communicate with the local population as quickly as possible. Indeed such were the demands of the service that, after only two decades of government experience Mr Atlee Hunt, the then Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, was recommending to the Australian parliament that new recruits to the Papuan service not only be single and between the ages of 21 and 25 years but that they should 'learn, at least, one native language - Motu is apparently the most useful'.⁸

Thus by the time J.H.P. Murray came to take over the reins of administration in 1906 knowledge of a local language, especially Motu, or that brand of it that was spreading throughout the country and now referred to as Hiri Motu, was seen to be important not only as a means of survival on lonely outstations but also as a service requirement - a field officer could hardly be regarded as very efficient or effective without it. Murray himself strengthened this situation by showing 'a preference for the sons of pioneers of Papua when making appointments to the service'⁹ - that is, he preferred men who were born and/or bred in Papua and were in consequence Papuans in the real sense that they had grown up with Papuans and spoke one or more of their languages as second languages. Some of these later became the most famous 'outside men' of Papua¹⁰ and helped consolidate a tradition that one not only learned Hiri Motu as a matter of course (if one did not already know it) but that one learned it, as some would say, like a 'real man', in one's own time and on the job.

This tradition continued on into the post-World War II developmental period but eventually deteriorated as the Public Service of the now-combined Territory of Papua-New Guinea expanded, and subsequently became localised, and as more and more emphasis was placed on the teaching and use of English. Besides Pidgin was becoming more widespread in Papua and was increasingly spoken on and around outstations (traditionally the preserve of Hiri Motu) where field staff who had previously served only in New Guinea were now being posted. Consequently field staff, but especially the newer 'contract' officers who began arriving during the 1960s, began to feel (rightly or wrongly) that if it was necessary to learn a lingua franca at all Pidgin was the obvious choice, at least in the first instance, for it was not only the more useful but appears to be the easier to learn because of its similarity to English in some respects.¹¹ These attitudes developed despite the fact that some effort was made by the Administration in the late 1950s and early 1960s to encourage staff to learn native languages as a means of increasing rapport with local populations, firstly, by sending selected members of its field staff to language-learning training schools conducted especially for the Administration by the Summer Institute of Linguistics,¹² and secondly, as already noted, by offering classes in Hiri Motu in Port Moresby. However, the results of both these programmes were, unfortunately, seriously affected by conditions in the service that supported them. Thus the former scheme suffered from all-too-frequent staff transfers and the latter from the fact that the classes in Port Moresby did not cater for those who needed them most - notably the field officer remote from the administrative capital.

This then is the historical background against which courses in Hiri Motu have been provided by the Government. The actual nature of those courses is discussed further in section 7.4.3.2.3. below.

7.4.3.2.2.3. THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SITUATION

Unlike its Government and mission counterparts, this sector covers many disparate groups and individuals. Consequently there was little call for organised classes in Hiri Motu from within this sector as each group responded in its own way and in its own time to the challenge of communicating effectively with its employees and clients. However, those who were lucky enough to be in Port Moresby from the late 1940s onwards were, of course, in a position to take advantage of the courses offered then by the Government.

7.4.3.2.3. THE COURSES

As already noted, courses in Hiri Motu were first conducted by Mr C.P. Livingston in Port Moresby in the late 1940s. The initiatives for these classes like those for New Guinea Pidgin discussed in chapter 7.4.2.9. above, came from Colonel J.K. Murray, the Administrator for the Territory of Papua-New Guinea in the immediate post-war reconstruction period, who asked Livingston to set up and run courses in Hiri Motu and 'true' Motu for Europeans in the administrative capital. Livingston had come to Papua New Guinea to join the Papuan Infantry Battalion during the war and had learned Pidgin, Police Motu (now Hiri Motu), and 'true' Motu (or 'classical' Motu as Colonel Murray used to call it) from Papuan and New Guinean friends and had broadcast in these languages during the war for the Australian Army. Following the cessation of hostilities, he was seconded in 1946 to the young Education Department in the newly established civil administration to set up and run (including training local staff) the *Native Peoples Session*, a programme designed for local listeners and broadcast daily in Hiri Motu between 3.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. over 9PA, the Australian Broadcasting Commission radio station in Port Moresby. In the following year, Livingston began classes for Murray in Hiri Motu and 'true' Motu, and in mid-1948 in Pidgin as well. He continued taking classes in all three of these languages as numbers and interest determined until about 1955 when he was joined by Mr T.A. Dietz, then Research Officer in Linguistics and Literacy in the Department of Education. Dietz assisted Livingston with the Pidgin and 'true' Motu classes leaving the Hiri Motu ones to Livingston. These classes proved very popular and eventually Mr G.A.V. Stanley, then Government Geologist (but known affectionately in Papuan circles as *uda boroma* (lit. 'bush pig') for his habit of wearing two-toed rubber boots and of spending long periods in the bush on survey work) was co-opted into assisting Livingston with the Hiri Motu classes as well.

Usually classes were taken two or three times a year and were initially free, but later a nominal fee was charged.¹³ In these classes the instructors depended largely on Chatterton's *A Primer of Police Motu*¹⁴ though they issued notes. Livingston eventually developed a set of language-learning tapes and notes that were to have been published in 1972 by the Department of Education as *A Course in Hiri Motu*¹⁵ and which was reviewed by Dietz in 1972.¹⁶ However, for various reasons these have not yet been produced although it is expected they will be sometime in the future.

Eventually Livingston and Stanley resigned their positions as instructors and their classes were taken over by Mr R. Lean of the Commonwealth Department of Works. Lean now conducts classes for four hours per week during which he uses his own materials including a set of six dialogue-type stories for class reading. These courses are now organised by the Regional Adult Education Office, Port Moresby.

Other courses have also been run at the University of Papua New Guinea since 1974. Initially these were organised on an *ad hoc* basis but in 1975 were taken over by the newly created Department of Language and formalised as after-hours semester courses. In the first course offered in 1976 29 Papua New Guinea students out of a class of 40 staff and students paid K5 each to learn the language. Subsequently these courses were accepted as official Department of Language ones and are now included as optional and compulsory units in certain Faculty of Arts degree and diploma courses. In 1977 the range of these courses will be extended to other courses within the Faculty of Arts and, circumstances permitting, to other faculties within the University. For economic reasons they will also be opened up to the public as fee-paying courses.

In 1976 these courses were based on Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974, *Beginning Hiri Motu*, and were taught by me with the assistance of Papua New Guinean tutors. In 1977 they will be taught by Papua New Guineans, who are not speakers of English as a first language.

Outside of Papua New Guinea Hiri Motu is, or has been, taught in only Brisbane and Canberra.

In Brisbane a course was taught at the Institute of Modern Languages in 1965 by Mr W.E. ('Bill') Tomasetti, formerly of the Division of District Administration, Papua New Guinea, but now in the Administrative College, Port Moresby. This course ran for 45 hours and was attended by nine students most of whom were interested in working in Papua New Guinea for shorter or longer periods as missionaries, army personnel, doctors, etc.

In Canberra only one course has been offered. This was a special one conducted by Drs T.E. Dutton and C.L. Voorhoeve of the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, for five visiting anthropologists from the University of Toronto and one Ph.D. student from the Australian National University, all of whom intended doing fieldwork in Papua. This was an intensive course spanning two weeks and aimed at giving students a speaking knowledge of the language and a command of its basic structures. It was based on a draft version of *Beginning Hiri Motu* by the two

instructors and which has since been published in *Pacific Linguistics* (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974).

7.4.3.2.4. PROBLEMS IN TEACHING HIRI MOTU TO EUROPEANS

The problems of teaching Hiri Motu to Europeans are similar to those outlined for New Guinea Pidgin in 7.4.2.9.3. (except that the language is not related to English - see chapter 7.4.3.1.) and need not be spelled out again here. Suffice it to say then that because the demand for courses in Hiri Motu has not been as great as that for New Guinea Pidgin there were, until recently, no readily available language-teaching or language-learning programmes and/or good supporting or supplementary teaching materials (e.g. printed matter, tape recordings, films, etc.). No doubt these problems will decrease as the demand for courses grows and/or as teachers presently involved in preparing such materials make them more widely available. It is to be regretted, however, that all the activity so far has come from expatriates and it is to be hoped that in future Papua New Guineans themselves will become more involved in this and give us the benefit of their greater familiarity with the language.

N O T E S

1. Throughout this chapter it will be convenient to use the terms 'Europeans' and 'expatriates' (or derivatives thereof) as cover terms for all non-indigenous inhabitants or visitors to Papua New Guinea.
2. In this regard I should like to thank the following for supplying various kinds of information upon which this account is based: Mr H. Bell, Department of the Army, Canberra; Mr W.E. Tomasetti, Office of the Chief Minister, Port Moresby; Mr J. Austing, Acting Associate Director of Tribal Affairs, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa; Mr T. Dietz, c/- House of Assembly, Port Moresby; Mr A.K. Neuendorf, Department of Education, Port Moresby; Mr P. Chatterton, Port Moresby; The Director, Adult Education, Brisbane; Pastor L. Lock, Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Lae; Mr J. Lynch, Department of Anthropology, University of Papua New Guinea; Mr L.R. Healey, Regional Adult Education Office, Port Moresby; Mrs C. Age, Regional Adult Education Office, Port Moresby; Mr R. Lean, Commonwealth Department of Works, Port Moresby; Mr M. Brändle, Director, Institute of Modern Languages, University of Queensland; Mr C.P. Livingston, Sydney; Dr H.A. Brown, United Church, Port Moresby; Dr A.J. Taylor, Translation Consultant, United Bible Societies, Lae; and Mr W.G. Merriweather, Asia Pacific Christian Mission, Pangoa.
3. A copy of the questionnaire employed is appended to chapter 7.4.2.9. ('Teaching New Guinea Pidgin to Europeans') in this volume.
4. For more detail on mission policies see chapters 7.3.1. and 7.4.5.6. (Gogodala), 7.4.5.8. (Kiwai), 7.4.5.9. (Dobu), 7.4.5.11. (Wedau), and 7.4.5.12. (Suau) for further details.

5. The reasons for this are somewhat the same as those for the missions, notably that the Institute was keen for its members to learn the local language as quickly as possible without depending on a contact language crutch which could interfere with the acquisition process if not carefully controlled. It is also true that early in the history of the Institute most teams worked in what was then the Territory of New Guinea where the lingua franca is New Guinea Pidgin.

6. See Legge 1956, for example, for further details.

7. For example, in 1925 there were only 36 'outside men' in the Papuan Service (Sinclair 1969:20).

8. Hunt (1905:26).

9. Sinclair (1969:18).

10. For example, Jack Hides, the Champion brothers (Ivan, Alan and Claude), Ron Speedie, and J.B. Bramell.

11. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Dutton 1973:xii), however, this really makes it more difficult for the English-speaking learner since he does not know when he is speaking 'real Pidgin' and not some more English-like version of it that is known locally as tok masta (lit. '*European speech*').

12. Two such schools were conducted - one in 1960 and one in 1961.

13. These programmes and classes also owe much to the education policy of Mr W.C. Groves, the first Director of Education in the new post-war civil administration. Groves, a trained anthropologist, was keen on the use of vernaculars in education and was instrumental in having Dietz appointed to his department for the production of education materials in local languages. He had, moreover, encouraged and assisted Dietz to better qualify himself for this task by attending a Summer Institute of Linguistics course in linguistics in Victoria in December 1951 to February 1952.

14. This primer was also the result of Groves' policy although Chatterton was not very happy about it because at that time he was still very much a 'purist' himself (Chatterton, personal communication).

15. See Livingston (forthcoming).
16. See Dietz 1962.
17. For further details of these courses see the University of Papua New Guinea *Handbook of Courses* for 1976 and 1977.

7.4.3.2. THE TEACHING OF HIRI MOTU TO EUROPEANS

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7.4.4. ENGLISH IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

R.K. Johnson

7.4.4.1. INTRODUCTION

The developments in language policy in Papua New Guinea and the changes in the attitude of the administration to English, the *lingue franche* and the vernacular languages are dealt with in detail in this volume in chapter 7.3.2. 'Administration and Language Policy in Papua New Guinea'. This chapter deals primarily with the teaching of English as a second language, and the following introductory statements are intended to place the account within its sociolinguistic context.

It was the aim of successive English-speaking administrations that English should become the unifying language in Papua New Guinea at some unspecified point in the future, and that the education system should be the instrument for bringing this about. However, even with a projected primary school enrolment of 85% by 1980 (1975 *Education Plan*:25) the likelihood of this ever happening seems improbable. Further, the place of English in the syllabus, which it has dominated for some 20 years, is being increasingly questioned. The importance of the language as a tool for specific purposes continues to be accepted, but the limited scope of these purposes in relation to the total life of the community is increasingly recognised. The English language will continue to play a dominating role in secondary and tertiary education for the foreseeable future, but in primary education and adult education a strong movement has developed for a return to the media of the vernaculars and *lingue franche*.

The community itself still generally regards education through English as the only 'real' education even though there is increasing dissatisfaction with the alienation of young people from the community, which is seen as resulting partly from the present system, and partly from the

inability of the economy to provide job opportunities to satisfy the expectations of the school-leaver. Further into the future it seems likely that the Department of Education will move away from the use of English as the medium of instruction (see 7.3.2.7.). However, such a move will be successful only when the Department of Education is prepared for radical reorganisation of teacher training and of school selection procedures, so that parents can be shown that their children will not be disadvantaged by the use of a vernacular or lingua franca medium of instruction in primary school in relation to obtaining places at secondary level. Under the present system any community which decided to adopt a vernacular medium of instruction would effectively bar any of its children from further progress in the education system, the teachers would have had no suitable training towards implementing such a programme, and there would be no prepared materials for the teacher to follow or guide-lines for the preparation of materials. Faced with such difficulties the government may well continue its present policy of maintaining English as the medium of instruction for some time.

7.4.4.2. ENGLISH TEACHING IN NEW GUINEA AND PAPUA BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The New Guinea administration had six elementary schools in which English was the medium of instruction; mission higher schools also taught English. The expatriate community was generally hostile to this policy, often refusing to use English when speaking to a New Guinean and showing a preference for uneducated labour when recruiting (see 7.3.2.4.). W.C. Groves, who was one of the first administration education officers in New Guinea, and was the post-war Director of Education in the combined Territories of Papua and New Guinea, was also against the teaching of English for educational, cultural and practical reasons.

... educationally the aim is the development of the native along his own lines. And if the scope of education is to be restricted, and its wider aims subordinated to the teaching of English simply for the doubtful advantage of facilitating intercourse between the native and the occasional European, the gain will be incommensurate with the loss. (Groves 1936:115)

Groves had no sense of English as the catalyst which would bring about the development of Papua New Guinea and bring it into the modern world. Like most other expatriates at this time, though for different reasons, he regarded any such development as undesirable.

If this attitude to development and therefore to the teaching of English was soon to be outdated, other arguments which he put forward have retained their force: '... with native teachers and in a native environment it will never be possible to teach English even reasonably

well in the village schools.' (Groves 1936:116). The English language ability of the teacher and the lack of any practical use for English in the pupils' out-of-school environment have continued to depress standards in primary schools up to the present, in spite of improvements in teacher training and in the general educational background of teachers. More importantly in the long run, Groves questioned whether English language teaching in rural primary schools, even if possible, was desirable: 'When English is widespread in New Guinea villages, they will no longer be New Guinea villages. And a sorry day that indeed will be.' (Groves 1936:116).

In Papua during this period there was no government school system, but, under Sir Hubert Murray, the eventual spread of English throughout Papua was considered to be of great importance. Practical measures to bring this about were limited. In 1931 a five year primary syllabus was issued, which was revised in 1936 and 1939 and was used after the war until 1950. It laid down that 'all instruction must be given through the medium of the English language', but 'no compulsion was laid upon the missions to follow the government syllabus in any of their schools.' (Wedgwood 1945:1 and 2). As an incentive, however, a school inspector from Queensland visited the Territory once a year to examine pupils put forward by mission schools. For each candidate who passed, the school received a subsidy which ranged from 50¢ at Standard 1 to \$2.50 at Standard V, with a maximum of \$500.00 per school.

The only materials which supported the syllabus were a set of readers. *The Papuan School Reader* was written by Rev. W.J.V. Saville of the London Missionary Society and published by the Government Printer in 1928. Saville's reader proved too difficult for most children but it was the first school reader in which the illustrations and the text were related to the lives and experience of Papuan children (Dickson 1970:25). This reader was replaced by the *Five Papuan Junior Readers*, written by Colonel J. Hooper and C.L. Fox, the visiting examiners from Queensland in collaboration with two missionaries, Miss G.M. Milne and Rev. Percy Chatterton of the London Missionary Society. Two readers were published by the Government Printer in 1932, one in 1936, and the other two, written wholly by Colonel Hooper, were published soon after. Copies were distributed free of charge to all missions in Papua and copies were 'bought in number by the Methodist and Anglican Missions in the Solomons and were also sent to Norfolk Island and Nauru' (Dickson 1970: 25). They were reprinted after the war under the title of *English Readers*.

With a syllabus and teaching approach that were orientated towards reading, the situation was far from satisfactory. The school children spent

at least half their time learning to read and write English, yet no provision is made whereby they can get anything to read except their schoolbooks (which at the end of their schooling they generally know by heart) their bibles (which many of them do read regularly) and the monthly 'Papuan Villager' which, judging from what I was told seems to have been of little interest to them. (Wedgwood 1945:5-6)

P.V. Meere summed up the achievement of formal education in Papua in 1942 as follows: 'There was only a handful of people who had completed Standard V in a mission primary school. English was the school language but a limited number of Papuans had learnt to speak, read and write it.' (Meere 1973:27). The numbers involved were certainly small; in 1937, 66 pupils graduated from Standard V; in 1938, 77; and in 1939, 50 (*Papua Annual Report for 1939-40*:15), and the main impact of the administration's policy may well have been a psychological one in convincing teachers and parents alike that: 'the ability to read from the "Junior Papuan Readers" to do sums, to recite forty lines of English "poetry" and to name the principal geographical features of Papua, alone constitute education' (Wedgwood 1945:2).

7.4.4.3. THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA - POST WORLD WAR II

During the period from 1945, the Australian administration became increasingly committed to the development of Papua and New Guinea, partly as a result of changed world opinion towards colonial territories in general and pressure from the United Nations in particular, and partly because of changed attitudes and greater interest in Papua and New Guinea generated in Australia as a result of the war. Increasingly too, the instrument for this development was seen as a massive investment in education through the medium of English, initially at primary level and later in the early and mid-1960s at secondary and tertiary levels as well.

In the late 1940s the educational establishment within the administration was small, and education remained largely the responsibility of the missions who were committed to a policy of education through vernacular languages. W.C. Groves, as the first post-war Director of Education, was also extremely sympathetic to vernacular education (see above 7.4.4.2. and 7.3.2.5.), and believed that such a policy was in the best interests of the country as well as being the most practicable.

Immediately after the war, the situation with regard to materials was desperate: 'At the evacuee village of Pari, where there were 164 children ... only the ingenuity of the native teachers and the presence of

beach-sand made it possible for the children to learn anything.' (Wedgwood 1945:6) and the situation with regard to teachers was scarcely better.

Most missions aim to have as trainees for pastor-teacher men who have passed Standard V at school, and who have spent at least two years at a head-station where they have had more in the way of general education In fact it seems that there have always been some trainees taken who have attained no higher than Standard IV (in some missions an even lower standard of education was sometimes accepted). (Wedgwood 1945:5)

In spite of his sympathy with the aims of vernacular education, Groves was well aware that the climate of opinion had changed since pre-war New Guinea, that English should be taught and that it should be taught more effectively than it had been in the past. In 1947, he began negotiations with Oxford University Press, Longmans and Macmillan about materials for teaching English as a second language. Both Oxford and Longmans agreed to adapt at no cost the series each had originally produced for Malaya. The first primer and reader of each series was fully revised and the later ones progressively adapted. Both series, *The Oxford English Course for Papua New Guinea* and Longmans *Papua New Guinea English Course Readers*, were used in schools during the 1950s.

Other materials were also introduced into the Territory during that period including a series prepared initially for Micronesia and two series used in the Northern Territory of Australia: *The First Australian's ... Books*, prepared by the Presbyterian mission, and *Bush Books* prepared by the Commonwealth Office of Education. Pre-reading and -writing activity booklets and a number of readers were also produced in 1957, 1958 and 1959 by officers of the Visual Aids Section of the Department of Education with the assistance of Field Education Officers, and were printed by the Government Printer.

Meere wrote about the methods of teaching used during this period:

... with few exceptions, English was taught in New Guinea until about 1960 as it was taught in Australia. The oral preparation of structure and vocabulary, on which the Oxford Course was based, was ignored Experience in New Guinea during the 1950's proved that the reading approach to a foreign language produces in students neither a grasp of structure nor fluency in speech. (Meere 1973:140-1)

Apart from some expatriate teachers who received a grounding in the methodology of teaching English as a second language at A.S.O.P.A. (The Australian School of Pacific Administration), teachers received very little practical assistance with methodology. The basic syllabus, which was published in January 1950, was described as 'purely suggestive and provisional' (Primary Syllabus 1950, Introduction:2) and gave only a broad outline of the content to be taught. The English section was based

on the pre-war *Papuan Junior Readers*. The 1955 revision of the primary syllabus simply urged teachers to follow the Oxford English Course's Teachers' notes. If there was little practical assistance, there was some exhortation along lines then generally accepted. The *Syllabus for the Training of Native Teachers* (1954) contains the following: 'One fundamental principle must be adhered to throughout - SPEECH FIRST: Every word the child learns to read should be one with which he is already familiar through its use in speech'. However, there was not even a course outline for the teacher to follow.

As late as 1957, a departmental circular memorandum recommended oral English only in the first two years of school (Circular Memorandum 1957: 5-6), while initial literacy and all other subjects should be taught through the vernacular. Reading and writing in English were to begin in year three, and English was to become the medium of instruction from year five. Again no help was given to the teacher in implementing this programme, which was completely at variance with both the Oxford and Longmans courses of English.

In this situation, and given the Papua New Guinean teachers' inadequate command of English and poor educational and professional background, the 1959-60 Report on the Territory of New Guinea has an air of total unreality: 'Ideally there should be a different set of English texts and courses for each indigenous vernacular. In practice a neutral course is followed and the necessary local adaptation of the course is made by the teacher.' (*Annual Report for 1959-60*:127).

The expatriate teacher with better but often irrelevant qualifications was not in a better position to implement such suggestions than his Papua New Guinean counterpart. These related problems of methodological prescription and teacher training were identified as fundamental by G.A. Pittman in his *Report on the Teaching of English in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea*. It was his belief that '... the Education Department in a Territory should accept the fact that it will have to provide diagnosis, guidance and prescription to its teachers on the methods to be adopted far in excess of what is normal in a metropolitan country'. (Pittman 1960:2). His first recommendation was: 'That consideration be given to methodological prescription ... as the main professional activity of a Territory Education Department.' (Pittman 1960:3); and his second:

That the Education Department adopt as a goal the training of its own expatriate as well as indigenous teachers; thus giving its teachers the training at present lacking in language teaching techniques and in the application of the results of linguistic research. (Pittman 1960:4)

This report combined with a number of other factors in leading the department to take decisive action. The new Director of Education, G.T. Roscoe, was firmly committed to the policy of universal primary education through the medium of English; pressure for the expansion of the education system was mounting, and the financial aid that would make such expansion feasible was increasingly being made available by the Australian government; and thirdly, teaching materials which would make it possible to carry out Pittman's recommendations were already being prepared.

The development of these materials had begun in 1957 as a series of programmes prepared by F.C. Johnson to help primary school teachers in Morobe District in planning their daily work. In 1958 and 1959, while working in teacher training at Port Moresby and Finschhafen, Johnson developed these programmes further. The aim was to supplement the existing Longmans and Oxford texts particularly in the field of Oral English, and this was achieved to the point where the trainee teachers had detailed lesson by lesson programmes to take with them to their first teaching positions. The existence of these materials became known and the programmes were made available to teachers in other areas. By 1960, there was a considerable demand for them and they were published by Jacaranda under the title *Oral English for Preparatory* and *Oral English for Grade 1*. These materials were later developed further under the title of the *Minenda Series*, which eventually consisted of some 300 titles. The 1962 Department of Education English syllabus, Preparatory grade to Standard 6, reflected Johnson's influence and gave assistance in the use of the *Minenda* materials. This assistance was made more specific and detailed in the further revision of the syllabus, carried out in 1967. The 1962 syllabus was described by Meere as a

landmark in the development of primary education in Papua and New Guinea in that it provided detailed guidance for teachers, established clear goals and standards for primary schools, and recognised that English had to be taught as a foreign language. (Meere 1973:88)

The primacy of speech was emphasised throughout, as was the importance of drills: 'This must be our basic teaching principle - to give our pupils constant, repeated practice in the use of the correct or generally acceptable forms of expression.' (*Revised Primary 'T' School Syllabus* 1962). In addition the syllabus emphasised the importance of context of situation, in terms of concept and structure. The Department was now in a position to enforce the prescriptive approach recommended by Pittman 'The Department's approval will not be given, either directly or indirectly, to any variation from the prescribed or recommended work as contained in the Revised Syllabus for Primary 'T' Schools'. (*English*

Teaching: An Introduction to the Teaching of English in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, undated), though provision was made for submissions of alternatives which would be considered for inclusion in subsequent editions of the syllabus.

In the years 1962-64 an in-service and pre-service teacher-training programme was mounted which was massive by comparison with anything that had been attempted before. Courses were run which lasted for from two to four weeks to introduce the new materials. They were run initially for district inspectors, head-teachers, specialist teachers and teacher-training college staff members, and were conducted by F.C. Johnson or colleagues. Those who participated were expected to run similar courses in their own areas. No formal credit was given, but teachers were required to undertake such a course before their schools were issued with the new materials, and they were eager to attend.

The influence of these courses and *Minenda* materials on pre-service teacher training is shown by responses from 15 colleges to a questionnaire sent out in 1966. This showed that 'Apart from the *Minenda* series of teachers' and pupils' books which are universally used in colleges, there appear to be no text-books or reference books which colleges find useful.' (Meere 1973:363).

Other materials were produced along similar lines. N. Walker, W. Turvey and others began producing alternative reading materials for the *Minenda* series, and these were later expanded and published by Oxford University Press as the *Pacific Series*. One or other of these two programmes is now in use in every primary school in Papua New Guinea. Recently the decision was taken not to renew stocks of *Minenda* materials, and to replace them over a period with the *Pacific Series*.

The teaching of English increasingly dominated the primary school syllabus: for example a recent departmental circular (18 August 1972) recommended the allocation of between two-fifths and one half of school time to various sub-skills under the heading of English, and the teaching of English became the main aim of primary education.

The basic aim of the teacher then is to teach his pupils to communicate in English If then, (and this is the aim of the Primary School Syllabus) we are to bring our Papua and New Guinea students to a standard of learning at the end of Standard VI where they can undertake a course of secondary education in English, it will be obvious that we must present pupils with a concentrated systematic course in the English language which will give them a degree of facility in the use of English comparable with the English of pupils leaving Standard VI in Australian schools. (*English Teaching: An Introduction to the Teaching of English in the Territory of Papua New Guinea*, undated:1).

The aim was unrealised in that this standard was not achieved and should not realistically have been hoped for under the circumstances in which the second-language teaching was being carried out; further the justification for the teaching of English as providing a basis for secondary education was unsound since at best only 40% of primary leavers were able to continue to secondary education and, for the remainder, the prolonged process of acquisition was an end in itself. It will be even more difficult to justify the predominance of English in future since enrolment in primary education is to be expanded to 85% of all children aged eight (1975 *Education Plan*:25), while secondary education is to be related to manpower requirements (1975 *Education Plan*:34). Thus the proportion of primary leavers going into secondary schools will drop over the next five years (1975 *Education Plan*:39).

Another attitude to the language-teaching programme which is no longer generally accepted was expressed as follows:

Another important basic teaching principle is ... that teaching English involves not only teaching 'another language', but rather the teaching of another culture - the language and thought of a different culture This idea must colour the presentation of all language teaching in the classroom. (*English Teaching* ... undated:4).

English is regarded now much more as a means to certain specifiable ends, and insofar as it is not culturally neutral, it represents a developing aspect of Papua New Guinean rather than Anglo-Saxon culture. In practice, 'cultural imperialism' has been generally absent from the English language programmes used in Papua New Guinea, and perhaps for this reason the status of the language is high and little antagonism has been generated towards it.

Just as a serious re-examination of language policy has been conducted during the past few years, so a considerable amount of rethinking has been going on regarding methods of teaching a second language in the classroom situation. Standard VI graduates do not have a level of English equivalent to that of their Australian peers. Very few of them are able to read the English language newspaper *The Post-Courier*; many have not reached that stage which Kenneth Pike has called 'nucleation': the stage in a learner's process of acquisition ... 'where the skills learnt can act as a nucleus to which other elements of language may rapidly attach themselves'. (Johnson, F.C. 1973:xii). In addition, there are deficiencies in both attitudes to study and study skills which inhibit students' success at higher levels and which can be attributed partly to the second-language medium of instruction itself and partly to the methods adopted in the two language-teaching programmes used in Papua New Guinean primary schools (Johnson, R.K. 1970, 1972c).

David Lewis identified the following as the main deficiencies in methodology:

The progression of sentence patterns proceeds too quickly in one sense and too slowly in another:

- (a) Too quickly if it hopes to guarantee internalization of each pattern and proceed on the assumption that this has been achieved and that unstructured situations will provide sufficient 'reinforcement' for patterns. This internalization just does not take place.
- (b) Too slowly if it hopes to provide anything but a frighteningly limited structural range available for pupils to communicate in the language of instruction ...

.... The confining of units to single-sentence-pattern increments ... becomes increasingly unrealistic and sterile. Substitution tables and wall charts are inadequate substitutes for the verbal contextualization demanded by the more complex structural material Must intellectual maturity wait upon such a slow rate of language acquisition? Can learning a second language be spaced out over too long a period? How can we increase the density of the English environment? (Lewis 1970:12)

In the short term however, he felt that probably little could be done. '(the present syllabus) represents a rather clearheaded assessment of what may be the limits of what our teachers can handle.' (Lewis 1970:13).

Another critic of the present methodology is F.C. Johnson, though by implication only, since he has made no critical statement as such. In the past six years, he has developed an alternative approach to the initial stages of language learning. He was apparently dissatisfied with the *ad hoc* way in which *Minenda* materials were developed and in Johnson, F.C. 1973, he provides a theoretical justification for the development of new materials, and a system of materials design. In 1972, Jacaranda Press began the publication of the *Jacaranda Individualized Language Arts Programme (J.I.L.A.P.)* of which F.C. Johnson is the general series editor, and in which he has developed the ideas of his descriptive framework into teaching and learning materials. His approach is summed up as 'individualization in learning and communication in language' (Johnson, F.C. 1973:xiii), thus emphasising his departure from the drills and lock-step approach of the earlier materials and the need to provide genuine communication situations in which language skills can develop.

The programme has been tested in, amongst other places, Papua New Guinea where most of the development was carried out, the United States, Thailand, the United Kingdom, South Africa, and the Philippines.

At present (December 1976) there are no plans to change the primary English programmes, the *Minenda* and *Pacific Series* (see above), which were introduced in the early 1960s, and whose weaknesses are now widely

recognised. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, political pressure is directed primarily towards increasing the present enrolment, rather than improving the system as such. Only a very small part of the budget is therefore allocated to curriculum development. Secondly, as was stated above, teacher training has consisted very largely in the past in training teachers in the use of these particular materials, and many teachers would be in serious difficulties attempting to implement a more modern communication (rather than drill-orientated) approach, without considerable retraining. Thirdly, recent moves towards the introduction of vernaculars or the *lingue franche* as media of instruction suggested that resources should not be committed to the introduction of new English-language teaching materials or the revision of older materials until the precise nature of the proposed changes becomes clear.

One particularly unfortunate result of the hiatus in policy development has been that stocks have not been maintained, and many schools now lack the materials which are necessary to teach either the *Minenda* or *Pacific* programmes effectively. Thus primary education in Papua New Guinea is committed to English as the medium of education for the duration of the '1975 Education Plan' (see 7.3.2.6.), but provision for the effective teaching of English is probably at its lowest level, in terms of availability of materials and resources, since the mid-1960s. One mitigating factor is the improved qualifications of teachers, who now require Grade 10 as the entry level to teacher training, and then receive two years at primary-teacher training colleges. However, the teacher-training programmes for English are still based upon learning to use the *Minenda* and *Pacific* materials.

7.4.4.4. SECONDARY EDUCATION

The administration concentrated initially upon the aim of achieving universal primary education, but in the early 1960s, partly at the urging of a visiting United Nations mission, the policy was changed to allow for expansion at the secondary and tertiary levels. Prior to the mid-1960s, secondary schools had followed Australian syllabuses, but from this time all schools except the few multi-racial high schools changed to a four-year Papua New Guinean syllabus. The leaving certificate at Grade 10 provides the basis for selection for tertiary studies.

English teachers in secondary schools prior to Independence were mostly native speakers, recruited primarily from Australia. Very few had any training in teaching English as a second language. Their interests tended to be in literature and creative writing, and many found it difficult to orientate themselves to the second-language situation.

As Independence approached, overseas recruitment was changed to a contract basis. Since contracts are for two or three years and most teachers remain for one contract, it may be suggested that many teachers are just becoming effective when it is time for them to leave. More recently a number of teachers with African experience of teaching English as a second language have been recruited from the United Kingdom, but there are also an increasing number of volunteer teachers from Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia, and very few of these have specialised training, or stay long enough to acquire the necessary skills. Mission schools have had greater continuity, since a number of teachers have remained in the country for long periods, but again, very few have received a training relevant to the teaching of English as a second language, however effective they may have become as a result of experience. The country will continue to be dependent upon expatriate teachers to some extent until the early 1980s, but secondary teaching should be fully localised by the mid-1980s unless there are unforeseen circumstances such as a more rapid expansion of the secondary system than is currently envisaged (1975 *Education Plan*).

The main source of secondary teachers is the Goroka Teachers' College, which became a part of the University of Papua New Guinea in 1975. Students receive a three-year training programme following entry at Grade 10, or a two-year programme following entry after Grade 12. These teachers are trained in three major subject areas and are expected to teach mainly Grades 7 and 8. It is current policy that these grades should be taught by generalists, i.e. one teacher for one class. Thus some teachers are required to teach English who have not been prepared to do so. The other Papua New Guinean source for secondary school teachers is the Faculty of Education on the main campus of the University at Port Moresby. These students have a four- or five-year programme (depending on entry level) for a B.Ed. degree, one year of which is involved solely with education courses and teaching practice. These students major and receive methods training in only one teaching subject, and are expected to teach in Grades 9 or 10, or at National High Schools (Grades 11 and 12). In the years immediately preceding Independence, few undergraduates opted for Education, and the services of the few who completed Education degrees were in such demand due to rapid localisation that few went into the schools, and none remained there for any length of time. This position is now changing for two reasons: firstly, the government has instituted a tied-scholarship scheme whereby students will be directed into Education, thus greatly increasing the number of Education graduates; and secondly, as opportunities for rapid promotion

decrease, more and more Education graduates will become classroom teachers. According to current projections, therefore, all English-language classes in Papua New Guinean schools will be taught by second-language-speakers by the mid-1980s.

Initially the approach in secondary education was in sharp contrast to that of Primary Division. There was no prescription. Secondary Division left the responsibility for developing the teaching programmes entirely to the subject-masters and individual teachers in schools. This was believed to be justified on the grounds that secondary school teachers were professionally qualified and were therefore competent to develop their own teaching programmes. A number of factors made this approach unsatisfactory, particularly the lack of T.E.S.L. (teaching English as a second language) training and the rapid staff turnover, so that some schools had a succession of programmes, more or less inadequate, and other schools had in effect no programme at all.

The first Papua New Guinean secondary English syllabus (1967) consisted primarily of a list of structures to be taught by means of the accompanying substitution tables. Considerable emphasis was placed upon drills and 'overlearning'. Few teachers were able to use it effectively. A new syllabus for Forms 3 and 4 (now Grades 9 and 10) was issued in 1971, and for Forms 1 and 2 (Grades 7 and 8) in 1973. The main emphasis in this English syllabus was practical. It stressed the importance of extensive reading, and the need to provide suitable reading materials at appropriate levels. Written work was controlled during the early stages, and was related later as far as possible to situations in which English is needed and used in Papua New Guinea. Remedial work on syntax and phonology forms a small but important part of the programme. The syllabus takes the position that English literature in a formal sense has no place in the second-language classroom at this level, and that a creative writing programme would have harmful rather than beneficial effects in the lower forms, and should be restricted in the upper forms to those students who show strong motivation. The syllabus was supplemented by two handbooks consisting of articles on T.E.S.L. methodology either reprinted from journals or specially prepared.

In the form in which they were presented, the new syllabuses and the accompanying handbooks offered a discussion of T.E.S.L. methods and approaches rather than something that the classroom teacher could teach from. It provided guidelines for developing a teaching programme rather than the teaching programme itself. The need for such a programme was more readily accepted as plans for the rapid localisation of secondary

education went ahead. It might be noted here however that the teachers produced by Goroka Teachers' College were trained in methods of Teaching English as a Second Language, unlike the majority of their expatriate predecessors, who had not been.

The first attempt to put a teaching programme into the schools was the decision to introduce a West African Secondary text (Ogundipe and Tregidgo 1965-66) consisting of five course-books. Starting from 1972 sets of these books were distributed to schools each year, starting with Book 1, and booklets were prepared with suggestions as to how these texts might be adapted to the Papua New Guinean situation, and how deficiencies or omissions identified within the course might be remedied.

However, the full set of texts was never distributed. There was considerable dissatisfaction with the course, primarily in that it was not orientated to Papua New Guinea, and that T.E.S.L. methodology had developed considerably since this course was prepared (in the mid-1960s). As a result the curriculum branch of the Department of Education began work in 1975 on developing a new syllabus for Papua New Guinean Secondary Schools. The Grade 7 programme was put to the test in 1976 and the Grade 8 programme will be tried out in 1977.

The syllabus on which the teaching programme is based is functional in its approach. It sets out to identify the linguistic functions which students need in order to complete successfully the secondary school programme in the various subject areas. Thus it is intended that the various language units each dealing with a language use such as description of process, narrative, giving instructions, etc. will be cross-referenced with the relevant parts of other subject syllabuses. This should be of particular value to Grades 7 and 8 which are to be taught by generalist teachers (i.e. one teacher to each class who teaches all subjects). Many but not all of these generalist teachers will have been taught T.E.S.L. methodology. Recent graduates from Goroka Teachers' College will have done a T.E.S.L. methods course orientated towards the 'functional' syllabus.

It is an interesting and ambitious undertaking. This is one of the first attempts in the world to develop a thorough-going functional teaching programme, and almost certainly the first of its type in a developing country. Unfortunately, the resources for carrying it through are barely adequate, the work of preparing, trying out and revising the programme falling upon one Curriculum Officer (financed by the Commonwealth fund for technical co-operation) who is in Papua New Guinea for only a part of the year. A large part of the work of materials development has therefore been carried out at in-service and pre-service

workshops for teachers, and trainee teachers, the latter particularly at Goroka which has backed the project strongly. These materials, the quality of which varies from excellent to extremely poor, as might be expected, are circulated to schools through Newsletters issued by Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education. So far, an Introduction to the new syllabus and a trial Grade 7 teaching programme have been prepared. The Grade 8 teaching programme is in preparation and will be tried out in schools in 1977.

Thus, unlike primary, secondary-level education has been active in the 1970s, developing new approaches, supplying new materials, and integrating the training of teachers with the development or introduction of those materials, but the end product is still far from satisfactory. Many schools have partial sets of some parts of the Ogundipe and Tregidgo *Practical English* course. No school received the complete course. Most schools have now begun using the new syllabus in Grade 7, but it is not known when work on the new syllabus will be completed. Overall the secondary school English programme continues to be dependent upon the energy, experience and resourcefulness of subject-masters and -teachers in schools. Given the heavy teaching loads, these qualities are severely taxed, and it is not surprising that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the level of English currently achieved by Grade 10 school-leavers after ten years of English-medium education. At secondary level, matters are unlikely to improve until there is in schools a consistent teaching programme which can be followed from Grade 7 to Grade 10, and which provides the bulk of the materials necessary for completing that programme satisfactorily. These conditions are unlikely to be met in the near future.

7.4.4.5. TERTIARY EDUCATION

Tertiary-level institutions in Papua New Guinea have recognised the problems associated with a second-language education, both in the difficulties associated with tertiary-level instruction through that medium and the lack of study and learning skills which seems to result from the intellectual and experiential confinement of working through the medium of a second language (Johnson, R.K. 1970, 1972c, 1974).

Both the University of Papua New Guinea and the Papua New Guinea University of Technology have 'service' English courses, including elements of advanced comprehension and composition, which are designed to develop the study skills necessary for work at this level. There has been a general tendency at all tertiary institutions including teachers' colleges, the Bankers' College etc. to move away from the purely remedial

English programmes which were followed in the early days of these institutions in the mid- and late 1960s and to concentrate on extension and skills courses based on the particular needs of the student. The remedial approach was abandoned not because remedial work was unnecessary, but because it proved ineffective through lack of student motivation.

The foundation professor of English at the University of Papua New Guinea, appointed in 1966, was F.C. Johnson, and his experience in the second-language situation in general, and in Papua New Guinea in particular, ensured that the department would be adapted to its environment, unlike so many English departments in universities in developing countries, modelled upon departments of literature in countries with an Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, where English is the mother tongue.

In 1974, it was decided to divide the English Department into the Departments of Language and Literature, the 'service English' function being retained by the Language Department. The Language Department, as the change of name suggests, has moved steadily towards an emphasis on sociolinguistics and towards the study of Papua New Guinean lingue franche and vernacular languages in addition to the study of English. *Sector Analysis*, the approach to the analysis of syntax developed by Robert L. Allen (Allen 1964), was taught initially in the English Department, and had a strong influence on the 1967 Secondary School syllabus, but with changes in University staff, this particular approach has not been maintained. As used in the 1967 syllabus, it proved difficult for untrained teachers to follow and was eliminated from the later secondary syllabuses. A one-year diploma course in *Teaching English as a Second Language* was taught solely by the English Department until 1973, when following Professor Johnson's resignation it was run jointly by the Departments of Language and Education. From 1974, the course has been offered by the Faculty of Education, though a large part of the teaching has been conducted by the Language and Literature Departments. The diploma is open to sub-graduate and post-graduate students working full-time or part-time. So far the course has been taken largely by experienced expatriate teachers, who are native speakers of English; and it has in this way made a contribution to teacher training and curriculum development in Papua New Guinea. Students have also come from various parts of South-East Asia under various aid schemes to work on this course or on higher degrees in the area of teaching English as a second language.

The Literature section of the English Department, and, since 1972, the Literature Department, has concentrated upon modern English texts,

and to a considerable extent upon the literature of developing countries. It has also done research into and conducted courses in the oral literatures of Papua New Guinea. The Literature Department has also been closely associated with the National Arts Centre which is situated on the University campus and is jointly sponsored by the University and the Department of Education. One of the aims of this Centre is the promotion of Papua New Guinean culture through English and this has been achieved particularly through drama. A further area of interest of the Literature Department has been creative writing, an area in which it has made a significant contribution to the cultural life of Papua New Guinea. This contribution is discussed in greater detail below in 7.4.4.6. under 'Literature in English in Papua New Guinea'.

The University's Faculty of Education and the Goroka Teachers' College are involved in the training of teachers of English as a second language at undergraduate and post-graduate levels. B.Ed. programmes are offered for both trained and untrained teachers. The 'in-service' B.Ed. is a two-year programme, the main intake being teachers trained initially at Goroka who have taught for two or more years. In support of its teacher-training programmes, the Faculty of Education has a Teaching Methods and Materials Centre (T.M.M.C.). Staff of the Centre and the Methods Lecturer in the Department of Education have been involved in a number of curriculum and research projects relating to the teaching of English in Papua New Guinea. A number of these curriculum projects have been carried out in association with the United Nations Development Project based at Goroka Teachers' College. Materials developed for secondary schools include annotated bibliographies for school libraries, materials for oral work, intensive reading, situational composition and remedial work. Research papers have been concerned with sociolinguistic factors relating to language teaching in Papua New Guinea, comparisons between the performance of first and second-language speakers of English, and studies of readability levels, particularly in relation to syntactic complexity (T.M.M.C. Annual Reports).

Staff of the University of Technology involved in the service English courses have also contributed to the development of material for secondary schools, particularly in the areas of comprehension, composition and study skills.

7.4.4.6. LITERATURE IN ENGLISH IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

In spite of the lack of encouragement of literature, in a formal sense, and of creative writing in the secondary schools, there has been an upsurge of creative writing in Papua New Guinea comparable to that

which has taken place in a number of other countries in the process of attaining nationhood. In Papua New Guinea this movement was largely promoted and shaped by Ulli Beier, who had experience of the development of a national literature in Nigeria before coming to the University of Papua New Guinea, initially as a senior lecturer in the University of Papua New Guinea's English Department, and later, briefly, as visiting professor, before leaving the University to take up his present position as Director of the Papua New Guinea Institute of Studies. He provided the stimulus for the first novel (Eri 1970) and the first autobiography (Kiki 1968) to be written by Papua New Guineans. He started the short story and poetry magazine *Kovave* and the series of publications under the title of *Papua Pocket Poets*. He has also published collections of traditional stories and legends. There is a general enthusiasm for Papua New Guinean writing at present: stories, poems and plays are being written and published inside Papua New Guinea and outside. Creative writing competitions and writers' workshops are held frequently and obtain a good response. A second journal, *Papua New Guinea Writing*, is published regularly. Plays written, acted and produced by Papua New Guineans are regularly performed at the open-air theatre of the University of Papua New Guinea, at the National Arts Centre, and elsewhere, with broadcast production by the National Broadcasting Commission; and a touring company, organised by the National Arts Centre, takes its productions to schools and local communities.

It is too early to say whether this promising beginning can be sustained. Against it are the heavy demands being made on the potential writers in other areas of public life in which rapid changes are taking place; but in favour of a continuing development is the very strong tradition of craftsmanship in Papua New Guinea, and of the expression of art as part of the life of the full man. If Papua New Guineans do not specialise as the West has done but continue to recognise public art as part of the whole man, then Papua New Guinean writing may well fulfil the great early promise that it has shown.

7.4.4.7. ADULT AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION

When the great expansion of the Papua New Guinean educational system began, basic education for adults and education for community development was either neglected or was ineffective. In a situation where, almost entirely, only those who have been to school speak English, it is obvious that extension work with those who miss schooling must be conducted through vernacular languages or *lingue franche*. Adult education was therefore stifled by the insistence on the use of English as

the medium of instruction, particularly as the prerequisite for educational opportunity was not only a degree of fluency in English, but also literacy in English.

As an illustration, in 1965, a programme of adult literacy in English was started in the Highlands area. For the first two terms teachers struggled without any materials being provided. In the third term the Commonwealth (of Australia) Office of Education course was distributed. This course was designed for European immigrants to Australia and proved predictably unsatisfactory. The courses were discontinued by the Department on the strongly-worded advice of the teachers concerned. One area of adult education which was allocated considerable resources was the School of External Studies. This provided studies by correspondence for students who had failed to gain places at secondary school. A number of ambitious Papua New Guineans have used these correspondence courses to gain entry to tertiary-level institutions, and generally further their education and their careers; but on the whole the scheme is considered to have failed, particularly at the Form I and Form II levels. Some criticism has been made of the courses themselves, but the basic problem has been that the level of English and general study skills of pupils who could not gain places in secondary schools was not high enough to enable them to use a correspondence course effectively. Since 1973, courses only at the Form III and Form IV levels have been offered; the lower level courses have been suspended.

It is to be hoped that the proposed changes in language policy will eventually be implemented, making possible a more constructive approach to the extremely important area of community education. However, no steps have been taken in this direction as yet, and the resources of the Department of Education seem likely to be fully committed to the expansion of the present formal school system for the foreseeable future.

7.4.4.8. SUMMARY

Education in general, and education through the medium of English in particular was seen by the Australian administration to be the key to economic and social development in Papua New Guinea. From the mid-1950s considerable sums of money were committed to putting this belief into practice, initially at primary level. Developments in language teaching reflected those taking place in other parts of the world and programmes were implemented through the introduction of materials into schools and through teacher training, both of which related realistically to the problems faced by Papua New Guinean teachers in terms of their lack of

general academic background and inadequate control of the English-language medium. The programme provided an effective base for the expansion at secondary and tertiary levels which followed in the mid-1960s ensuring that students would be in a position to work with teachers and lecturers who were native speakers of English, and who for the most part made few concessions to the fact that English was a second language for their students. In turn, the expansion at the upper levels of the education system has made possible the rapid rate of localisation which was achieved in the period of transfer of power from the Australian administration to a Papua New Guinean government. It has also ensured that English can be maintained as the language of administration and commerce, and thus made it possible for a centralised administration in independent Papua New Guinea to function. Whether English will be maintained as the language of provincial administration as provincial governments are established remains to be seen. The pre-eminence of English at this 'top' level in public life has been achieved seemingly without arousing hostility towards it as the language associated with the outgoing colonial administration and though there are signs of an increasing reaction against Western culture, and a desire to achieve a Papua New Guinean identity, the English language has been rather an instrument in this search than a subject for attack.

On the other hand, while the importance of the English-language-teaching programme is undeniable at the national level, at the level of the community, and particularly the rural community which embraces over 90% of the population of Papua New Guinea, the effect has been to alienate the education system from the community it serves, to inhibit the learning process and to turn the education system away from the very real needs of the rural community, to concentrate upon establishing a stepping-stone for those who go on to higher education. For the majority who do not, there is frustration, a sense of failure, and few if any practical skills which can be applied to provide a better and more varied life for the communities they live in. Education for community leaders, those who have the authority to initiate change, as opposed to school-children, has been the most neglected part of the education system.

The Papua New Guinean government has determined (1975) that all levels of education will continue to be conducted through English. The expansion of the higher levels is to be related to manpower needs in the wage-earning economy. In relation to basic education, both for young children and for adults, the government is committed to achieving a system which has more relevance to the life and needs of the community than the present one. Many people regard the abandonment of English as

the medium of instruction as a prerequisite for such community orientation; others feel that the problems in using vernacular languages or *lingue franche* in place of English are so great that the education system itself would not survive such a change; those most in favour of abandoning English feel that even such a collapse would be less harmful to the social structure of the community than the effects of the present system. All are agreed that standards at higher levels of education must be at least maintained and that this will depend upon adequate control of English, which will continue to be the medium of instruction at this level. The measures for ensuring this if the system of primary education is eventually changed have not yet been worked out, though a number of solutions seem practicable. In any case no change away from English as the sole medium of education now seems likely before 1980, or while the '1975 Education Plan' is in operation.

English is firmly established as a Papua New Guinean language which expresses an important and developing aspect of Papua New Guinean life and culture. The hope that English would provide the catalyst which would 'westernise' or 'modernise' Papua New Guinea within a generation or two has proved illusory. It seems unlikely that English will be used extensively by the great majority of Papua New Guineans. However, English has its place, and seems likely to retain it as the second or third language of the small but growing *élite* of Papua New Guineans who have gained post-primary education, and upon whom the responsibility for Papua New Guinea's future will largely depend.

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7.4.5. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE¹

7.4.5.1. GENERAL OVERVIEW

A.J. Taylor

7.4.5.1.1. INTRODUCTION

The early missions in Papua New Guinea all had one common problem, that of communicating the Christian message and building up the church in areas on or near the coast where there were many, mostly small, languages and where there was no main lingua franca. While they were able to use many vernaculars in the work of evangelism once Papua New Guinean workers were trained, there was still a need for a common language. It was not possible to provide schooling in every language as the missions did not have the staff to write the primers and textbooks nor the finance to publish them. The expatriate staff was generally small. While it was the hope in a number of missions that the staff would learn the vernacular of the area they were stationed in, and even produce some Christian literature in it, it was also very helpful if they knew a lingua franca so that they could be transferred as need arose and still be able to communicate at least with the local mission workers. A lingua franca was needed for institutions which trained pastors, teachers, and catechists, so that students from all over the area a mission was working in could attend the one institution. And as missions grew they needed a lingua franca for use in their councils and conferences, and to help give the adherents of the mission, who were from many different tribes, some feeling of unity.

In the early days, although English or German, Pidgin, and Hiri Motu were possible candidates as lingue franche for mission work, they were not yet widely known. To use English or German required an education

programme beyond most missions' resources. Besides, there were many missionaries in favour of using vernaculars as much as possible to ensure the best communication of the message. Thus they were also more in favour of using a vernacular as a lingua franca than using English, or even Pidgin, and it seems that there was not a realisation of the difference between Motu and Hiri Motu for a few years, and when it was realised then the missionaries were against using the 'pidgin' form. By choosing a vernacular which was a prestige language or was known to speakers of other languages through trade, the missionaries did not have to start from the very beginning as they would have had to if English or German had been chosen. It was easier to teach a person a language related to his own than to teach him English or German.

7.4.5.1.2. ENGLISH, PIDGIN AND HIRI MOTU

The use of English, Pidgin, or Hiri Motu rather than a vernacular as a lingua franca began with the Roman Catholics and the Seventh Day Adventists. The Roman Catholic work in New Guinea was spread over wide areas with many small languages and where there were no obvious candidates among the vernaculars to be made *lingue franche*, especially after the attempt to use Boiken in the Sepik and Madang areas failed, Pidgin was used. In the Central District of Papua they used the vernaculars extensively but again there was no vernacular which was acceptable for use as a lingua franca so they chose English. The Seventh Day Adventists began work in Papua in 1908 and about 20 years later in the New Guinea Islands, by which time Pidgin and Hiri Motu could more easily be used as *lingue franche*, and they were chosen as the Seventh Day Adventists had a small number of expatriate staff but had work in a number of different areas. Also no highlands vernacular has been used to any extent as a lingua franca by a mission since, while mission work began there in the 1930s, the main development was post-war when Pidgin became the main lingua franca. The Lutherans did use Kâte, a coastal language, as a lingua franca in the highlands for a time.

7.4.5.1.3. OTHER LINGUE FRANCHE

7.4.5.1.3.1. CHOOSING A VERNACULAR AS A MISSIONARY LINGUA FRANCA

In view of the need for a lingua franca, and the idea of using a vernacular, how was the choice made? The main factors seem to have been the status of the language, including its size and whether it was used as a trade language already, and the historical 'accident' of where the first missionaries landed. Thus Kuanua is by far the biggest

language in the New Guinea Islands and was the second language the Methodists worked in; Boiken is the second largest language in the Sepik-Madang area; Motu is one of the largest languages in the Central District (now Province) and the tribe had a good deal of prestige among its neighbours, as well as being where the missionaries first settled; Dobuan and Suau were important in trade in pre-European times; Yabêm and Wedau were the first languages missionaries learned in those areas, and Kâte was the first non-Austronesian language the Lutherans learned in the Morobe District (now Province); Toaripi and Island Kiwai were chosen as it was London Missionary Society policy to use the languages of the main mission stations, though presumably the size and prestige of the group had some influence on the decision to set up the stations in the first place; Bel was the first Austronesian language the Lutherans learned in the Madang District (now Province), though it was over 30 years before it was adopted as a lingua franca; Amele was one of the first non-Austronesian languages the Lutherans learned in the Madang District (now Province) and it was also the biggest language in the area, as well as being in a central area of the mission's work; Gogodala was the first vernacular in which the Unevangelised Fields Mission² worked and it is the biggest language in that part of the Western District (now Province). There was not often much consideration of linguistic factors in the choice beyond the very general one as to whether a language was Austronesian or non-Austronesian,³ as the mission work was established in each area before any linguistic studies were made. However, the existence of some linguistic studies to help in the use of the language did influence the choice of Island Kiwai and probably Boiken. Suau was chosen by Charles Abel in preference to Tavara after both had been learned by the missionaries partly because of Abel's view of its richness and expressiveness.

7.4.5.1.3.2. THE USE MADE OF MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE

Similar use was made of each of these lingue franche, but there was some difference in the vigour with which they were spread. Bible translation was done in all of them, as well as other mostly, or solely, Christian literature, such as hymn books and sometimes a church paper. However, the amount of literature in any of them is not great, and the translations were not always satisfactory. These languages were used in the primary schools and nearly all were used in theological and teacher-training institutions. Grammars and dictionaries were compiled too, although not all were published.

7.4.5.1.3.3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE

7.4.5.1.3.3.1. The Period Until World War II

The use of these lingue franche worked quite well up until World War II, though some problems were apparent. Some Papua New Guineans did not wish to learn another tribe's language in this way, even in spite of the mission's prestige. There was some of this feeling, for example, with Dobuan, Kuanua, and Boiken. In the case of Boiken this problem, together with opposition from some missionaries to having to learn another vernacular when they were already very busy, led to the abandoning of the attempt to use the language as a lingua franca. In the case of Dobuan and Kuanua it meant an increased emphasis on the use of some vernaculars, and greater use of Pidgin on New Ireland in place of Kuanua.

7.4.5.1.3.3.2. The Period After World War II

After the war there were changes in the situation. There was greater knowledge of English, Pidgin, and Hiri Motu, and in some areas more pride in the vernaculars. Patterns of life were changing and it was becoming more valuable for a person to learn one of the three main lingue franche rather than one of the missionary lingue franche, and so the latter became an extra burden that not everyone wanted. The Administration began to establish schools in which only English was taught and then decided that mission schools should use English also and not the local lingue franche. This stopped the teaching of nearly all of these languages and now almost a generation has been taught only English, if they have been taught at all.

7.4.5.1.3.4. DECLINING USE OF MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE

So the influence of most of the missionary lingue franche is decreasing in the face of the main lingue franche on the one hand and of the vernaculars on the other. As more Papua New Guineans are trained they can work in their own vernaculars. English is taught in the primary schools, with the main exception being those of the Lutheran schools which use Pidgin or Kâte. Theological training is now in English at the higher levels, with lower level institutions using simple English, Pidgin, or Hiri Motu, and in a few cases a missionary lingua franca, such as Kâte, Yabêm, or Dobuan. In the Unevangelised Fields Mission² area much of the pastor training is now done in the vernaculars, whereas in earlier days it was all in Gogodala. In councils and conferences too the missionary lingue franche have given ground to the three main lingue

franche. The need to use these has been increased in some cases by the inclusion of people from widely separated areas in one church, as in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea and the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, or in one institution as at the Christian Leaders' Training College at Banz in the Western Highlands which is run by the Evangelical Alliance, a grouping of churches from both highlands and coastal areas.

However, the missionary lingue franche are still used in church services, especially by the older people, and in some places knowledge of one serves as a symbol setting a person off from adherents of other churches. Also, there are active Bible translation programmes in most of these lingue franche, but this is partly because the work is worth doing even if only the native speakers of these languages use the translations. There has not been a wide enough variety of literature in them to make learning to read them as a third language attractive, nor is there likely to be. There is still an economic problem even though there are now a good number of Papua New Guinean writers. Most of these lingue franche are used on the National Broadcasting Commission radio stations. This helps to some degree in maintaining their use as lingue franche. However, quite a few vernaculars are used also, and some of these are in areas where a missionary lingua franca is used or which it might spread into. This is one more point where there is less need to learn the lingua franca.

7.4.5.1.3.5. FUTURE OUTLOOK

Only if these missionary lingue franche are re-introduced into the schools does it appear that they could expand again. While the Government is changing the language policy in schools to allow languages other than English to be used, the exact shape of the new plan has not yet been determined. Nevertheless it would seem very likely that if the people in an area are given a choice most will choose their own language⁴ or Pidgin or Hiri Motu rather than a missionary lingua franca. As there are Kâte schools still operating, presumably that language will continue to be used for some time as much as it is now.

N O T E S

1. The term 'missionary' is used here as these lingue franche developed in the missionary period, although today they might better be referred to as 'church' lingue franche.
2. The Unevangelised Fields Mission is now known as the Asia Pacific Christian Mission.
3. The early missionaries did not use these terms, but they were aware that there were two main groupings of languages even if the nature of the relationships between the non-Austronesian ones was a problem.
4. The work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics has given many people more interest in education in their own language, and the studies done by the Institute will make it much easier for vernaculars to be used in schools than would otherwise have been the case.

7.4.5.2. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: KÂTE

G.L. Renck

7.4.5.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The Kâte language spreads out from the 'Sattelberg' area in the mountains to the north-west of Finschhafen on the Huon Peninsula. The approximately 600 inhabitants of eight villages were the original speakers of the so-called 'Wemo' dialect which was to become the most widespread of the Lutheran Church lingue franche in New Guinea.

7.4.5.2.2. STRUCTURE OF KÂTE

Kâte is a non-Austronesian, i.e. Papuan type language, and, like most Papuan languages, shows relatively complex phonological and morphological features.

7.4.5.2.2.1. PHONEMES

The phonemes of Kâte are the following:

7.4.5.2.2.1.1. Consonants

/p/	voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop
/k _p /	voiceless bilabial-velar unaspirated stop
/t/	voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop
/k/	voiceless velar unaspirated stop
/ʔ/	voiceless glottal stop
/b/	voiced bilabial stop
/g _b /	voiced bilabial-velar stop
/d/	voiced alveolar stop
/g/	voiced velar stop

/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative
/v/	voiced labiodental fricative
/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
/ts/	voiceless alveolar homorganic affricate
/dz/	voiced alveolar homorganic affricate
/s/	voiced alveolar grooved fricative
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
/ŋ/	voiced velar nasal
/r/	voiceless one-flap alveolar vibrant
/ɣ/	voiced alveopalatal continuant

For the practical alphabet, p, t, k, b, d, g, f, h, s, m, n, ŋ, have been in use for the respective phonemes; q has been used for the voiceless double stop, and the special character q was introduced for its voiced counterpart; c has been used for the glottal stop which was originally not interpreted as a consonant; w has been used for the voiced labiodental fricative; z and ʒ for the voiceless and for the voiced alveolar affricate; /r/ was originally represented by ɾ, which was changed to r in the 1950s; j has been in use for /ɣ/.

7.4.5.2.2.1.2. Vowels

/i/	high close unrounded front vowel
/ɛ/	mid open unrounded front vowel
/a/	low open unrounded central vowel
/u/	high close rounded back vowel
/o/	mid close rounded back vowel
/ɔ/	low open rounded back vowel

For the practical alphabet, i, a, u, and o have been used for the respective phonemes, e has been used for /ɛ/, and â for /ɔ/.

7.4.5.2.2.1.3. Suprasegmentals and Syllable Structure

Vowel length is not distinctive. The first syllable of a word always carries the heaviest stress. The language is non-tonal. There are mainly open syllables, only /ŋ/ and /ʔ/ may occur in syllable-final positions. Prenasalisation may occur with all voiced stops, the voiced affricate, and /k/.

7.4.5.2.2.2. MORPHOLOGY

7.4.5.2.2.2.1. Nouns

With the noun, things and live beings are differentiated. There are ten suffixes which may occur with nouns. Six of them express the following: subject, destination or possession, instrument, presence or company, temporary absence, permanent absence. The instrument suffix may occur only with things, not with live beings. The other four are local suffixes, answering the questions: where or where to? where from? in which direction? from which direction? With things, these locative suffixes are merely attached to the noun, with live beings, the destination suffix is inserted in between the noun and the locative suffix.

The traditional grammar of the Lutheran missionaries treats the noun suffixes as case morphemes of the following cases: Nominativ agentis, Destinativ, Instrumentalis, Komitativ, Karitativ I, Karitativ II, Adlativ, Delativ, Adversiv, Deversiv. If a noun occurs in another but subject position, it is used without a suffix, and that case is named Casus indifferens. Possession with nouns is expressed by possessive suffixes. There are nine grammatical persons, and one possessive suffix for each of them. Possession may also be expressed by personal pronouns with the destination suffix which precede the noun.

7.4.5.2.2.2.2. Verbs

There are five indicative tenses in Kâte: Present, Past I (immediate past: actions dating back one day only), Past II (distant past: actions dating back two days or more), Future I and Future II, the latter being nowadays used exclusively for the eschatology. Besides the Indicatives, there are two irreal forms (called 'tenses'), Imaginative I (Past) and Imaginative II (Future), describing conditional actions, and actions which might happen. There are also two Imperatives, present and future, and two durative tenses (past and present) denoting actions which customarily or routinely take place. Tense and subject are marked by suffixes to the verb stem. One feature of verb structure which Kâte shares with other Papuan-type languages is secondary verb forms which occur sentence-medially, and do not indicate tenses and, if the subject remains the same in subsequent clauses, not even the subject, but only sequence, simultaneousness, or duration of several actions described in one sentence. The tense (and often also the subject) of these sentence-medial verb forms is determined only by the sentence-final primary verb.

The two verbs '*to give*' and '*to hit*' have separate forms for each of the nine grammatical persons which may be the (direct or indirect) object of an action. These two verbs are suffixed to the stems of the transitive verbs to denote the object.

7.4.5.2.2.2.3. Other Words

7.4.5.2.2.2.3.1. Adjectives

There are not many primary adjectives. Most adjectives are derived from nouns or verb stems by either reduplication of the first syllable, or the suffix *-ne*, or both.

7.4.5.2.2.2.3.2. Number Words

There are only two basic number words, '*one*' and '*two*'. '*Five*' is '*one hand*', '*ten*' is '*two hands*', '*fifteen*' is '*two hands and one foot*'. The figures in between are expressed by sums of hands and feet, and the two basic words which are, when counting, represented by fingers and toes. The figure '*twenty*' is expressed by '*one whole man*' (i.e. all his fingers and toes).

7.4.5.2.2.2.3.3. Pronouns

There are three persons and three numbers, i.e. nine grammatical persons, three each in singular, dual, and plural. The first persons dual and plural have inclusive and exclusive forms, thus bringing the number of personal pronouns to 11. (The distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms in the first person non-singular is not found with the possessive suffixes and the subject markers with the verb.) The pronouns are treated like nouns, i.e. all suffixes occurring with nouns, except the instrument suffix, may also occur with the pronouns. The pronouns have the same locative suffixes as the live beings.

7.4.5.2.2.3. SYNTAX

The usual word order in a clause is Subject-Object-Predicate. There are no principal and subordinate clauses in a sentence, but non-final clauses in a sentence depend on the final clause with regard to the tense and quite often the subject of this verb, since in the sentence-medial clauses mainly the secondary (sentence-medial) verb forms (see 7.4.5.2.2.2.2. above) are used. Any clause can assume the function of a subordinate clause (temporal, conditional, final, causal, etc.) by the destination suffix or the local suffix being suffixed to a primary

verb form. The negation word is *mi*, and always precedes the predicate. Questions are indicated either by intonation (rising, and sudden fall at the end of the clause) only, or by that same intonation followed by the interrogation word *me* (high pitch). There are many interjections expressing emotions.

7.4.5.2.3. KÂTE AS A LINGUA FRANCA

7.4.5.2.3.1. HOW KÂTE BECAME A LINGUA FRANCA

After the Lutheran missionaries in the Finschhafen area had been working mainly at the coast for six years, they proceeded, in 1892, with their work inland, up into the mountains, and established a mission station on a mountain called Qeraharuc by the people, and named Sattelberg by the German administration, because of its shape. Kâte was the first Papuan language the Lutherans encountered. The missionaries J. Flierl, and then especially C. Keysser and G. Pilhofer, both aided by Dr Dempwolff of Hamburg University, were engaged in Kâte language research.

Sattelberg became the centre for far-reaching missionary activities. From 1908 on, the Kâte congregation sent mission workers from their villages to the Hube and Dedua tribes further inland. At that time, the Kâte language had already a special status as a 'written' language, so that not only school work in those areas was started in Kâte, but also the adults wanted to learn it, and wanted it as medium of baptismal instruction for themselves. Later on, it spread with Lutheran mission work to practically all inland areas of the Huon Peninsula so that the Lutheran Mission in Finschhafen decided that it should be the school and church lingua franca for all people speaking Papuan languages.

7.4.5.2.3.2. THE USE OF KÂTE AS A LINGUA FRANCA

As soon as the missionaries had a working knowledge of the language and had used it for school work, they produced the literature needed for the schools, especially a reader and Bible stories. As early as 1902, Keysser compiled a grammar which was not published. In 1925 Keysser published a Kâte-German-English dictionary, and in 1933 Pilhofer published a grammar.

In 1910 Pilhofer started to train Kâte teachers and evangelists, and established a formal training school at Heldsbach, Finschhafen, in 1914. A four-year village school programme was inaugurated, followed by two years of 'middle school'. All school materials and the syllabi for

the teachers were produced in Kâte, mainly by Pilhofer. The school books brought religious as well as secular knowledge to the pupils.

Besides the school textbooks, a considerable amount of other, mainly religious, literature was produced. A Hymnal was compiled which contained Christian hymns that had been composed over the years. In 1939, the New Testament, translated by Pilhofer, appeared in print. After World War II, parts of the Old Testament were translated, and commentaries to Biblical books were written. A monthly newspaper was published which, besides congregational and devotional materials, also offered general news to the people.

After Kâte had spread, through missionary activities and school work, through the entire Huon Peninsula, it was, as from the 1930s, introduced into the Central Highlands as far as the Hagen area, and it remained the school language of the Lutheran Church in the Highlands up until 1960, in some areas even longer. The legislation of the Australian Administration at the end of the 1950s concerning school policy and church *lingue franche* which discouraged the use of church *lingue franche* for educational purposes was a severe blow for all Lutheran schools. The result was a breakdown of the Church's school system in many areas, because English was unknown to the teachers, and there was no school material which could have been substituted for their Kâte textbooks and syllabi. In some areas however, the Kâte schools survived and were conducted secretly with or without the knowledge of the Australian Education Officers. The missionaries were divided on the issue: should they be obedient to the Administration, or rather disobey and continue with the Kâte schools? The Australian language and school policy terminated the further expansion of Kâte at least in the Central Highlands.

7.4.5.2.3.3. THE PRESENT SITUATION

The estimated number of people who have an active knowledge of Kâte is nowadays given as 75,000; the number of people with a passive knowledge may be approximately 40,000. Kâte is being used extensively in the services, i.e. for the liturgy, and for preaching, in the Papuan Lutheran congregations of the Huon-Finisterre area and the Finschhafen-Lae-Morobe area. A new training centre for Kâte teachers has been established at Heldsbach, and in the areas mentioned, village schools are again being conducted in Kâte.

In Bible schools and in pastors' training, Kâte is being used as the medium of instruction side by side with Pidgin. The translation of the Old Testament into Kâte is under way.

In the Central Highlands, Kâte has vanished from the village schools except in a few places, and has been replaced by Pidgin and/or local vernaculars. There is still some limited use of Kâte in some training institutions for church workers in the Central Highlands.

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7.4.5.3. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: YABÊM

G.L. Renck

7.4.5.3.1. INTRODUCTION

The Yabêm language was originally spoken by approximately 900 people in the coastal area between Kamlawā, a village north of Finschhafen and Kasāŋa, approximately 20 miles south of Finschhafen.

7.4.5.3.2. STRUCTURE OF YABÊM

Yabêm is an Austronesian language with fairly simple phonological and morphological features.

7.4.5.3.2.1. PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of Yabêm are the following:

7.4.5.3.2.1.1. Consonants

/p/	voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop
/t/	voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop
/k/	voiceless velar unaspirated stop
/b/	voiced bilabial stop
/d/	voiced alveolar stop
/g/	voiced velar stop
/ʔ/	voiceless glottal stop
/w/	voiced bilabial rounded fricative
/s/	voiceless alveolar grooved fricative
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
/ŋ/	voiced velar nasal
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
/y/	voiced alveopalatal continuant

For the practical alphabet, the Lutheran missionaries have so far used p, t, k, b, d, g, w, s, m, n, ŋ, l. For the phoneme /y/, j has been in use. The glottal stop has been indicated by c, and in the traditional analysis, it has not been interpreted as a consonant, but rather as part of the preceding vowel. Actually, the number of vowels has been doubled by that interpretation.

7.4.5.3.2.1.2. Vowels

/i/	high close unrounded front vowel
/e/	mid close unrounded front vowel
/ɛ/	mid open unrounded front vowel
/a/	low open unrounded central vowel
/u/	high close rounded back vowel
/o/	mid close rounded back vowel
/ɔ/	low close rounded back vowel

In the practical alphabet, i, a, and u have been used for the respective phonemes, /e/ has been indicated by ê, /ɛ/ by e, /o/ by ô, and /ɔ/ by o.

7.4.5.3.2.1.3. Tone

Yabêm is a tonal language with two tonemes, high and low. Since the high tone is much more frequent than the low tone, the latter is usually indicated. In Yabêm textbooks, however, the indication of tones has usually been left off altogether, since the meaning of a word, and with it its tone, is easily determined by its context by Yabêm-speakers.

7.4.5.3.2.2. MORPHOLOGY

7.4.5.3.2.2.1. Nouns

The noun morphology is relatively simple. There are two classes of nouns. Class I comprises everything which belongs essentially to a person, i.e. parts of the body, and personal relatives. Those nouns always occur with a possessive suffix, i.e. cannot occur without it. Class II comprises all other nouns. Possession with them is expressed by the possessive pronouns. There are three pronouns each in singular, dual, and plural, the first persons dual and plural have inclusive and exclusive forms of the possessive pronoun. Suffixes with nouns may express absence, connection, size, emptiness, destination, etc.

7.4.5.3.2.2.2. Verbs

There are no tenses, but only two modes (aspects), real and unreal. The real mode, named Realis, describes real actions of present and past.

The unreal mode, named Imaginativus or Idealis, describes everything which is to happen in the future, and also thoughts, wishes, imaginations, possibilities, and conditional actions. Mode and subject of the verb are indicated by prefixes of which there are two sets: one having voiceless stops with verb stems carrying high tone, and one having voiced stops with verb stems carrying low tone.

There are five verb classes: Class I are the monosyllabical verb stems with high tone; Class II are the monosyllabical verb stems with low tone; Class III are the monosyllabical verb stems which actually carry the high tone, but since the singular forms of the real mode carry the low tone, the voiced subject prefix occurs with these forms; Class IV are all verb stems with two syllables, either high or low tone; Class V is a special class, having monosyllabic low-tone stems, but voiceless subject prefixes.

Emotional attitudes, such as certainty, surprise, urgency, exclusiveness, resignation, etc. can be expressed by a number of verb suffixes, or by adverbs.

7.4.5.3.2.2.3. Other Words

7.4.5.3.2.2.3.1. Number Words

There are five basic number words which may be repeated three times, counting fingers and toes, up to the final figure of 20.

7.4.5.3.2.2.3.2. Pronouns

There are nine personal pronouns altogether, and 11 possessive pronouns, since there are inclusive and exclusive forms in the first persons dual and plural. Yabêm has three demonstrative pronouns relating to the speaker, the addressed, and others.

7.4.5.3.2.2.3.3. Adjectives

There are not many basic adjectives, but quite a number of adjectives are derivations from nouns, with the prefix *na-* which originally is a kind of genitive marker.

7.4.5.3.2.3. SYNTAX

The usual word order in a clause is: Subject-Predicate-Object. Temporal clauses can be formed by using conjunctions, relative clauses with short forms of the demonstrative pronouns, final and causal clauses with the conjunction *gebe* 'because' or 'in order to', conditional clauses with the conjunction *embe* 'if'. The negation word is *atom*, and is always placed at the end of a clause.

There are many interjections to express emotions.

Questions are indicated by a special interrogation word *me* which can turn a whole clause into a question.

7.4.5.3.3. YABÊM AS A LINGUA FRANCA

7.4.5.3.3.1. HOW YABÊM BECAME A LINGUA FRANCA

In 1886, the first Lutheran missionaries J. Flierl and K. Tremel started mission work at Simbang, south of Finschhafen, right in the centre of the Yabêm language area. Yabêm was the first New Guinea language which the Lutheran missionaries had to deal with. There was a sort of dictionary or rather wordlist which had been compiled by the German physician Dr Schellong who was with the German 'Neu Guinea Kompagnie' at Finschhafen. That list helped in the beginning, but was full of errors. Missionaries K. Vetter, and, after his early death, H. Zahn, were the men who mainly worked on Yabêm language research, aided by the German linguist Dr Dempwolff, of Hamburg University. Already during the first decade of this century, the Yabêm congregations sent evangelists across the Huon Gulf to the Kela area near Salamaua (Malalo). The people there speak Bukawa, an Austronesian language related to Yabêm, but since Yabêm had become a school language already with a limited amount of literature, it was used for mission work amongst the Kela people. Afterwards it spread with the Lutheran mission work amongst all people in the Finschhafen-Lae-Morobe area who spoke Austronesian languages, so that finally it was decided that Yabêm should be the school and church lingua franca for all Austronesian-speaking people.

The non-Christians who were contacted by the mission workers were quite keen to adopt that language in order to have contact with the Christian congregations and the education, and especially to have access to the existing literature, meagre though it may have been at that time.

7.4.5.3.3.2. THE USE OF YABÊM AS A LINGUA FRANCA

Already in the early years some literature was produced, especially for school work which played an important role in mission work. Vetter

compiled a Reader, and translated a selection of Bible stories. By 1901 he had Acts translated, and by 1906 the first 18 chapters of the Gospel of Luke. Zahn continued the work of Vetter, and became the author of most literature for schools and congregations. He compiled a Yabêm dictionary with 13,000 entries, which was mimeographed (700 pages) in New Guinea in 1917 (60 copies were made). In 1925 the New Testament, translated by Zahn, appeared in print, and was printed in London. Shortly before World War II, Dr Dempwolff wrote a grammar which was printed in Germany. Of all other publications, the Hymnal should be mentioned, in which the Christian hymns, which had been composed, were compiled, and also a monthly newspaper which brought, besides congregational news, also general news to the people.

After Christian congregations were established, it was necessary to promote school work further, and also engage the Christians themselves in that work. For that purpose, a school for evangelists and teachers was established at Logaweng, Finschhafen, in 1907, but that school worked effectively only from 1913 on. The people trained there, started school work in the villages along the coast. With the expansion of school and mission work, the Yabêm language was also promoted. All school materials, and the teaching programmes for the teachers (syllabi) were in Yabêm. Four years of elementary school were enough to give the children a sound knowledge of the Yabêm language.

The expansion of Yabêm had one natural limit, namely the fact that further inland there are not too many Austronesian languages in the Lutheran mission area.

Already before World War II, Yabêm had therefore reached its limits, without having completely penetrated all areas within those limits.

All efforts to spread Yabêm further within those given limits were thwarted completely at the end of the 1950s by the legislation of the Australian Administration regarding school work. All lingue franche were banned from schools except in areas where those languages had been the mother tongue of the people originally. The aim was universal primary education in English, a goal which was never to be reached, as was foreseen by a lot of mission people then, and has been realised by everybody else in the years since then.

That legislation put Yabêm out of the village schools completely except in a few areas. In many cases, the schools had to be closed, because there was nothing which could be substituted for the Yabêm textbooks and syllabi. The law was a severe blow to the whole of the Church school system, and in most areas robbed the people of the only way of education available to them without giving them a substitute.

7.4.5.3.3.3. THE PRESENT SITUATION

The estimated number of people who have an active knowledge of Yabêm is nowadays given as 25,000. The number of people with a passive knowledge might be considerably higher. Yabêm is still being widely used in the services, i.e. for the liturgy and for preaching, in the Austro-nesian Lutheran congregations throughout the Finschhafen-Lae-Morobe area. The Old Testament is being translated into Yabêm. The language is still being used in the training programme for pastors and other church workers. It has almost vanished in the village schools where it has been replaced by Pidgin, but efforts are being made to introduce the teaching of Yabêm again, besides Pidgin, as a medium of instruction, also on village school level.

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7.4.5.3. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANÇE: YABÈM

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7.4.5.4. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: BEL (GEDAGED)

Paul G. Freyberg

7.4.5.4.1. INTRODUCTION

It is only since about 1967 that the name Bel has been generally applied to this language. Previously the language was called by the name of the island in Madang Harbour on which the Lutheran Mission for many years had its evangelistic station for the Madang coastal area; that is, Gedaged, a name which has been given a number of variant spellings.¹ Gedaged is only one of several offshore islands in the vicinity of Madang which, together with the nearby mainland coastal strip, are inhabited by the native speakers of this language. The three islands on which Lutheran Mission has been particularly active are Gedaged and Billia (both in Madang Harbour) and Siar, which lies about five miles to the north. There is only minor dialectal variation among these three groups. Nevertheless, when the preparation of literature began in earnest, a choice had to be made among variant forms, and since at that time the mission's chief station for the area was on Gedaged Island, the dialect spoken there was chosen as the standard dialect and gave its name to the language.

The recent adoption of the name Bel appears to be a belated recognition of the fact that substantially the same language is the native tongue of a much wider group, including especially the Siar and Billia people. Bel seems to be a tribal name for the group, as Mager (1952:22) indicates in his dictionary definition. Investigations by Z'graggen (1971:97) point to the likelihood that for linguistic purposes the name Bel is more properly applied to a family of languages (called 'Belan' by Z'graggen), one of which may be called Gedaged. The response to recent inquiries tends to support this view that the name 'Bel' expresses

a social unity among people whose speech is diverse enough to justify a division into several languages. For this reason, and because previous linguistic publications have normally used some form of the name 'Gedaged', this name will be used in this chapter.

7.4.5.4.2. THE STRUCTURE OF GEDAGED

7.4.5.4.2.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Gedaged is an Austronesian language, classified by Capell (1969:156) as a member of the Austronesian sub-group which shows strong non-Austronesian influence, especially in the verb. This is supported by Z'graggen (1971:96-7) and others.

7.4.5.4.2.2. PHONOLOGY

The phonology is relatively uncomplicated, having a five-vowel system and no unusual consonants except the voiceless lateral spirant (like the Welsh *ll*). This voiceless *l* regularly replaces the trilled apical *r* found in cognates in related languages. (In the mission's orthography the voiceless *l* is represented by *z*.) Gedaged has also the trilled *r*, but only in a few loanwords and in a small store of native words, almost all of which are clearly onomatopoeic representations of fluttering, rattling, or trembling motion, usually with reduplication of the syllable containing this phoneme; e.g. *bara bara* '*rustling*', *terere* '*trembling, vibrating*'. There is also a voiced *l* with wide distribution in the vocabulary.

Word stress is relatively light, falling regularly on the ultima, with secondary stress in longer words. The ultimate stress is not restricted to the root, but on nouns it falls on the final syllable of personal possessive suffixes, and on verbs it shifts to the final syllable of personal object suffixes. Other suffixes, such as clause markers on verbs and locative and instrumental suffixes on nouns, are never stressed.

7.4.5.4.2.3. GRAMMAR

The grammar is also a relatively simple one. Nouns are of two classes, according to the manner in which possession of them is indicated. The one class, denoting body parts, personal relationships, and a few other items which are thought of as bearing an intimate and inalienable relation to the person, are marked in typical Austronesian fashion by inseparable personal possessive suffixes. All remaining

nouns fall into the second class and are unmarked by possessive suffixes. The possessor of a noun of the second class is shown by a preceding possessive form of the personal pronoun, which may also be used before nouns of the first class.

The personal pronoun has the inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural. This distinction is maintained not only in its possessive forms as a suffix or a free morpheme qualifying nouns, but also in subject-marking and object-marking verbal affixes. There is no inflection for dual number.

Clause structure has the order Subject-Object-Verb.

The verb itself, while showing non-Austronesian influence, is inflectionally simple in comparison with neighbouring non-Austronesian languages. Affixes are employed to mark both subject and object as to person and number. The structural pattern of the verb (disregarding all elements of time, mood, and aspect, which are in any case suffixed to this pattern without recessive phonological effect) is as follows:

Subject + Verb Root (+ Object)

Object-marking is obligatory for transitive verbs. The optional omission indicated applies only to intransitives.

Inflectional indication of tense seems almost non-existent. Time is usually expressed by preceding free morphemes ('temporal adverbs') or other contextual elements. The unstressed suffixes which may be appended to the above nuclear pattern involve the element of time in only an incidental or relative way. They appear rather to express a kind of indivisible 'time-mood-aspect complex' in which time is perhaps the least significant element. With this addition the above pattern becomes

Subject + Verb Root (+ Object) (+ T-M-A)

With zero representation of the T-M-A marker the verb is aoristic and in this form appears most commonly as the sentence-final verb in narration, which naturally is in past time. The same form may, however, refer to present time, and on occasion it may represent a brusque command, very definitely referring to the present or immediate future.

One T-M-A marker does at first appear to represent the present tense unequivocally, in either the progressive or customary aspect. It consists of the repetition of the subject prefix plus -me, e.g. u-la-u-me 'you (sing.) are-going/go', di-bi-tag-di-me 'they are-repulsing/repulse me'. Nevertheless, this form seems basically aspectual, picturing an activity as in progress or as customary, and it may also be freely used as a 'historical present' in the narration of events far in the past.

Even the handful of eight or so intransitive verbs which in the 'aorist' or nuclear form always change the final -a or -o of the root

to -e are not to be thought of as indicating tense by this vowel shift as in European 'ablaut'. This is shown by the fact that the same change also precedes the affixing of clause markers referring to hypothetical or anticipated events which have not yet become fact, and are therefore by our reckoning in future time. This irregular vowel shift, which also appears in brusque prohibitions, seems rather to be associated with the perfective aspect.

The T-M-A markers seem best classified as distinguishing between 'realis', events that have actually occurred or are in the process of occurring, and 'irrealis', events imagined, conceived, anticipated, desired, requested, etc. There are two sets of suffixes corresponding to these two categories, each set being subdivided into sentence-medial and sentence-final subsets. The realis sentence-final subset contains the form -lak, which marks an event as completed, and the form compounded with -me as illustrated above, which describes an event as in progress. The irrealis set likewise contains two sentence-final forms. One, -ol, expresses a wide range of concepts, such as simple futurity, intention, desire, request, even a rather firm command. The other, -pe, is used in the apodosis of unreal conditions (but also sentence-medially in the protasis!) or as the optative of an earnest wish or a polite request.

The two subsets marking sentence-medial forms are neatly co-ordinated, as shown in the following table. In the first line the one-letter suffixes are used on nuclei ending in a vowel. The form in brackets, which may follow either a noun or a consonant, is the marker for unreal conditions.

Realis	Irrealis	Marking
-g, -ge	-p, -pa (-pe)	Immediate succession
-meg	-map	Contemporaneity ('while')
-tag	-tap	Dependent relation ('then')
-lag	-lap	Duration

For the foreign learner one of the more troublesome morphophonemic features of an otherwise rather simple verb system is the reduction and/or regressive assimilation of the vowel in the subject prefix, which often occurs when the remainder of the verb in its nuclear form consists of more than one syllable. Examples are dibol 'they speak' / dematal 'they sit', tagod 'we (incl.) request' / togodoanl 'we request him', galon 'I hear, know' / qufuni 'I strike him'. The first syllable of a verb root may itself undergo this process in the change from transitive

to intransitive, as in magu *'be resentful'* / muguni *'hate him'*. A somewhat similar shift in vowel quality accompanies suffixation on nouns, malag *'my eye'* / meladin *'their eyes'*, sometimes with compensatory shifts elsewhere, baleg *'my tongue'* / beladin *'their tongues'*. The reduced vowel represented by e in dematal, meladin, and beladin is centralised so as to become, or closely approach, the shwa.

The above sketch should suffice to bring out some of the chief characteristics of the language.

7.5.4.5.3. THE QUESTION OF A CHURCH LINGUA FRANCA IN THE MADANG AREA

7.4.5.4.3.1. THE PERIOD UNTIL WORLD WAR II

When Lutheran mission work was begun in the Madang area in 1887 by the Rhenish Mission Society of Barmen, Germany, the first efforts were made in the Astrolabe Bay region. Work was started in the Bogadjim and Bongu languages, both non-Austronesian. In 1889, with the establishment of a station on Siar Island, a beginning was made in the Gedaged language. Early estimates of the number of native speakers of Gedaged at this time usually vary between 400 and 600. It was probably difficult at the time to obtain an exact count, and these estimates may have included only the villages of Gedaged, Siar, Bilia, and Riwo. The total of those four groups would not have been much more than 600. For comparison, the recent count by Z'graggen (1971:97), which includes also Sek and Malamal, shows 2,180 native speakers.

Each of the early missionaries naturally began to learn the language of his area. Having little or no linguistic training, they nevertheless commenced working out orthographies and grammars and compiling dictionaries to the best of their ability. Many years passed before this work could progress to the stage of preparing and printing simple Bible stories, catechisms, and primers so that formal schooling could begin.

It soon became evident that the linguistic diversity greatly hindered the progress of mission work, so the promotion of a lingua franca for the whole region was considered. However, consultations had led rather early to the realisation that the area contained two main language groups, today known as Austronesian and non-Austronesian. With the founding of stations in the hilly inland region, at Nobonob in 1906 and at Amele in 1916, it became clear that except for the coastal strip and offshore islands the great majority of the people in the Madang area spoke non-Austronesian languages. The structural differences between the two groups seem at this point to have led the mission to abandon hope of uniting both under a single lingua franca. But the choice of a common

language for the non-Austronesian group was extensively discussed in annual conferences. Before linguistic data were sufficient to lead to a decision, the disruption brought by World War I forced the postponement of the matter.

After the war this urgent question was again taken up. It was discussed in detail at the mission conference in February 1922 on the basis of two papers on the topic 'How Can We Deal Effectively with the Linguistic Fragmentation Existing in Our Mission Field?'.² The first paper was by the Amele missionary, A. Wullenkord, who had collated considerable material on the grammatical structures of eight languages of the area. Basing his argument on this comparative study, on the large population speaking Amele (4,000 by his estimate) and closely related languages, and on the fact that Amele was centrally located in the mission's area, he strongly urged the establishment of Amele as the lingua franca. The other paper, presented by the Nobonob missionary, F. Schuetz, who had begun work in Nobonob a decade before the beginning in Amele, offered just as strongly the counter-proposal that Nobonob should be chosen. Wullenkord's arguments convinced the majority. The conference decided that Amele should be the lingua franca and that a school for evangelists and teachers should be established at Amele. This school was opened in 1923 with students from Amele, Nobonob, and the Astrolabe Bay area.

The Gedaged language seems not to have entered significantly into the discussion in 1922. Wullenkord did indeed urge that also students from the Austronesian area be sent to Amele for training, with a view to the early introduction of Amele there too, making it the common language of the whole mission field. However, this proposal was not followed. The majority of the missionaries still seemed to think that each of the two groups would have to have its own lingua franca. In 1924 a school was opened on Karkar Island to train teachers and evangelists in Gedaged, the lingua franca of the Austronesian area. So for a number of years the mission was operating two training schools, one in each lingua franca. Literature was slowly being produced in both languages, but it consisted of little besides Bible stories, primers, and a monthly paper. Men trained in these schools were being sent out to begin village schools in their respective language areas.

Before many years had passed, this duplication of effort was seen to be unwise. Besides aggravating the chronic staff shortage, it was also in danger of dividing the emerging church and the community at large into two separate groups with poor intercommunication and with conflicting loyalties. In the early 1930s the matter was reconsidered, and

with the consent of the church elders it was decided to make Gedaged the lingua franca for the entire Madang field. In 1935 a central training school was established at Amron near Madang for training workers in the Gedaged language, the students being drawn from the whole field. By the time World War II interrupted the work, a fairly extensive school system was operating, with primary schools conducted in Gedaged in many of the villages under the mission's influence, including those of the large non-Austronesian group.

7.4.5.4.3.2. THE SITUATION SINCE WORLD WAR II

After the war the school at Amron was rebuilt, and training of workers in Gedaged was resumed. Besides the strictly religious material, school literature available at the time included a primer, a set of eight graded readers, a hygiene book, and a monthly paper. In the early 1950s a fair number of Gedaged schools were again in operation. The post-war entrance of the Administration into the field of education, however, was bringing rapid changes. The constantly rising standards and the demand for English education made it impossible for the mission to continue its vernacular schools in the Madang District. By 1956 the use of Gedaged in teacher training had been given up. In that year the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea was founded, and Pidgin immediately gained in importance as communication between church districts increased.

At that time it was estimated that about 20,000 persons had a reasonably good command of Gedaged. This number will have shrunk considerably by now, perhaps by as much as a third. Gedaged has had no significant use in primary education for almost two decades, so outside its home area a whole generation has grown up without learning it. It was still used effectively in theological training until 1962, but since then its use in education has practically disappeared. It is still possible to find, even in non-Austronesian areas like Amele and Nobonob, a surprising number of persons between the ages of about 25 and 45 who speak Gedaged very well, but they rarely have occasion to do so. Gedaged is still used in worship services in its home area and to some extent in other Austronesian groups, but hardly at all in the non-Austronesian areas. A few hymn books are still being sold, but there is almost no sale for any other Gedaged literature. As a lingua franca it has been supplanted by Pidgin with its wider usefulness, especially since the publication in 1969 of the Bible Society's Pidgin version of the New Testament.

The rapid decline of Gedaged as a lingua franca is in part attributable to the vacillation and delay in its introduction in the first place until a time when other groups had elementary literature and schooling in their own languages, which they were naturally reluctant to give up. This delay, in turn, was largely due to shortage of staff, particularly of linguistically trained persons who could assess the situation quickly and accurately. Another major cause was the meagre and unsatisfactory supply of literature in Gedaged. This too was due chiefly to shortage of expatriate staff. A few local authors developed who wrote useful material on local history, customs, and legends, but translation or authorship of most religious and educational material fell to expatriate missionaries, who were already overburdened with teaching or evangelistic duties and unable to find time for the long process of discussion, testing, and frequent revision with a variety of native informants. Much of the literature, produced in haste, was therefore flawed by an excessive degree of 'literal translation' resulting in European thought patterns and constructions that were unidiomatic to the native reader and seriously impeded comprehension. Reading without easy comprehension and enjoyment contributed little to the development of literacy and the urge to read - or to write for publication. The same danger awaits Pidgin or any other lingua franca in which the literature is scanty or is presented in an idiom that is foreign to the majority of the natural speakers of the language.

7.4.5.4. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: BEL (GEDAGED)

N O T E S

1. Examples are 'Graged, Graget, Kranket, Ragetta', the third in this series being the present official government spelling. The name as pronounced by indigenous speakers is [gəda'ged]. This pattern of reduplication with reduction of the vowel in its first occurrence is common in the language, e.g. [bəga'beg], meaning 'orphan' or 'servant'. To many ears the brevity of the shwa makes the following d' sound like a trilled or flapped r, so much so that early missionaries apparently failed to note the initial voiced velar plosive and used the last spelling in the series quoted above. The final vowel they appended seems to come from the remote demonstrative used by speakers on the mainland or neighbouring islands when they said Gedaged a 'Gedaged yonder'. Other phonetic changes in these variant spellings are obvious results of filtering through foreign phonologies.

2. The original German theme of these papers from Lutheran Mission archives reads: *Was hat zu geschehen, um der bestehenden Sprachzer-splitterung in unserem Missionsgebiet wirksam zu begegnen?*

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7.4.5.5. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: KUANUA

E. Fry

7.4.5.5.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The name Kuanua is only one name of many that are used for the language which is spoken by the people of the Gazelle Peninsula and surrounding areas of New Britain. Other names which have been used for it are: Tolai, Rabaul, New Britain, Tuna, Tinata Tuna, Gunantuna, Blanche Bay Dialect.

Out of the many names which have been used Kuanua is probably the most appropriate to describe the language in its use as a lingua franca. It is actually a Duke of York word meaning '*from across the sea*' - which was used by the Duke of York people to describe their neighbours who lived across St George's Channel on the mainland of New Britain, and hence used to refer to their language.

The language was selected for use as a lingua franca by the Wesleyan Mission¹ soon after missionary work was commenced in the Duke of York Islands and the north-eastern part of New Britain in 1875. Its use gradually spread with that Mission until it was known to some extent in many parts of New Ireland and its associated small islands, and in certain parts of New Britain beyond the Gazelle Peninsula.

Although other churches, principally the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists, have worked in the area, they have made comparatively little use of Kuanua outside the Gazelle Peninsula. In the main its use as a missionary lingua franca has been limited to the Wesleyan Mission and the church which was established through its work.

7.4.5.5.2. NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE ITSELF

Kuanua is an Austronesian language. Under the system of classification used in Capell 1969 it belongs to the AN2 type² - languages which

have prepositions and a subject-verb-object order. According to Capell (1969:23), 'The AN2 type is most firmly seated in New Britain and New Ireland, and may indeed have radiated out from that centre'. Kuanua then is located in a central position within the AN2 group of languages, as well as being its numerically largest member in the New Guinea area.

In terms of closer relationships Kuanua is best placed in a family which includes the languages of the south-eastern part of New Ireland and associated small islands as well as Duke of York.³ It would be most closely related to Duke of York and Patpatar. Beaumont (1972:18) quotes figures of 57% cognates and 56% cognates respectively for these languages with Kuanua. There is cultural and traditional evidence which suggests that the Tolai people migrated to New Britain from New Ireland. The evident relationships with New Ireland languages would tend to support this, and Chowning (1969:24) shows that Kuanua is not so closely related to other New Britain languages.

With around 65,000 speakers Kuanua is by far the largest language of the New Britain and New Ireland group. It was probably the size of the language more than any other factor which made it the logical choice for use as a church lingua franca. And the status it has now as an important language derives as much from its own size and vigour as from the fact that it has been chosen and used as a lingua franca.⁴

7.4.5.5.3. KUANUA AS A CHURCH LINGUA FRANCA

7.4.5.5.3.1. THE PERIOD UNTIL 1960

Significant use of Kuanua as a lingua franca dates from the period of the years immediately before and after 1900.

When the Wesleyan Mission was first established in the years 1875 to 1880, both the Duke of York and 'New Britain' languages were used. Orthographies were devised, and grammars and dictionaries were produced. Hymn books, catechisms, and translations of parts of the New Testament, were published in each language. The establishment of a District Training Institution was first proposed in 1885, and concerning this proposal the Minutes (1891) note that, 'The institution must be on New Britain, as the New Britain language must become the literary language of the mission, ... therefore the students must be trained there, where they can acquire the language.'

The Minutes (1896) record the resolution: 'With a view to making the New Britain dialect the literacy language of the group we recommend that it be taught in our schools on the Duke of York Islands and New Ireland.' This policy was apparently pursued quite vigorously over the

next few years, for the Minutes (1904) note a communication received from the (German) Governor of the colony

in which he said he valued greatly the work of education we were doing in the Group, and was also glad that it was given in the dialect of the Blanche Bay, having therefore the good effect of making that dialect the commercial language of the Group.

From 1908 the teaching of Kuanua was broadened in scope, as shown by the resolution:

This Synod is of the opinion that to simplify the work of our Mission and to render it as inexpensive as possible, it is most desirable that every effort should be made to teach the people in all our Circuits the dialect of the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain.⁵

At this time also a church paper was started, which was published monthly in Kuanua. The Minutes (1908) give the name for the proposed paper as *A nilai ra lotu tuna*. It actually appeared with the name *A nilai ra dovot*, and has been published under that name right up to the present.

Even in those early years, however, the difficulty of establishing Kuanua as a lingua franca was recognised. So in 1909 the Minutes contain this recommendation:

... as the dialect in which all the books now in use in our work are printed is not known in New Ireland ... it is desirable that a primer should be prepared in the dialect of the people there ... beyond this nothing shall for the present be provided ... but that having mastered the primer they shall be expected to take up the reading of the Bible in the New Britain dialect.

The use of Kuanua spread throughout New Ireland in the early years of this century, reaching as far as the islands of Lihir, Tabar, and New Hanover. It was also introduced later to the Nakanai area on the northern coast of New Britain, although it was not received very enthusiastically there, as Capell (1962:90) notes.

Waterhouse (1939:7) states that, beyond the Gazelle Peninsula, 'It is used and understood right through the Duke of York Group, and most of New Ireland'. He gives the number of people with 'a good working knowledge of it' in these areas as at least 5,000.⁶

It is probably accurate to say that prior to 1940 up to 10,000 people knew and used Kuanua as a second language to some extent. This may have increased to as many as 15,000 during the period 1950-60.⁷ Since around 1960 the use of the language as a lingua franca has been declining.

Within the area of its use Kuanua is known best and used most widely in those parts closest to the Gazelle Peninsula - especially in the Duke of York Islands where many people are practically bilingual. Further afield it is known by less people, and used less by those who know it.

As a missionary lingua franca its main use has naturally been in the church schools, and for services of worship and other church activities. However it has also been used quite considerably as a means of oral and written communication between speakers of different languages.⁸ As the language in which people have been made literate it has given many access to the Bible and the various other books and publications produced in it.

Kuanua spoken as a lingua franca does not differ significantly from the language as it is spoken by native speakers on the Gazelle Peninsula. It cannot be said that it is either a modified or sub-standard form of the language. However, as might be expected, users of Kuanua as a second language tend to use the more frequent and less complicated syntactical structures and operate in a somewhat restricted lexical range compared with native speakers.

The Raluana dialect⁹ was chosen as the dialect in which literature would be prepared and the Bible translated, and it has been this dialect in the main which has spread as the lingua franca. However speakers of other Kuanua dialects have gone as agents of the church to places outside the Gazelle Peninsula where Kuanua is taught and used, and so there has been a lesser and variable influence from the other dialects on the lingua franca.

Some of the factors which have contributed to the success of Kuanua as a lingua franca are:

1. The Christian message and the church have met with a wide acceptance. Acceptance of Kuanua has come with this, and the desire for training and participation in the wider life of the church has provided strong motivation in most areas for people to learn it.
2. For many years the only access to education for most people was through the church school system, in which Kuanua was used extensively.
3. Kuanua is an easy language to learn, especially for those whose own languages are closely related to it.¹⁰
4. It is a large and prestigious language in its own right, and the language spoken around the administrative centre of the area.

7.4.5.5.3.2. THE SITUATION SINCE 1960

As noted above the use of Kuanua outside the Gazelle Peninsula has been declining since around 1960. This decline has been due mainly to changes in the education system. Under administration pressure the use of Kuanua as a medium of education was discontinued outside the Gazelle

Peninsula, and church education now takes place in English. Administration schools, also using English, have been set up.

Within the church the necessity for the use of Kuanua has largely been removed by the change to English as the medium of instruction in schools. In New Ireland the place of Kuanua as a church language has been taken by Pidgin which is everywhere used as a lingua franca. The church paper, *A nilai ra dovot*, is now published with sections in Pidgin as well as Kuanua, and the business of the annual synod and other official meetings is conducted in both Pidgin and Kuanua.

Although the use of Kuanua as a lingua franca has been declining, there are influences at work which may be expected to result in a continued use of it as a second language. These influences have little or nothing to do with the church.

For some years now Kuanua has been used on the radio stations which broadcast from Rabaul, and so has been entering many homes in the Duke of York Islands and the nearer parts of New Ireland. There are also many students from these areas who attend secondary schools (both administration and church) on the Gazelle Peninsula where they come into contact with and learn Kuanua. Then there is quite a level of social mobility, and Rabaul is the centre for a lot of business and government contact - in this situation the acquisition of Kuanua is both easy and useful.

Kuanua may be in the process of losing its influence as a missionary lingua franca, but it seems likely that it will keep the status it has gained as an important area language. As such its influence will extend to the Duke of York Islands, the nearer parts of New Ireland, and perhaps to a lesser extent the nearer parts of New Britain.

7.4.5.5.4. THE ROLE OF KUANUA IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PIDGIN

A discussion of the role of Kuanua as a lingua franca would be incomplete without brief note being made of the role of the language and its speakers in the development of New Guinea Pidgin. Whatever its remote origins, Pidgin as a language developed much of its structure through use in the Rabaul region during the early period of the German administration, and Kuanua has probably had more influence on Pidgin than any other single New Guinea language. Kuanua-speakers often refer to Pidgin as a *tinata livuan* 'the language in between' (their own and English).

Kuanua is second only to English in the number of lexical items it has supplied to Pidgin. Such common words as *balus*, *birua*, *bung*, *diwai*,

dinau, guria, kakaruk, kiau, kundu, liklik, longlong, luluai, matmat, pukpuk, tambaran, tambu, tumbuna, are derived from Kuanua, and Mihalic (1971:56) notes that almost 15% of all Pidgin words come from this source.¹¹

The structure of Pidgin is basically Austronesian, and Pidgin would appear to be as close in structure to Kuanua as to any other Austronesian language. As noted above Kuanua occupies a central place in Capell's AN2 group of languages, and it is to this group that Pidgin conforms in many structural features, including the two which Capell regards as diagnostic of the group, subject-verb-object order and use of prepositions.¹²

Besides the general Austronesian and AN2 type features which Pidgin has developed through the influence of Kuanua and other related languages, there are many features which are not so general in which Pidgin conforms to Kuanua. To cite a few examples:

1. Pidgin uses adjectives (of different classes) both preceding and following nouns, as does Kuanua.¹³
2. The transitive-intransitive distinction in verb use is an important feature of Pidgin, and a dominant feature around which Kuanua syntax is organised - and with this feature each language makes use of a suffix which transforms intransitive to transitive.
3. The use of the tense marker bin in Pidgin closely parallels the Kuanua use of its own tense markers ga and tar, in spite of its obviously English derivation.
4. The Pidgin reflexive and emphatic particle yet is used precisely as the Kuanua yat from which it is derived.

7.4.5.5. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: KUANUA

N O T E S

1. The Wesleyan Mission became the Methodist Mission following a church union in Australia and New Zealand. Technically the New Britain District (later called New Guinea District) was a mission district of the New South Wales Methodist Conference until 1968, when it became the New Guinea Islands Region of the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.
2. And it is so classified in Capell 1969:128. In Capell 1971, the use of AN1 and AN2 for the two types is reversed, so Kuanua and others of the same type are called type AN1 there.
3. Capell (1971:261) places it in a group called Southern New Ireland and North-eastern New Britain. Beaumont (1972:12) puts it in his Patpatar-Tolai Sub-group.
4. It should be noted in passing that, in contrast with some other languages chosen as missionary lingue franche (e.g. Dobu and Motu), there appears to have been relatively little use of Kuanua for inter-tribal communication prior to European contact.
5. Minutes, 1908. This resolution was followed by a reference to other 'dialects' worthy of use in a more limited way, in which specific mention is made of Patpatar and Omo (Tigak).
6. In a foreword to Waterhouse the then Administrator of the Territory of New Guinea states that it is known by 'several thousands in New Ireland'.

7. Assuming these figures to be reasonably accurate, the number of people using Kuanua as a second language, while quite large in comparison with the size of vernacular languages in the area, has never exceeded one-third of the number of those who speak it as their mother tongue.
8. In the case of letters it is often used even between speakers of the same language. One of the effects of the widespread use of Kuanua has been that people have tended to discount the value of other languages in the area for even such basic written communication as the letter.
9. Franklin and Kerr (1962:97) give a brief report on the dialects of Kuanua. They note phonological variations between them but claim to have found little variation in vocabulary and structure. This rather oversimplifies the position, I think. Waterhouse (1939:7) states, 'the dialect, whilst gradually becoming a composite one, still retains many characteristics of the individual tongues of Raluana, Matupit, Kabakada, Nodup, etc.' In my experience there are some features of structure and many lexical items which, while being widely known, are identified by native speakers as belonging to the usage of one or other dialect.
10. And it may be added that it has proved easy for missionaries to learn and use.
11. However of the 2,000 most frequently used Pidgin words listed in Mihalic and Sievert the proportion is a little less than 10%. The greatest number of derivations from Kuanua are of names for natural objects such as birds, fish, and trees, and of items related to Melanesian culture.
12. This is not of very great significance. It would be surprising if Pidgin did not conform in these two features, because they are features of English as well as of the AN2 language type. However there is much that is un-English in the use of the ubiquitous Pidgin preposition long, and almost all of this use parallels closely the Kuanua use of its equivalent preposition ta.
13. Capell (1969:46) notes this as a unique feature of Kuanua which is not shared by any other New Guinea Austronesian languages.

7.4.5.5. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: KUANUA

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7.4.5.6. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: GOGODALA

A.K. Neuendorf

7.4.5.6.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Gogodala tribe is not a large one, numbering at most some 10,000 people at the present time. This number has grown considerably in recent years so that in the 1950s the tribe was considerably smaller. The Gogodala people themselves are essentially a swamp and river people with sago as the staple food, as could well be expected. Sago making is the main occupation of the women of the tribe. That of the men was regarded as canoe making, and the ordinary villager still finds this his most important task. There were ceremonial rites centred around canoe making but these are largely forgotten these days. It is interesting that in Gogodala the same word is used for a woman making sago (her main occupation) and for a man making a canoe (his main occupation).

7.4.5.6.2. THE GOGODALA LANGUAGE

The sound of the language is very liquid with most of the consonants fronted, or made as far to the front of the mouth as the sound itself allows. Many of the people speak quickly and the language seems to roll off the tips of their tongues which can often be seen between the teeth as some sounds are made there - very fronted.

The Gogodala language is easy to make oneself understood in but quite difficult to master and to speak fluently. Many non-Gogodala-born people find the fronting of the various sounds difficult to make. Others find various parts of the grammar hard to master.

For example, the stems of intransitive verbs often change and quite unpredictably, depending on whether the subject is singular, dual or plural. For example, note the following:

English meaning	Stem for singular subject	Stem for dual subject	Stem for plural subject
<i>come</i>	pae	pae	paedae
<i>go</i>	we	nae	naedae
<i>descend</i>	pelo	kolae	kolae
<i>fall</i>	dila	nisisi	nisisila
<i>walk</i>	wamu	wami	wamidae
<i>run</i>	guladae	gugula	gugu

Some transitive verbs change the stem for plural (or dual) objects. Note the following:

English meaning	Stem for singular object	Stem for dual or plural object
<i>cut</i>	taemi	taetaemu
<i>throw</i>	miditi	baebaemi
<i>plant</i>	todae	to
<i>dig</i>	tu	tudae
<i>put</i>	mi	ali
<i>make</i>	aenaemi	aenaedaemu

For a few other verbs, the stem changes in a different way depending on the person of the object. There are very few of these.

<i>hit me</i>	napo
<i>hit you (sg.)</i>	lapo
<i>hit him (her, it)</i>	lapo
<i>hit us</i>	sapo
<i>hit you (du. or pl.)</i>	dapo
<i>hit them</i>	dapo

Then also the following:

mae	<i>give me one thing</i>
napu	<i>give me more than one thing</i>
ata	<i>give you (sg.) or him, her, it, one thing</i>
api	<i>give you (sg.) or him, her, it, more than one thing</i>
sasa	<i>give us (du. or pl.) one thing</i>
sapu	<i>give us (du. or pl.) more than one thing</i>
data	<i>give you (du. or pl.) or them one thing</i>
dapu	<i>give you (du. or pl.) or them more than one thing</i>

These verbs can get very complicated and the learner of Gogodala has to be very careful indeed and often finds it difficult to master these.

It can be argued that there is a pattern in these irregularities. This is true and is a real help to the learner of the language, but they are not predictable, and every verb has to be learnt by heart if one wishes to become perfectly fluent. There are six tenses each with their set of endings for the conjugation of the verb in singular, dual, and plural. These tenses cover actions and events (a) now taking place, (b) just immediately finished, (c) finished a little before that but still today, (d) finished yesterday, (e) taking place in the distant past - before yesterday, (f) taking place in the future. Other things like various aspects are indicated by suffixes of various orders. It will be realised from the above that each verb will have 54 tense endings depending on the number of the subject and the time. These sometimes all have to be learnt separately, but are sometimes predictable.

Most transitive verbs end in -mi. Indeed this suffix is a trans-
itiviser and different parts of speech can be turned into a verb by adding it.

lewabega *long*
lewabegami *to make long, or stretch*

Adjectives have two main endings - -napa and -bega. These are used depending on the position of the adjective. If it comes before the noun, then -napa is used. If after the noun, then -bega is used.

saelenapa lumagi *a good person*
lumagi saelebega *a good person*

Either expression can be used in various ways:

or oba saelenapa lumagi *He is a good or kind person*
oba lumagi saelebega

Nouns can be pluralised in different ways too. There is regularity about them but again they are not always predictable.

baiga	<i>village</i>	baigabaiga	<i>villages</i>
osama	<i>island</i>	osamasama	<i>islands</i>
susaegi	<i>woman</i>	ato	<i>women</i>
baga	<i>leaf</i>	bagigi	<i>leaves</i>
pulagi	<i>lad</i>	sekowabi	<i>lads</i>
suwakowabi	<i>lass</i>	susukowabi	<i>lasses</i>

The usual way, however, is simply to add the word for 'many' which is waelabega.

i *tree* i waelabega *trees* etc.

Gogodala also has one interesting singulariser which applies only to one class of words, but again one cannot accurately predict what words fall into this class.

dala	men			dalagi	a man
luma	people			lumagi	a person
amina	teenage girls			aminagi	a teenage girl
kakasi	teenage boys (youths)			kakasigi	a teenage boy (youth)

Many suffixes can be added to verb stems to give various meanings. One example only is given.

aenae	dae	mi	mama	delewa	mena	tama
make	pl.obj.	trans.	fut.	you(pl.)	dependent	if
	suffix	verb	tense	subj.	verb	

'If you do (these things).

It is a very interesting language indeed, but a difficult one to speak fluently, confidently, and without mistakes. There are not many non-Gogodala people who speak it as a Gogodala does. Yet there are some thousands of non-Gogodala who do speak the language.

7.4.5.6.3. GOGODALA AS A MISSIONARY LINGUA FRANCA

The adoption of Gogodala as a missionary lingua franca has come about in two different ways. Firstly, there have been a number of small tribes, mostly nomadic, around the Gogodala area, mainly to the north and east. There has been some inter-marrying over the years with a marked increase more recently. As Balimo, the centre of the Gogodala area, became a patrol post and also a mission station, these various tribes became more and more involved with the Gogodala people, and learnt the language in order to be able to communicate with them.

But in the widening use of Gogodala, more important has been the growth of the church. For quite a number of years, all pastoral training was done in the Gogodala language and so men from other tribes who came to be trained as pastors learnt Gogodala and were trained in it. In most cases also their wives learnt the language as well.

And amazingly as these pastors went back to their own areas, they took the Gogodala language with them and used it there too. In 1950 the first two gospels in Gogodala which had been in duplicated form before, were printed by the Bible Society.

It was many years before there were Scriptures in other languages of the Evangelical Church of Papua area. So the pastors tended to use the Gogodala Scriptures and thus keep to this language, and often encouraged others to learn the language as well.

Where missionaries were based, the use of Gogodala did not grow but instead the local language was reduced to writing and ministry was carried out in that language. But where there were no missionaries, Gogodala tended to spread.

In the Bituri Creek area of the Trans-Fly, Gogodala pastors went to preach. They were followed not much later by Gogodala school teachers. Between them, the pastors and teachers were interested in helping the Bituri people (who spoke some five different languages themselves) become literate so that they could read the Gogodala Scriptures (the only Scriptures available); and also help them to be able to write letters and communicate with others of their tribe who were away working on plantations etc., and to be able to know the wider world in general.

In this they were helped by the fact that primers and readers in Gogodala (two separate sets) had been prepared. These they accepted and used to teach others the language orally as well as literacy in it. The other thing that helped was the production of a whole Bible series of Sunday School lessons, in Gogodala. And so the church took the language south and west as well.

Then in addition to this, the education programme of the church became more intense. At first, with the small number of teachers available, young people were selected from many parts of the Western District (now Province) and later from the Southern Highlands to come to the 'central' school first at Balimo and then later at Awaba. Here they did their upper primary school work and beyond. These young fellows and later on a sprinkling of girls were usually 'adopted' by some Gogodala family who would look after them, do their cooking for them, and take them to villages for weekends. Because of this, these young people learnt Gogodala to be able to converse with their adopters, and with other village people. These young people didn't really take the language back and teach their own tribes. But in most of their tribes there were Gogodala pastors who went as missionaries and with whom they could converse. And for some years Gogodala Scriptures were the only ones available for them wherever they were.

Gradually, however, more and more pastor training centres in various vernaculars were opened. Also more and more schools in the church area were opened up in the two districts so that people are no longer coming now into the Gogodala area. Also as the church grows more and more, local Christians are training as pastors. The effect of this is that Gogodala influence is shrinking back to the Lower Fly area of the Western District (now Province).

Neither mission nor church ever made a policy decision to use Gogodala as a church lingua franca. It just happened that way. So much so that anywhere in the rural Lower Fly area Gogodala is known, and anyone wishing to communicate in the area can do so in the Gogodala language. With the emphasis at present on English, Pidgin and Hiri Motu as contenders as national languages of Papua New Guinea, how long Gogodala will continue to be spoken widely in this area remains to be seen.

7.4.5.7. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: MOTU¹

A.J. Taylor

7.4.5.7.1. INTRODUCTION

Motu, an Austronesian language, is spoken as a first language by about 15,000 people in 12 coastal villages in the Port Moresby area.² From Manumanu in the west to Kapakapa in the east it is about 70 miles.

Before the first European settlers arrived the Motu area was already an important centre for trade. The Motu went on trading expeditions called hiri to the Gulf of Papua as far as the Purari Delta, and people from the Gulf came to the Motu area. Trading was also carried on with people to the east. Turner (1877-78:471), who was one of the first missionaries, noted that Hanuabada, the main Motu village in what is now the city of Port Moresby, was visited by people from many different tribes and that the Motu were respected by the neighbouring tribes. Indeed, through these trading contacts a pidgin form of Motu grew up, which later developed into the lingua franca which was first known as Police Motu and is now called Hiri Motu.³ It is likely that some Koitabu (Koitapu) people actually spoke Motu as a second language, as some of their villages were on the coast between Motu ones and Koitabu (Koitapu) groups were living in some Motu villages.

7.4.5.7.2. ADOPTION OF MOTU AS A MISSIONARY LINGUA FRANCA

It was into this situation that the London Missionary Society missionaries came. A group landed at Manumanu in 1872 and then in 1874 Dr W.G. Lawes set up a station at Hanuabada. He immediately started to learn

Motu and to translate Christian literature. In 1877 the first book was printed, called *Bukana Kunana: Levaleva Tuahia Adipaia* (Lawes 1877), containing reading lessons, some Bible translation and Bible stories, and hymns.

Faced with many small vernaculars, and having to weigh up the need to communicate effectively against the limits to manpower and finance, London Missionary Society policy in Papua was to work in whatever was the major vernacular of the area of the local mission station. So Motu became the language of the mission work, not only in Motu villages but also in villages of the surrounding area.

Polynesian pastor-teachers were soon settled in the coastal villages, at first among the Motu and then among other tribes. At the widest extent Motu was used in the London Missionary Society schools to the west among the speakers of Gabadi, Nara (or Pokau) and Roro;⁴ inland among the Koitabu (Koitapu) and some Koiari villages; and to the east among the speakers of Sinaugoro, Humene, Kwale, Doromu, and Maria. The general pattern was for village schools to provide a few years of education and then for the brighter students to go on to the boarding schools at the mission stations for a further three years. This brought these students into closer contact with the mission lingua franca for their area. As Papuans were trained as pastor-teachers, they gradually took over from the Polynesians in the village schools, but the pattern remained the same. Up to World War II this was the only school system for the area, apart from some Roman Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist schools, as the government did not run schools for Papuans until after the war.

Some missionaries felt that it was best if children could be taught to read and write in their own language first and then to learn Motu. Lister-Turner wanted to introduce Roro into schools in that area and this was carried out in the 1940s by Chatterton. Primers were produced in both Roro and Gabadi (London Missionary Society 1946, 1950). But the people themselves came to view Motu as the language of education and the church. When the first missionaries arrived at the Roro village of Delena, they found a group of Motu-speakers there, but in time they too became a Roro-speaking group (Chatterton 1969). However, the Roro people who were followers of the London Missionary Society did not accept a translation of the four gospels into Roro prepared by Chatterton (British and Foreign Bible Society 1947) as they felt that for church they should use Motu. Mrs Rankin introduced the teaching of Sinaugoro literacy into Saroa area schools, but some parents were not in favour of this move, wanting their children to be educated in

Motu and English. However, Sinaugoro remained in the schools until the mid-1950s when Mrs Rankin left Saroa. The place of Motu was not greatly affected as the vernaculars were used only in the early years for teaching literacy. More significant was the increasing emphasis on English. Even before World War II, the government was urging that more English be taught and made it a condition for receiving government grants for schools. The stage was reached where Motu was used only in the first couple of years of schooling. Then in 1955 the Administration changed its policy and wanted only English to be taught in schools, so Motu was phased out.

7.4.5.7.3. THEOLOGICAL TRAINING IN MOTU

Theological training was for many years in Motu for students from all along the southern Papuan coast. Lawes began a training centre for pastor-teachers in Port Moresby and instruction was all in Motu, though some English was taught. In 1894 the training centre was moved to Vatorata, inland from Kapakapa. The language situation remained much the same. There was some disagreement over the years among the missionaries as to whether training should be in Motu or English. Lawes was very much in favour of Motu and his view prevailed. In 1924 there was another move, this time to Fife Bay in the Suau area, where the Lawes College was set up. At first candidates had to do their entrance examinations in Motu. Then the number of candidates from outside the Central District grew and as they mostly could not speak Motu, though they could speak Hiri Motu, a change was made so that candidates could answer questions in any language but the missionary in the area had to translate the answers into English or Motu. For a time there was an entrance examination testing the knowledge of Motu and it even became necessary to teach Motu in the first year of the four-year course. English was used more and more, though for some subjects Motu remained the medium of instruction. In the last few years up to its closure in 1968, the college provided only pastor training. Teachers were trained in English at Ruatoka College near Kwikila in the Central District. Now pastors are trained at the United Church seminary at Rarongo near Rabaul with English as the medium of instruction, and teachers are trained, also in English, at nearby Gaulim Teachers College.⁵ In 1958 Chalmers College was set up at Veiru near Kikori in the Gulf District, to cater for older students whose English was inadequate for entry into Lawes College. Motu was the language of instruction. Chalmers College was moved to Fife Bay after Lawes College closed, but in 1970 Chalmers College itself was closed. Thus Motu was used by the London Missionary

Society in the training of all its pastors and nearly all its teachers in Papua for about 80 years.

7.4.5.7.4. PASTORAL WORK AND LITERATURE IN MOTU

When pastors were stationed in the language areas where Motu was used in schools, and in some other nearby areas such as Hula or Doura, they would use Motu in church work if they did not know the vernacular. And they often did not know it, as for many years Motu and Hula men made up the majority of Papuan pastors. The missionaries, both European and Polynesian, also worked in this way. The only Bible translation available in most cases was that in Motu.⁶ Most circuit meetings (also called district meetings) were held in Motu.

In the 1950s a body called the Papuan Church Assembly consisting of Papuans was set up to advise the governing body of the whole mission in Papua, which consisted of missionaries. Motu was the language of the Assembly meetings. When the indigenous church, the Papua Ekalesia, was set up in 1962, its assembly meetings were also held in Motu.

There are two main dialects of Motu, Western and Eastern, although dialect variation is slight. The London Missionary Society chose to use the Western dialect as spoken at Hanuabada. This has become the standard form and many people from other Motu villages use it at least for talking with people from outside their own village.

Church literature now includes the Bible (Bible Society in Papua New Guinea 1973), a hymn book (London Missionary Society 1948), a translation of *Pilgrim's Progress* (London Missionary Society 1951a), orders of various services, handbooks for pastors, and similar material. For a few years during the 1950s there was a monthly church paper called *Harina*.

7.4.5.7.5. CONCLUSIONS

The choice of Motu served the London Missionary Society fairly well. With its position and prestige it was most probably the best vernacular to choose in that part of the present Central Province coast. One might ask why greater use was not made of English, at least as the church language for the Papuan coast as a whole. First there was a practical problem in that the great majority of early missionaries were Polynesians and not many of them knew English well, so it would have been hard to introduce English into all schools. Second, there was a considerable feeling against using a foreign language. Lawes in particular was strongly in favour of using a language which belonged to the people and their culture. However, one may well wonder why the pidgin form of Motu

was not chosen. It seems that in the early years of the mission it was not considered as a separate language, but just as a simple form of Motu. The early missionaries, both Polynesian and European, were in fact taught the pidgin form by the Motu people. The Motu did so as this was their language for use with outsiders. Lawes' first Bible translations show many features of pidgin Motu, but gradually they change and later ones are mostly Motu. Also, the missionaries were not to know that Hiri Motu would later be used so widely by the government and spread as far as it has. When Hiri Motu was recognised as a language in its own right, most Motu-speaking missionaries opposed using it in place of Motu. It was considered inadequate for teaching and religious purposes, rather in the same way as Pidgin English has been, and prior to World War II no printed literature appeared in Hiri Motu.

The only other group to use Motu as a lingua franca has been the Jehovah's Witnesses.⁷ They used it in various places along the Papuan coast and produced some literature in it including a periodical called *Gima Kohorona* (Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York 1958-66). However, they found that Motu was not understood well enough outside the area adjacent to the Motu area, and so in 1966-67 they changed over to Hiri Motu for their publications. Their missionaries have also learnt a number of vernaculars and they have published material in some, e.g. Hula, Toaripi, and Kiwai.

7.4.5.7.6. FUTURE OUTLOOK

There remains the question as to how much Motu will continue to be used as a lingua franca. In 1962 a survey by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Brett, Brown, Brown and Foreman 1962) found quite a number of speakers of Motu as a lingua franca in the area around that of the Motu tribe. Just how many there are now is hard to say, but it is probably in the region of 10-12,000. This is not a large number, but it includes the great majority of the educated and influential people in this area. In addition, a few thousand more can understand Motu, although they would not claim to be able to speak it.

Some decline in the use of Motu can be expected. The greatest factor is that the present education system uses only English. Motu is no longer taught in schools, nor does the United Church use it in its training of pastors. Younger people in the area appear more likely to learn the main lingue franche - English, Hiri Motu, and Pidgin - but not other vernaculars, as their way of life and pattern of social contacts differs from that of former days.⁸ While the use of vernaculars

may well be encouraged in schools again, one cannot say whether people like the Gabadi or Sinaugoro will choose Motu instead of their own vernacular. There is already greater use of English and Hiri Motu in the Papuan coastal area of the United Church than before. Hiri Motu is the official language for synod meetings of the Papuan Mainland Region of the United Church which stretches from the Irian Jaya border in the west to Alotau in the east. Nevertheless, leadership in the five United Church circuits where Motu has been used as a lingua franca is still very much in favour of Motu. These circuits are Delena, Redscar, Port Moresby, Kadeboro, and Saroa. In fact, all except the Delena circuit contain Motu villages. These circuits are very prominent in the United Church and many leaders are drawn from them.

N O T E S

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2. This counts the Hanuabada complex as one village.
3. It is common for people in Papua New Guinea to refer to Hiri Motu as 'Motu'. However, in this discussion the name 'Motu' is used only for the vernacular language of the Motu people.
4. The Roman Catholic mission has used the vernaculars in the Kairuku Sub-district (now District) since their work began in 1885, and has published a variety of material in most of them, including Roro.
5. The United Church of Papua, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands was formed in 1969 by the union of the Papua Ekalesia (which was the indigenous church which grew out of the work of the London Missionary Society), the Methodist Overseas Mission, and the United Church of Port Moresby.
6. The only other language in the area referred to which received much attention was Hula. It was used in the schools from the start of mission work there, which was only about a year after work began at Hanuabada. Early work was in the Keapara dialect, but later the Hula

dialect was used. See, for example, British and Foreign Bible Society 1892, 1954.

7. The Seventh Day Adventist Church has used Hiri Motu in its work. However, before World War II people used only Motu in printed material. So the Seventh Day Adventists published a hymn book containing English and Motu hymns (Papuan Mission of the Seventh Day Adventists 1938). Subsequent hymn books have continued to use Motu.

8. A survey by the author of language knowledge and use in one Motu village, Tubusereia, revealed such a pattern. Inquiries in other areas indicate that the pattern is fairly general.

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7.4.5.8. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: KIWAI

S.A. Wurm

7.4.5.8.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The use of Kiwai as a missionary lingua franca differs to some extent from that of the other missionary lingue franche discussed in other chapters of 7.4.5. 'Kiwai' in this sense refers to the Island Kiwai dialect of the Southern Kiwai language as spoken in the villages on Kiwai Island in the Fly Delta, the village of Aibinio on Aibinio Island in the delta, and in those of Aberegerema, Kename and Warlobodoro on the left bank of the Fly River. This dialect had, through its adoption as a mission language, become a form of 'high Kiwai', and its use as a missionary lingua franca was regionally largely restricted to the area covered by the dialects of Southern Kiwai - only to a very limited extent was its orbit extended beyond that into the areas occupied by other closely related Kiwaian languages. In addition, its currency was, and to some extent still is, only that of a passively understood lingua franca rather than one which was actively used - i.e. the somewhat limited natural intelligibility of Island Kiwai to speakers of the other dialects of the Southern Kiwai dialects was enhanced and elevated towards the level of a full one-way intelligibility by its use as a mission and church language.

7.4.5.8.2. THE KIWAIAN FAMILY

As has been pointed out above, Island Kiwai, or Kiwai proper, is a dialect of the Southern Kiwai language which is a member of the Kiwaian Family (Wurm 1973) - this is one of the families composing the Trans-Fly Stock (see (I) 2.6.1.; Wurm 1971), which is itself a sub-phylic member of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (see (I) 2.5.) of Papuan languages.

The Kiwaian Family consists of seven closely related languages located in coastal, near-coastal and insular areas in the Western and Gulf Provinces of Papua New Guinea and extending from Mabaduan on the south coast of the Trans-Fly area along the southern and eastern coasts of the Trans-Fly, across some of the islands of the Fly Delta to the northern bank of the Fly River and from there to the insular, delta and coastal areas, and lower and sometimes middle courses, of the Bamu, Gama, Turama, Omati, Kikori and Era Rivers including some portions of the hinterland, as far as the eastern bank of Iviri Inlet in the Gulf Province.

The seven languages mentioned above are as follows, with the approximate numbers of speakers added:

Kiwaian Family	22,700
1) Southern Kiwai	9,700
2) Wabuda	1,700
3) Bamu Kiwai	4,400
4) Morigi	700
5) Kerewo	2,200
6) North-Eastern Kiwai	3,700
7) Arigibi	300

Of these, Island Kiwai shows the following major dialectal composition:

Southern Kiwai	9,700
a) Coastal Kiwai dialects	3,800
Southern Coastal Kiwai (SC)	1,800
Eastern Coastal Kiwai (EC)	2,000
b) Daru Kiwai (Da)	1,000
c) Island Kiwai (IK)	4,500
d) Doumori (Do)	400

To illustrate the degree of the interrelationship of these dialects on the lexical level, the percentages of basic vocabulary cognates shared by them (based on a 200-item list) may be given:

SC				
91	EC			
85	83	Da		
84	89	82	IK	
82	84	82	88	Do

At the same time, the lexical interrelationship between Island Kiwai and three of its neighbours, Wabuda (Wa), Bamu Kiwai (Ba, represented by the Sisiame dialect) and Kerewo (Ke) are as follows:

IK			
66	Wa		
66	60	Ba	
58	52	50	Ke

On the morphological level (for the phonological see below 7.4.5.8.3.1.), the Kiwaian languages are rather complex. In general, they are quite similar to each other in their basic morphological characteristics, but in detail, Island Kiwai shows the greatest elaboration, with the morphological features of the other languages largely constituting simplified versions of the Island Kiwai pattern, with the simplification becoming progressively more pronounced towards the north and north-east. In addition, special forms are met with in Wabuda and the languages further north and north-east, some of which cannot be interpreted as resulting from a simplification of Island Kiwai morphology.

In general, three main morpho-syntactic types are observable on the detailed level, a) one represented by Southern Kiwai, b) the second by Wabuda and Bamu Kiwai, with some quite pronounced differences present between the two languages and Wabuda especially displaying a considerable number of unique features and being the most aberrant Kiwaian language in several ways, and c) the third by Kerewo, North-Eastern Kiwai and perhaps Arigibi.

7.4.5.8.3. ISLAND KIWAI STRUCTURAL FEATURES

On the morpho-syntactic level, the dialects of Southern Kiwai are very similar, though, as has been pointed out in 7.4.5.8.2., Island Kiwai shows by far the greatest complexity. A short discussion of the structure of Island Kiwai, with some remarks added on other Kiwaian languages, may be given:

7.4.5.8.3.1. PHONOLOGY

On the phonological level, Island Kiwai and all Kiwaian languages are quite simple, except for their suprasegmental systems.

Consonants:

p	t	k	ʔ
b	d	g	
m	n		
	s		
w	r		

Vowels:

i	u
e	o
a	

Diphthongs:

au, ou

Vowel length is absent in Island Kiwai, though frequent in Wabuda and also encountered in the northern languages.

The suprasegmental features manifest themselves in a complex stress system with rhythm patterns, and a two-tone system. The functional load of the latter is very low, and this seems to be the same in all Kiwaian languages in which it is met with (it is apparently absent from Wabuda), except for North-Eastern Kiwai (and Arigibi) where it seems to be quite high.

The syllable structure is very simple: no consonant clusters occur, and all syllables are open. Clusters of two vowels or one vowel + diphthong are met with.

Vowel harmony is present in most Kiwaian languages and affects the vowels of affixes, especially prefixes. It is particularly strong in Coastal Kiwai, Doumori and Wabuda.

7.4.5.8.3.2. MORPHOLOGY (AND SYNTAX)

The main features of Island Kiwai morphology (and syntax) are as follows:

In the morphology, four numbers are distinguished, i.e. singular, dual, trial and plural. However, in the verb morphology, only two persons, speaker and non-speaker, are differentiated, e.g. *n-eauri* = 'I see one', *r-eauri* = 'you (sg.) [or he] see[s] one'. Only two basic sets of personal pronouns are found, one for singular and one for plural - the dual and trial forms are derived from the plural forms through suffixes, i.e.:

	sg.	pl.	du.	tr.
1	mo	nimo	nimo-to	nimo-ibi
2	ro	nigo	nigo-to	nigo-ibi
3	nou	nei	nei-to	nei-bi

Possession is expressed through the preposed personal pronouns which often show the suffix -ro in the first and second person singular, e.g. *mo-ro moto* = 'my house'. A large range of noun (and pronoun) suffixes are met with and denote a variety of local relationships as well as the ergative. Adjuncts normally precede the words which they determine, e.g. *mo pai umoro* = lit. 'I not know', *wade moto* = 'good house'. (In Wabuda and the languages further north and north-east, some adjuncts to verbs such as the negative marker follow the verb, e.g. *Bamu Kiwai* (Sisiame dialect): *mo umoro pua* = 'I don't know'. In Wabuda, also other adjuncts are found to follow the determined word in several instances, whereas in all other Kiwalian languages and dialects they precede them in such cases.)

The direct object precedes the verb, e.g. *nimogo gi moto pai eauri* = lit. 'we that house not saw'. (In Wabuda, and sometimes also in *Bamu Kiwai*, the direct object often follows the verb.)

The verb morphology is elaborate. The verb stem, and sometimes also its prefixes, undergo changes to denote non-singularity of the object, e.g. *eauri* = 'see one', *iauri* = 'see more than one', *oruso* = 'eat one', *iriso* = 'eat more than one'.

Suffixes added to the verb stem indicate a number of aspects such as punctiliarity, repetitiveness and continuity, e.g. *asidim-o* = 'keep on covering one object', *asidim-ai* = 'cover one object once', *iasidim-ai* = 'cover more than one object once', *iasidim-uti* = 'cover more than one object in separate actions'.

Prefixes to the verb stem denote modes of actions such as spontaneity, reflexivity, and action with something, e.g. *eauri* = 'see one', *er-eauri* = 'see oneself', *em-eauri* = 'see, look at, one, for another' (i.e. 'look after'), *egu* = 'go', *em-ogu* = 'go for one, fetch one', *ow-ogu* = 'go with one' (i.e. 'take one'), etc. Combinations of more than one of these prefixes are found in many instances.

Tenses are quite numerous: there are two past tenses, one present, and three futures. They are indicated by tense forms of subject prefixes, together with combinations of prefixes, suffixes and tense forms of the affixes which denote the number of the subject. In many verb forms, tense is signalled several times, often first in a general form by the shape of the subject prefix - i.e. present, past or future only -

which is then followed by the indication of a specific past or future tense. A tabular representation of tense marking may best illustrate this point (S = Verb-stem):

		Present	Near past	Definite past
speaker	sg.	n-S	n-S	n-S
	du.	n-S-duru-do	n-S-do	n-S-ru-do
	pl.	n-S-duru-mo	n-S-mo	n-S-ru-mo
	tr.	n-S-bi-duru-mo	n-S-bi-mo	n-S-bi-ru-mo
non-speaker	sg.	r-S	w-S	g-S
	du.	r-S-duru-do	w-S-do	g-S-ru-do
	pl.	r-S-duru-mo	w-S-mo	g-S-ru-mo
	tr.	r-S-bi-duru-mo	w-S-bi-mo	g-S-bi-ru-mo
		Immediate future	Indefinite future	Remote future
speaker	sg.	n-S-ri	ni-do-S-ri	ni-mi-S-ri
	du.	ni-do-S-ri	ni-du-do-S-ri	ni-mi-du-do-S-ri
	pl.	ni-mo-S-ri	ni-du-mo-S-ri	ni-mi-du-mo-S-ri
	tr.	ni-bi-mo-S-ri	ni-bi-du-mo-S-ri	ni-mi-bi-du-mo-S-ri
non-speaker	sg.	w-S-ri	wi-do-S-ri	ri-mi-S-ri
	du.	wi-do-S-ri	wi-du-do-S-ri	ri-mi-du-do-S-ri
	pl.	wi-mo-S-ri	wi-du-mo-S-ri	ri-mi-du-mo-S-ri
	tr.	wi-bi-mo-S-ri	wi-bi-du-mo-S-ri	ri-mi-bi-du-mo-S-ri

As can be seen from these tables, the present, near past and definite past forms are identical in the speaker singular.

Habitual forms occur in four tenses: present, near past, definite past and future. Their characteristic marker is -a- which appears after the subject prefix in the present and past tenses, and after the future marker or the subject number marker in the future. The combination of the tense affixes is different in the habitual present and past tenses from those met with in the non-habitual present and past tenses. They are as follows:

		Present habitual	Near past habitual
speaker	sg.	n-a-S-go	n-a-S-go
	du.	n-a-du-do-S-go	n-a-duru-do-S-go
	pl.	n-a-du-mo-S-go	n-a-duru-mo-S-go
	tr.	n-a-bi-du-mo-S-go	n-a-bi-duru-mo-S-go
non-speaker	sg.	r-a-S-go	g-a-S-go
	du.	r-a-du-do-S-go	g-a-duru-do-S-go
	pl.	r-a-du-mo-S-go	g-a-duru-mo-S-go
	tr.	r-a-bi-du-mo-S-go	g-a-bi-duru-mo-S-go
		Past habitual	Future habitual
speaker	sg.	n-a-S-go	ni-d-a-S-
	du.	n-a-ru-do-S-go	ni-du-d-a-S-
	pl.	n-a-ru-mo-S-go	ni-du-m-a-S-
	tr.	n-a-bi-ru-mo-S-go	ni-bi-du-m-a-S-
non-speaker	sg.	g-a-S-go	wi-d-a-S-
	du.	g-a-ru-do-S-go	wi-du-d-a-S-
	pl.	g-a-ru-mo-S-go	wi-du-m-a-S-
	tr.	g-a-bi-ru-mo-S-go	wi-bi-du-m-a-S-

In the future habitual, the final suffix varies between *-ri ~ -go ~ 0*, with *0* most common with a singular subject. *-ri* is more frequently found in non-speaker non-singular forms than in speaker non-singular ones. A few instances have been found in which in non-speaker non-singular forms, *-ri* appears at the end of the prefix combination and (*-ri*)-go after S, e.g.: *wi-du-m-a-ri-iarug-uti-ri-go* = '*they will habitually speak (many things on many occasions)*' = ([non-speaker subject in future form]-[future]-[pl. subject]-[habituality]-[future]-['say more than one thing']-[action carried out in separate actions, one at a time]-[future]-[future ~ habitual marker]). This phenomenon may be interpreted as denoting emphasis on the future habituality.

Island Kiwai has a large range of different imperative forms denoting actions ordered to be carried out immediately, or in the near future, or at some future time, or repeatedly, or habitually, or as something that must or should be done, or as something whose performance is only advised and not definitely ordered. The forms differ according to the number of persons addressed. A number of permissive and conditional forms exist as well, but the detailed discussion of these forms would go beyond the scope of this presentation.

A characteristic feature of Island Kiwai and of all Kiwalian languages is the fact that the elaboration of the verb forms as mentioned above is restricted to the affirmative. In the negative, only two basic forms occur in most Kiwalian languages, one denoting present and past, and one the future. For instance, in Island Kiwai, the verb base without any tense and subject (but with object number) affixes preceded by *pai* is used to indicate the present or past negative, e.g. *nou pai agiwai dubugido* = '*he did not give one to the man*' (lit. '*he negative (give-one) (man-to)*'). At the same time *pai* plus the verbal noun which is formed by prefixing *k-* to the verb base, denotes the future negative. In the latter, *-go* is always suffixed to the verb base, and the number of the subject shown by the suffixes *-toribo-* = du., *-bi-* = tr. and *-potoro-
v -θ-* = tr. or pl. before *-go*, e.g. *nimoto pai k-ogu-toribo-go* = '*we two will not go*' = ('*we-two*') negative ([verbal noun marker]-['*go*']-[du. subject]-[special marker]). At the same time, *pai* + habitual present forms indicate the cessation of a habitual action, e.g. *nou pai r-a-iriso-go* = '*he does not eat (these things) any more*' = '*he*' negative ([non-speaker subject in present form]-[habitually]-['*eat more than one*']-[habitual marker]). Omission of the suffixes denoting the number of the subject (i.e. of non-singular subjects) in such negative habitual forms appears to indicate a straight negation of the habituality, e.g. *nei pai r-a-eregedio-go* = '*they do not work HABITUALLY*' = '*they*' negative ([non-speaker subject in present form]-[habituality]-['*work*']-[habitual marker]).

A comparable paucity of negative forms exists in the imperative forms: only an ordinary and a strong prohibitive are present.

It has been mentioned above that the verb stem in the Kiwalian languages undergoes changes to denote non-singularity of the object. This applies to all verb forms, and in addition, suffixes are added to the verb base to indicate duality or triality of the object. In Island Kiwai, and in all Kiwalian languages, these suffixes are *-(a)ma-* = du. and *-bi-* = tr., e.g. Island Kiwai: *iauri-ama* = '*see two*', *iauri-bi* = '*see three*'. At the same time, the person of the object is indicated by the subject-object portmanteau prefix *n-* only if the speaker is the object, and the non-speaker the subject, e.g. *nimoto iga-n-itamudiro-ama-ri* = '*will you one teach us two?*' = ('*we-two*') ([affirmative interrogative]-[speaker object]-['*teach more than one*']-[du. object]-[future]) (absence of other tense and subject number markers indicates immediate future and (obviously non-speaker) singular subject, absence of the ergative marker from the free person marker denotes that it is the object, not the subject).

The combination of the affixes can result in quite lengthy verbal forms, e.g. *ri-mi-bi-du-mo-i-odi-ai-ama-ri-go* = 'in the remote future, they (or you) three will definitely string two bows at a time' = ([non-speaker subject in remote future form]-[remote future]-[tr. subject]-[future]-[more-than-two subject marker]-[more-than-one object]-['string bow']-[single action]-[du. object]-[future]-[emphasis]).

Of other verbal forms in Island Kiwai, only the occurrence of a number of prefixes and particles may be mentioned which appear before the subject markers (except for the incomplete action marker *-og-* which follows them) and denote assertion or certainty (*ai-*), completion of an action (*tau-*), incompleteness of an action (*-og-*), repeated action (*amu-*), actual performance or succession of actions (*aime-*), affirmative (*ra-*, *iga-*, *igara-*) and negative (*pura-*) interrogation, temporal condition (*ina-*), etc.; e.g. *nimoto-go netewa dubu-toribo ai-n-iwia-ma-rudo* = 'we two have certainly found two men' = ('we-two'-ergative) 'two' ('man'-du.)-([assertion]-[speaker-subject]-['find more than one']-[du. object]-[past]-[du. subject]); *dubu-ro tau-g-arogo* = 'the man said' = ('man'-ergative) ([completion]-[non-speaker subject in definite past form]-['speak']); *nei uwo-rudo ina-g-oriboa-ru-mo nei-go aime-g-iauri-ama-ru-mo* = 'when they awoke, they (then) saw them-two' = 'they' ('sleep-from') ([when]-[non-speaker subject in definite past form]-['awake']-[past]-[pl. subject]) ('they'-ergative) ([successive action]-[non-speaker subject in definite past form]-['see more than one']-[du. object]-[past]-[pl. subject]).

In Island Kiwai, a number of classificatory verbs exist which function as auxiliaries and, placed after nouns, form verbal expressions. Noun + auxiliary function as a verb stem for the purpose of the addition of person, tense and other affixes, e.g. *uba-go owai* = 'cause trouble' = ('bad'-emphasis) ([come with] = 'do'), e.g. *ai-g-a-bi-ru-mo-uba-go-owai-wado-go* = 'they three were certainly repeatedly causing trouble as a habit' = ([assertion]-[non-speaker subject in past form]-[habituality]-[tr. subject]-[definite past marker in habitual forms]-[more-than-two subjects]-['bad']-[emphasis]-['with-come' = 'do']-[repeatedly]-[emphatic]).

7.4.5.8.4. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ISLAND KIWAI AND OTHER SOUTHERN KIWAI DIALECTS

7.4.5.8.4.1. COASTAL KIWAI DIALECTS

The local dialects spoken in the villages of Mabaduan, Mawata and Tureture in the eastern part of the south coast of the Trans-Fly area

together constitute Southern Coastal Kiwai, and those met with in eight villages on the eastern coast of the Trans-Fly area and the eastern part of the right bank of the Fly Delta form Eastern Coastal Kiwai - these two types of Coastal Kiwai together constitute what is known as Coastal Kiwai Dialects.

Apart from the lexical differences, the Coastal Kiwai dialects differ from Island Kiwai in a few phonological features such as the appearance of Coastal Kiwai: *h* for Island Kiwai: *s*, especially in Southern Coastal Kiwai, e.g. Tureture village dialect, *ohio* = 'boy', *buhere* = 'girl', *hepate* = '(external) ear', *hairo* = 'leg', *oruho* = 'eat one' are the equivalents of Island Kiwai: *osio*, *besere*, *sebate*, *sairo* and *oruso*. In a number of instances in which more than one *s* appears in an Island Kiwai word, the corresponding sounds in the Southern Coastal Kiwai equivalents are *t*, with *h* for the last of the Island Kiwai *s*-sounds, e.g. Island Kiwai: *susase* = 'armlet', *asesopu* = 'armpit', *ososo* = 'break skull' have the Tureture equivalents *tutahe*, *atehepu* and *otoho*. As has been pointed out in 7.4.5.8.3.1., vowel harmony affecting affixes is more strongly present in Coastal Kiwai than in Island Kiwai. Morphologically, the Coastal Kiwai dialects are quite similar to Island Kiwai, but their verb morphology is somewhat simpler, and constructions containing verbal nouns formed by *k+S* sometimes appear instead of tense forms. In contrast with Island Kiwai, the appearance of tense markers in verb forms with non-singular subjects tends to be optional with past tenses if the context is clear.

7.4.5.8.4.2. DARU KIWAI

The Daru Kiwai dialect of Southern Kiwai is spoken on Daru Island by the long-resident population - people living in the 'village corners' on the island speak the dialects and languages of their respective home villages. The total number of the native speakers of this dialect is about 1,000, but it is also understood and spoken as a lingua franca by many of the village corner residents. It is also used in broadcasts by Daru radio station.

Phonologically, Daru Kiwai is nearly identical with Southern Coastal Kiwai, though there are lexical differences. However, its morphology is greatly simplified when compared with Coastal Kiwai. Constructions containing verbal nouns appear extensively in the place of tense forms, tense markers in verb forms with non-singular subjects are much more rarely used than in Coastal Kiwai, the dual and trial object markers are largely optional and the tense system is simplified. It seems that the

loss, or only rare optional use, of much of the elaborate Kiwaian morphology in Daru Kiwai may be due to a pidginisation process attributable to its extensive use as a *lingua franca*.

7.4.5.8.4.3. DOUMORI

The Doumori dialect of Southern Kiwai is spoken in the village of Doumori on Doumori Island in the western part of the Fly Delta, and in Pagona village on the left bank of the Fly, downstream from Doumori Island.

On the lexical level, Doumori is closest to Island Kiwai, whereas phonologically, it is very much like Eastern Coastal Kiwai. However, one characteristic differentiating feature of Doumori is the appearance of *e* for Coastal Kiwai and Island Kiwai: *a* and *a'i*, e.g. Coastal and Island Kiwai: *pa* = negative, has the Doumori equivalent *pe*. Similarly, Island Kiwai: *sa'i* = '*sun*' corresponds to *he* in Doumori. As in Coastal Kiwai, vowel harmony affecting verbal affixes is quite strongly in evidence in Doumori.

On the morphological level, Doumori is very much like Island Kiwai, though it has a few special features of its own.

7.4.5.8.4.4. CONCLUSION

What has been said above, together with the percentages of shared basic vocabulary cognates given in 7.4.5.8.2., indicates that a fair measure of mutual intelligibility may be assumed to be inherently present between the dialects of Southern Kiwai, though it has to be borne in mind that differences on the morphological level, especially differences in morphological complexity and the appearance of typologically distinct morphological phenomena in the same grammatical role as is observable between some of these dialects, may very adversely affect mutual intelligibility between communalects sharing a very high percentage of basic vocabulary cognates (Wurm 1964).

7.4.5.8.5. ISLAND KIWAI AS A MISSIONARY LINGUA FRANCA

The use of Island Kiwai as a missionary language has been associated with the activities of the London Missionary Society in the Fly Delta area since the 1880s, and with the many years' assistance rendered them in their work in the Island Kiwai language by S.H. Ray, one of the pioneers of Papuan linguistics.

The first work in a Southern Kiwai dialect by members of the London Missionary Society, especially Rev. E.B. Savage, was in the Mawata

village local dialect of Southern Coastal Kiwai, and the first mission publications were in that dialect. The headquarters of the mission were subsequently transferred to Saguane village, at the south-eastern end of Kiwai Island, and Rev. J. Chalmers took up residence in the Fly Delta area.

Some information on Island Kiwai, and some other Southern Kiwai dialects, had been gathered before 1898 by members of the London Missionary Society such as Rev. W. Wyatt Gill and Rev. E.B. Savage, and others such as A.C. Haddon, and in part published (Ray and Haddon 1897), but the first study of Island Kiwai in some detail, on the basis of the information collected and made available before, was carried out by S.H. Ray who stayed with Rev. J. Chalmers at Saguane for two weeks in 1898 during the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, and subsequently published a grammar sketch of Island Kiwai (Ray 1907b). It was largely as a result of S.H. Ray's successful studies that Rev. Chalmers and the London Missionary Society decided to use Island Kiwai as their mission language in the Fly Delta area.

Rev. Chalmers was killed by inhabitants of Goaribari Island, to the north of the Fly Delta, in 1901, and in 1902, Rev. E. Baxter Riley was appointed to the Fly River area. He immediately began to learn Island Kiwai, and continued with the concentration on this dialect even though the headquarters of the mission were transferred to Daru Island which has a distinct Southern Kiwai dialect of its own (see above 7.4.5.8.4.2.). He published a small school book in Island Kiwai in 1907, the year in which Ray's grammar sketch appeared in print (Ray 1907b), and this led to a close co-operation, by correspondence, between Riley and Ray until the death of the former in 1928. Riley, with help by Ray, began work on translating portions of St Mark's Gospel in 1908, and the whole Gospel appeared in print in 1911. In 1917, this was revised, and St Matthew added, and in 1927, a volume containing the Four Gospels was printed. After Riley's death, the work of the London Missionary Society in Island Kiwai continued, and in 1960, the whole New Testament was published in it, the work of Rev. L.W. Allen.

The adoption of Island Kiwai in translations of Scripture which were used in church services in much of the Southern Kiwai language area and to a limited extent, even outside in regions occupied by neighbouring Kiwaian languages, resulted in the spreading of full intelligibility of the Island Kiwai dialect amongst speakers of other Southern Kiwai dialects, and in an at least passive knowledge of Island Kiwai becoming established to some extent among speakers of neighbouring Kiwaian languages. The use of Island Kiwai as a school language in the early days,

with pupils from various parts of the Kiwaian languages area being instructed in it, had laid some foundations to this before.

The currency of Island Kiwai as the exclusive church language in the Kiwaian languages area ceased over three decades ago for areas north of the Fly Delta when, in 1941, the Four Gospels and Epistles were published in Kerewo. With the considerable similarity between Kerewo, Morigi, North-Eastern Kiwai and Arigibi, that text has been serving the area of those Kiwaian languages since that time, and in part even before when duplicated portions of it were in circulation.

In 1952, St Mark's Gospel was published in Bamu Kiwai, putting an effective barrier to the use of Island Kiwai in that language area as well.

Further inroads into the currency of Island Kiwai as a church language have resulted from the availability, in duplicated form, of missionary literature in Daru.

At present, Island Kiwai is still fairly widely understood amongst speakers of Southern Kiwai dialects, especially amongst members of the older generation, and also by some speakers of Wabuda, but as a general Southern Kiwai lingua franca, Southern Coastal Kiwai and Daru Kiwai, the language spoken at the administrative headquarters of the Western Province and extensively used as a local lingua franca amongst Kiwaian and non-Kiwaian speakers, has been taking over.

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7.4.5.9. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: DOBU

Ralph S. Lawton

7.4.5.9.0. INTRODUCTION

7.4.5.9.0.1. THE MISSION BEGINS

Sir William MacGregor, the Administrator of British New Guinea (later simply Papua) sought that all his territory should be open to missionary influence. He suggested a zoning arrangement whereby each of the four major missions (London Missionary Society, Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist) should work each in its own area without overlapping on the field of another mission. Thus when the Methodist Church came to Papua it found itself with well-defined boundaries in an area which included almost all of the islands of what is now called the Milne Bay Province, plus a foothold on the mainland of New Guinea itself, at East Cape. The party that landed on the island of Dobu in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands on 19 June 1891 was under the leadership of Rev. William E. Bromilow, a missionary with ten years' experience in Fiji, and with him was a large party of European and South Sea Island missionaries.

7.4.5.9.0.2. DOBU CHOSEN AS CENTRE

The selection of Dobu as the centre for this missionary enterprise was by no means arbitrary. Amongst all the indigenes of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands the people of Dobu were renowned for savage and inhuman cruelty. It was not just that the missionaries were following out the principle laid down by John Wesley, 'Go not to those who need you but to those who need you most'. From a practical point of view these Dobuans were a ticket of entry to most people of the D'Entrecasteaux and to many beyond them. The savage cannibal raids of the Dobuans had carried fear of them and, compulsively, some knowledge of their language

to most places 80 miles away in any direction. Also, the cultural trade activity of Kula made them prominent among the wealthy and important of the Papuan cultures all around them.

So the missionaries hoped that through the winning of Dobu an initial point of contact might be established with many others - and found it so. For Bromilow records, in reference to those early days,

At points remote from Dobu we were to find it possible to establish limited communications in Dobuan, and again and again we were to be thankful for the possibility of making ourselves understood in at least a few leading words. It was no mere happy accident that led us to fix on Dobu as our centre, since it put us into extended linguistic touch in a way that no other spot could have done.¹

7.4.5.9.1. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION

The 'Papuan Babel' into which the missionaries came was a complexity of languages for which even their Fijian background had scarcely prepared them. The situation in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands as studied by Lithgow and Staalsen in 1965² is substantially that which Bromilow entered, and so will serve to show us the bewildering array of tongues that met the men of Methodism as they sought to extend their work into the area immediately adjacent to their starting point.

7.4.5.9.1.1. THE NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

The survey of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands conducted by Lithgow and Staalsen shows a total of 19 languages in a population of about 30,000. It is probable that the number is higher than this. For example, they show the Morima language to be a loose grouping of three dialects with percentage cognates of 75% and 76%, which makes their relation as dialects mutually intelligible open to doubt; the more so as they note that 'where there is a low cognate count at language borders ... comprehension of this language falls off sharply as one moves away from it'.³ Thus in many cases the mutual intelligibility of groups such as those referred to above as 'Morima language' could be more dependent on the 'degree of contact'⁴ than on the percentage of cognates. The writer patrolled extensively in Fergusson Island, which is the central island of the D'Entrecasteaux and the territory of Morima, in the period 1957-62, and can testify to the truth of this; I was on occasions told that men, who travelled, could understand neighbouring languages, but women, who for the most part stayed at home, could not.

So the figure of 19 languages for the D'Entrecasteaux Islands must be taken as being a minimum; and it may in fact be as high as 30.⁵

The linguistic diversity of the balance of the area of Methodist influence is not so great, as the remaining 37,000 or so include one group of 15,000 with one language, and total only about nine more.⁶ The total number of languages which confronted the missionaries over all of their area would thus have been between 30 and 40. This of course was not immediately apparent to them; but as they sought to open new stations and reach out to the furthest bounds of the area they had undertaken to evangelise, it was soon clear that each new place meant a new language to be learnt, a new alphabet to be decided on, new literature to be planned - and each new language multiplied the task.

7.4.5.9.1.2. THE CHOICE OF ONE LANGUAGE

Thus the Methodist Missionary Society had not been long established in its new British New Guinea District before the missionaries gave explicit reference to the hope that Dobuan could become a medium for the expression of their message in every part of their Papuan work. They had already had experience of the usefulness of Dobuan as an initial point of contact almost wherever they went. But it was of little use beyond this - as Bromilow himself says:

I have spoken of the Dobuan language as having considerable currency within these island groups. This must be understood, however, in a limited sense and as confined to a small, utilitarian vocabulary. The amazingly frequent change of speech, at very short distances, was brought perplexingly home to us with each extension of the mission. In the area touched from any one station the missionary needed to be a veritable polyglot. The hope of the mission was that Dobuan could be adopted as the literary language of the whole field. It is impossible to give the Bible and other books in each of the languages of this Papuan babel.⁷

7.4.5.9.1.3. ADMINISTRATOR ENCOURAGED USE OF LINGUA FRANCA

This hope had indeed been held by the Administrator himself. 'Sir William MacGregor ... believed that Dobuan would become the lingua franca of our District'.⁸ No doubt he had seen the strong place it held in Papuan society because of the bold ascendancy of the Dobuan people, and realised that the Mission by using it as a lingua franca would thus tend to bind together a community already fragmented by many small language groups.

7.4.5.9.1.4. DOBUAN ALREADY IN USE AS SECOND LANGUAGE

7.4.5.9.1.4.1. Dobuan - in Kula

I have already made passing reference (in 7.4.5.9.0.2.) to the prominence which Kula trade activity gave to the Dobu people. Malinowski in his definitive work on the Kula says that Dobu

was, and still is, one of the main links in the Kula, a centre of trade, industries and general cultural influence. It is characteristic of the international position of the Dobuans that their language is spoken as a lingua franca all over the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, in the Amphletts, and as far as the Trobriands. In the southern part of these latter islands almost everyone speaks Dobuan, although in Dobu the language of the Trobriands ... is hardly spoken by anyone.⁹

7.4.5.9.1.4.2. Dobuan - in War - the Dobu Warriors' Prowess

Malinowski also mentions the 'fierce and daring cannibal expeditions' which were launched from Dobu, adding that 'the more distant districts, often over a hundred miles away by sail, never felt safe from the Dobuans'.¹⁰ This would have undoubtedly been a contributing factor to the wider knowledge of Dobuan. However I have been told by reliable Dobuan informants that the rise of cannibalism and the subsequent raiding for human flesh was a comparatively recent thing, commencing only one or two decades before the arrival of the first missionaries, and having its origin in successive garden failures following a period of volcanic activity on Dobu Island itself. Thus I feel that the Kula prominence of the Dobuans rather than their cannibal exploits must be seen as the major reason for the wider use of Dobuan as a second language within the existing cultural framework.

7.4.5.9.1.4.3. Dobuan - in the Labour Line - 'Gosiagu Talk'

Another factor, though of recent origin, would be the use of a much debased and 'pidginised' Dobuan as the language of the labour line in and adjacent to the Milne Bay Province. This is known as 'Gosiagu Talk';¹¹ from this expression the D'Entrecasteaux people have come to be referred to collectively as 'the Gosiagus'. We may regard this usage of Dobuan as being a contributing factor in the place the Dobu language held as a second language, although the range of communication was limited.

7.4.5.9.1.5. INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES' FIJI BACKGROUND

The area in which Dobuan was effective as a lingua franca in the pre-mission period was mainly as a means of trade communication between the

men, and predominantly the wealthy and influential among them. However, the missionaries wished to communicate with the whole society. One reason why they believed that they could succeed in making Dobuan their means of communication was that in an analogous situation in Fiji the Methodist Church had succeeded, in a period of 25 years commencing 1845, in having one Fijian dialect adopted and widely accepted as the lingua franca for all their Fijian work. Part of the reason for Bromilow's selection as leader of the British New Guinea mission field was his background of ten years' service in Fiji. It is thus clear that the missionaries were partly conditioned to the idea of a lingua franca.

The Fijian linguistic diversity is by no means as complex as that which confronted the missionaries in Papua. While the first missionaries in Fiji wavered between opinions of 'dialect homogeneity',¹² and 'extreme diversity',¹³ yet by the time of John Hunt in 1845 the Church in Fiji was able to take the step of deciding to use the Bau dialect as a lingua franca. Hunt did actually put his finger on the basic division between East and West Fijian when he wrote, 'The principle difference in dialects is to be found between the western part of the group and all those dialects now known to us ...';¹⁴ and also in reference to a curious poly-dialect New Testament which the Church had proposed in 1843¹⁵ but never actually carried out, Hunt said,

It must be remembered, however, that these four dialects do not differ from each other a tenth part so much as the other six differ from them; so that in this (proposed) translation but little if any provision is made for one half of the group; the other half, however, will be well provided for.¹⁶

Thus, while Fiji does not present the linguistic diversity to be found in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, yet a comparison of the map of cognate percentages in Schütz¹⁷ with that illustrating cognate percentages for (for example) the Sewa Bay language in Lithgow and Staalsen¹⁸ will show that the two positions may be found to have similarities. However when we remember that in Viti Levu we are dealing with perhaps 50,000 speakers, while speakers of the Sewa Bay language number about 1,600; and moreover that the Sewa Bay language is but one of 19 or more, all of which occur within a radius of about 40 miles of Dobu, then we are able to see how much more complex is the linguistic situation that challenged Bromilow and his staff.¹⁹ But with the knowledge they had of the successful use of Bauan, plus their knowledge of the cultural prominence of Dobu as outlined above, the choice of Dobuan was inevitable.

7.4.5.9.1.6. THE DECISION - DOBU AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE

So we find, four years after the work of the mission had started, that the Fifth Annual District Synod of the British New Guinea District, which met in October 1895, made its decision. 'It was decided that we adopt Dobuan as the literary language of the District'.²⁰ Thereafter the terms 'literary language', 'district language' and 'lingua franca' appear frequently in the mission records, usually with the same connotation.

7.4.5.9.2. A LINGUA FRANCA - OR USE MANY LANGUAGES?

It was one thing to declare that one language was to predominate, and yet another thing to put it into effect. Their aim and intention as missionaries was to reach the whole of society with their message, and in the final analysis any avenue that seemed to achieve this was used.

Even given the existing prominence of Dobuan as a lingua franca for cultural trade contact and in a limited environment in the new trade contact of the labour line, yet the various other languages still held sway each in its own place. I have already noted (7.4.5.9.0.2. above) that the use of Dobuan in this multi-lingual society as a trade lingua franca was only by a few, predominantly those who engaged in Kula; and by no means all of the people were so involved.²¹ Goodenough Island people, and all central and western Fergusson Island people, totalling perhaps two-thirds of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands population, were substantially untouched by Kula trading. And as to the grasp one's own tongue has on a person, it may be well to quote the Kiriwinan who said of his own language,

There is no language like it anywhere. It gets right into you - into your body - you feel it - you see it with your eyes. Other languages you breathe and they die. With our speech it is different. You feel it right through you.²²

So the efforts of the missionary translators in this area seem to be indicative of the recognition of the two factors - the desirability of a lingua franca and the necessity of reaching every man in his own language - and an attempt to respond to both.

7.4.5.9.2.1. THE NEED FOR UNIFORMITY

They recognised the very desirable uniformity which would issue from the use of one language. There were a number of advantages to be gained. One language would be a unifying force in a country split apart not only

by language differences but also by internal suspicion and long-standing feuds. Beyond this general consideration, they had to consider the practical details of their own work.

In order to train native pastors they would need to produce textbook materials and conduct lessons, preferably in one central institution and in one language. They would want flexibility in moving trained staff from one language area to another, and one language basic to the whole region would greatly simplify their task.

In reference to expatriate staff, while knowledge of local languages was desirable, the ability to communicate effectively with indigenous pastors was basic. If the indigenous pastors had all been trained in a central institution which used one language, then the stationing of expatriate staff could be made with greater flexibility.

Two quotations will amplify these last two points. Rev. J.W. Burton, General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, in his report published in November 1923, says:

The difficulty of language is great. The gospel is preached Sunday by Sunday in eight or more languages. This makes it hard to change teachers²³ from one village to another, and also makes it inadvisable to shift missionaries²³ from one circuit to another when on other grounds a move would be in the interests of the work. We are seeking to solve this problem by standardising Dobuan throughout our area. All our students will learn Dobuan, and what little translation has been done has been done in Dobuan.²⁴ It will take years to effect the change; but, just as we standardised Bauan in Fiji until it became the lingua franca of the whole group, so eventually in our District of Papua Dobuan will be the language of the people.²⁵

Nine years later, Rev. E.A. Clarke in a letter reflected the partial success of this programme:

Just at present the prospects before me seem to be that of relieving the various members of our staff as they go south on furlough. To do this necessitates a knowledge of Dobuan, which is our District language. In every circuit our teachers²³ have a good knowledge of Dobuan, as they have all had three years on the head station completing their training, and also from the Dobuan Bible. Consequently if the relieving man knows Dobuan he is able to carry on.²⁶

There were two other factors - a desirable economy in any printed literature for general use - school primers, newspapers, study books and others; and the need for one official language to be used in Synods and Church committees where frequently men of a dozen or more different languages would be gathered.

Apart from the early reference in 1895 to Dobuan as the 'literary language' there does not seem to have been an open statement of policy on this desire to make Dobuan a lingua franca. It seems rather to have

grown within the life of the Church in response to this polyglot situation and the stimuli from the needs expressed above. Its most extreme expression seems to have been in the report quoted above, where Burton explicitly goes beyond the idea of Dobuan as a lingua franca, to a more distant ideal when it would have supplanted all languages and be the one language used by all, becoming thus a creole rather than a pidgin. However the more general reference is to the pidgin or 'lingua franca' ideal.

7.4.5.9.2.2. HOW THE CHURCH APPROACHED THE PROBLEM

Such an ideal with all its desirable features did not however prevent the missionaries from using every language they could to carry their message. In the first 30 years the records make frequent reference to scripture portions and other books printed in the Panaeati, Tubetube, Kiriwina, Bwaidoga and Tavara languages as well as those in Dobuan.

The tendency throughout this period was to concentrate on Dobuan literature. The Dobu New Testament was completed by 1907, and the entire Bible 20 years later. But at no time was there any move to concentrate exclusively on one language so that literature available in Dobuan only could force the issue.²⁷ The opposite principle was in fact ultimately adopted as a policy; we find the Methodist Mission Board in January 1925 affirming the following:

The principle (is) affirmed that a small quantity of literature (including a Gospel, Catechism, Hymn Book, and a second book of the New Testament or "The Life of Christ") should be provided for the use of schools and class members²⁸ in the Kiriwina, Bwaidoga, Tubetube, Tavara and Panaeati dialects.²⁹

7.4.5.9.2.3. THE 1933 BOARD COMMISSION - LITTLE HOPE FOR LINGUA FRANCA

In 1933 a Commission from the Mission Board visited Papua to check over every aspect of the life and work of the Methodist Mission. This very perceptive group of men soon came to see that the lingua franca ideal as some saw it would be impossible of fulfilment. 'The Dobuan language is used by the rank and file of the people in (the Dobu Circuit) only', they recorded,

and Dobu Circuit therefore is the only area in which the Gospel is preached entirely in Dobuan. Incidentally we discovered that there is little hope of one language becoming universal throughout our District for generations to come.³⁰

7.4.5.9.2.4. LITERATURE PRODUCED BY THE METHODIST CHURCH IN PAPUA

When the Board Commission examined the literature available in the various languages, they were outspokenly critical in their concern. It is clear they felt no obligation to concentrate on one language. 'We are deeply concerned', they said,

at the lack of literature for our Papuan people. After forty years, it is humiliating to see so few books in the language of the people. Only in one language is the whole Bible printed. The reason doubtless is that only a few missionaries have stayed long enough to learn the language thoroughly, and still fewer have had the educational advantages to make them competent translators.³¹

Since that date there have been two giants in the field of translation who have done much to create a comprehensive literature. They are Rev. John W. Dixon and Rev. Ralph V. Grant; all of their work is in Dobuan.³²

7.4.5.9.2.4.1. John W. Dixon

Dixon was on the staff in Papua during the visit of the 1933 Board Commission, and must in fact have had some of his earlier works in preparation at that time; the Commission recorded their appreciation of his linguistic skill, and added,

What the District sorely needs is a man of scholarly training who can give himself for many years to the task of creating a literature for this backward people. We fear however that such a dream is impossible of fulfilment on financial and other grounds.³³

Dixon did in fact give himself to the task of translation for many years after this. However he himself found that the demand for Dobuan books beyond the area of Dobu itself, apart from trained pastoral staff, was minimal. In an article published in the *Missionary Review* in May 1951 but written about ten years earlier, he says,

We are today printing all religious and educational books as needed. There is a ready sale for books dealing with Bible Study and Sunday School lesson books. But this ready sale is, unfortunately, confined to mission folk and native staff generally; the response among the village people is weak.³⁴

Dixon was nonetheless a champion of the lingua franca ideal, and even while he saw the lack of interest in Dobuan literature yet believed that the time would come when that literature would fulfil its purpose. He saw it however not as a means of replacing other languages as Burton had done, but as a means of

teaching the village people to love reading. When this happens (and I feel sure that it will happen), then we shall see every circuit with its own paper or magazine giving the news to its people in their own tongue.³⁵

7.4.5.9.2.4.2. Ralph V. Grant

Unfortunately Dixon's confidence has not been confirmed by the developments of today. For today the Church is still experiencing difficulty in the sale of Dobuan books and is frequently embarrassed with excess stock on the shelves that cannot be moved. By the time Ralph V. Grant began his work of translation after the war, the society for which he was labouring was a different society, and his work was not to have the good effect it should have had.³⁶

If the war had not taken place, or if both Dixon and Grant had been able to make their contributions 20 years earlier, the story of Dobuan as a lingua franca could well have been different.

7.4.5.9.2.5. AFTER THE WAR

The 1939-45 war acted as a dividing line between two periods, as it cut ruthlessly across policies and training programmes, and sounded at the same time the death-knell of Dobuan as a lingua franca serving the whole community. We do find an occasional reference now to the lingua franca ideal, but in this post-war period a far stronger resurgence was taking place across all Papua. This was a resurgence of cultural identities, in which the prime place now given to local languages made it difficult for such a phenomenon as a struggling lingua franca to find any place at all.

7.4.5.9.2.6. DOBUAN IN THE CHURCH NOW

Within the Church in post-war Papua today the Dobuan language still holds a place of importance, and will do for some time to come. It is now limited however to being the official language for the Synod and committees of the Church, and the language for some theological training. But even this is now in a state of flux, as I have outlined below (see 7.4.5.9.2.8.). Sales of Dobuan books are still encouraged, but are not for the most part popular outside of the Dobu area.

7.4.5.9.2.7. THE PLACE OF DOBUAN TODAY OUTSIDE OF DOBU

My own experience, over the past decade, during which time I have been living in the Trobriand Islands on the island of Kiriwina, may be taken as a testimony to the place Dobuan holds today in a non-Dobuan community.

The old cultural function of Dobuan as a lingua franca for Kula transactions still holds a firm place. This is limited however to about

a third of the population of the Trobriands, namely the islands of Vakuta and Kaileula, and possibly Kitava, and also the Kiriwina lagoon villages of Sinaketa, Tukwaukwa and Kavataria. The other Kiriwinan villages are largely untouched by Dobuan, despite 80 years of Church contact under pastors trained in the Dobu language; and attempts to start a conversation in Dobuan are usually doomed to failure.

Within the Church in Kiriwina a curious stratification may be observed in relation to Dobuan. Amongst the Church leaders, particularly pastors and the foremost laymen, it is a matter of personal status to be able to make fluent use of Dobuan on occasions, in Church meetings. It marks those who have been sent away for training in that language. Also, as the whole Bible is still only available in Dobuan, it continues to be the vehicle for most public reading of scripture. But away from these inner-core groups it has no status, and is only used on occasions by one or two of the less perceptive leaders who may wish to draw attention to their status within the inner-core group. Its use is not well-received when the speaker is known to be fluent in Kiriwinan. Many Kiriwinans indeed despise the Dobuans even now, because of their cannibal background; Kiriwina, both as to customs and language, is considered vastly superior.

7.4.5.9.2.8. CONCLUSION

In conclusion I may say that the idea of developing Dobuan as a lingua franca for the whole community has been set aside today. Instead there is a growing sense of the need for scriptures and other materials in many languages, with the result that today, in addition to the Dobu Bible, there is a complete New Testament and parts of the Old Testament in Panaeati and Muyuwa³⁷ (Woodlark Island) languages; work is proceeding on the Kiriwina New Testament; work is also being done in Vivigana (northern Goodenough Island), Yamalele (west Fergusson Island) and Rossel Island languages by linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Dobuan will continue to have a place for a while as a Church language, but even this will change. One of the modern pressures for change is the new United Church, of which the Methodist Church in Papua is a part. Now, not infrequently, Papuans will enter Church meetings of the United Church held in the Dobu area, without having any knowledge of Dobuan. So now the Dobuan language can no longer be used exclusively for the conduct of such meetings. Also vernacular theological training has been combined with that of mainland Papua, with the awkward double use of two

vernaculars as mediums of instruction as a temporary approach to the difficulty. It is clear, in a continuing intra-Church relationship involving these difficulties, that Dobuan will soon lose its place. The language most likely to replace it in official Church use is simple English,³⁸ which is itself developing some interesting modifications as it is increasingly used and adapted to operate in this multilingual environment.

7.4.5.9.3. THE DOBU LANGUAGE

The purpose of this chapter is not the examination of the Dobu language in depth or to any great detail. I intend to state here the phonology of the language, highlighting any items that may be of interest; to give a brief overview of the morphology and some points of grammar; and to mention some of the differences between the so-called 'classical' and the pidginised forms of the language.

7.4.5.9.3.1. CLASSIFICATION

The Dobu language is an Austronesian language.³⁹ In his study of languages based on the concepts of event-domination and object-domination, Capell has placed Dobuan in the AN1 group, having 'a tagmemic order of S+O+P'.⁴⁰ Reflexes of proto-forms are also discussed by Capell.⁴¹

7.4.5.9.3.2. PHONOLOGY

7.4.5.9.3.2.1. Vowels

The vowel phonemes of Dobu are as set out in Tables 1 and 2 below.

TABLE 1: Dobu Monophthongs

i	u
e	o
a	

TABLE 2: Dobu Diphthongs

ei	eu	oi	ou
ae		ao	
	ai	au	

The central and front vowels a, e and i respectively bear the greatest functional load. The back vowels u and o respectively bear much lighter functional loads. I have mentioned them in order from a bearing the highest load (20.97%) to o bearing the lightest amongst the vowels of 3.07%.

The diphthongs, which appear to pattern as a completely symmetrical arrangement, in fact bear a very light functional load - monophthongs 49.82%, diphthongs 3.22% of the total phoneme inventory in an average

specimen of text. The diphthongs also vary greatly among themselves; three of them, ou, ei and eu, have a total functional load of only 0.08%.⁴²

Vowel length is sometimes claimed as a phonemic feature, but a case may be made for regarding such phenomena as vowel clusters; vowel clustering is commented on in 7.4.5.9.3.2.3. below.⁴³

7.4.5.9.3.2.2. Consonants

The consonantal phonemes of Dobuan are as in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3: Dobu Consonants

stops	bw		gw	
	b	d	g	
	pw		kw	ʔ ⁴⁴
	p	t	k	ʔ ⁴⁴
continuants	l, r			
	s			
	mw			
	m	n		
	w		y	

The consistent pattern of labialisation on consonants articulated at front and back extremes of the oral cavity must be noted; all such occurrences are fully phonemic and may be established in minimal contrast pairs with their non-labialised counterparts. The labialised glottal is the rarest consonantal phoneme in the language. It is sometimes found in fluctuation with the labialised voiceless velar stop kw, as for example ʔwabura / kwabura 'widow'.

The letters l and r are probably allophonic variants of the one phoneme, environmentally conditioned, or in some environments in free fluctuation. The one or two examples of minimal contrast do not constitute a large enough body of evidence to justify their phonemic distinction. However, they are at present written differently; spelling conventions for the most part determine which shall appear in the existing orthography.

The glottal stop ʔ is replaced in the Sanaroa dialect of Dobuan with k.

7.4.5.9.3.2.3. The Syllable

The syllable in Dobuan may be expressed by the formula (C)V, where C indicates an optional consonantal phoneme on the syllable initial margin, and V indicates the obligatory vowel nucleus of every syllable. Thus all syllables are open. One or two examples where m seems to be used as the nucleus of a syllable may be shown to fluctuate with mu, as for example ?udamudari / ?udamdari 'You may throw it away'.

Syllables in word final position having on their initial margin a voiceless consonant may undergo devoicing or complete loss of the vowel; also vowels occurring between two voiceless consonants are frequently devoiced. These features are not reflected in the written language in existing orthographies.

There are no consonant clusters; labialised consonants being phonemically single phonemes as pointed out in 7.4.5.9.3.2.2. above. Vowel clusters however are very much a feature of the language. An example would be the verb stem -gieauau 'renew' (from gi- causal, e- 'become' and the adjective auauna 'new').

7.4.5.9.3.3. DOBU MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

7.4.5.9.3.3.1. Word Order in the Sentence

The Dobuan sentence regularly places the verb after the subject and object noun phrases. When there is no particular emphasis the general order is Subject noun phrase, Object noun phrase, Verb phrase, as:

Saragigi	autui	ni?atu	i?itena.
Subject NP	Object NP	Verb	Phrase
Saragigi	house-site	already	he-saw-it
'Saragigi saw the house-site'.			

The first two noun phrases (subject and object) may in fact be varied in order according to the particular emphasis required, or if one element in particular has to be brought into particular focus for that sentence. The major topic, or the element to be placed in sharp focus, is placed first in the sentence. If for example the object noun phrase of a sentence referred to a previous sentence then it could be emphasised by being placed first, as for example:

Mwaratoi	nina	?abo?ama	?apilisinena.
Object NP		Subject NP	Verb
knowledge	that	we (excl.)	we-fled-from-it
'We abandoned THAT knowledge' (a reference to an old skill)			

Other elements in the sentence, such as temporal, benefactive, locative, agentive, etc., may occupy any place. If they are required to bear particular emphasis they may occupy initial position in the sentence,

but otherwise they may be located anywhere between other phrases, and may even follow the verb. (Certain restrictions exist but I will not detail them here.) Two examples follow.

Erua ona	tauna	asiata gote	taudi edia	iinanena.
Object NP	Subject	Temporal NP	Locative NP	Verb
two word	he	day that	they them-to	he-spoke-it

'On that day he spoke two (IMPORTANT) messages to them'.

Boredima	sinabwana	ta kunuwai	Saragigi	Gabeiyai	i'ebwa'ena
Object Noun	Phrase		Subject	Indirect Obj.	Verb
bead	big-it	and axe	Saragigi	Gabeiyai	he-gave-it

asiata nina	sena gote manuna.
Temporal	Locative NP
day that	place that for-it

'A great quantity of beads, and axes too, Saragigi gave to Gabeiyai that day (in payment) for that area of land'.

7.4.5.9.3.3.2. The Noun Phrase

Order in the noun phrase is generally the noun followed by its modifier. Examples are:

boredima sinabwana	bead big-it ('a large quantity of beads')
bulubulu yauna	skull many-it ('many skulls')

Numerals however are free to move either side of the head noun:

nawarae ebweuna	month one ('one month')
etoi tomota	three person ('three people')

The noun in Dobuan is characterised by different modes of possession.

Body parts and kinship terms indicate possession with an inalienable suffix.

nimagu	hand-my ('my hand')
tamada	father-our (incl.pl.) ('our father')

Intimate possession is indicated by a class of preclitic possessive pronouns.

?agu ?wama	my clothing (i.e. 'the things I wear')
?ana masura	his food (i.e. 'the food that he will eat or is eating')
?ami oboboma	your (pl.) love gift (i.e. 'the gift intended especially for you')

General possession is indicated by a different class of preclitic possessive pronouns.

?imi oboboma	your (pl.) love gift (i.e. 'the gift you are going to give to someone else')
?igu anua	'my house'
?ina ona	'his words'

Examination of the examples given for the two groups of possessive preclitic markers will indicate that the grouping is semantic rather than formal, so that the same word is frequently able to bear either of the two different classes of preclitic markers according to the peculiar relation that object may bear to the person possessing or about to possess it. Thus a person desiring to possess a well-made canoe would say, 'agu waga! *'my canoe!'* - which must be translated, *'oh that I had that canoe for my own!'* - a common expression of praise given even when there is no serious thought entertained by the speaker of his possessing the praised object. When however the person does possess the canoe, he would then describe it as 'igu waga *'my canoe'*, i.e. *'the canoe that I now possess'*.

A general comment may be made here about the first person plural pronoun, which must apply to the absolute personal pronoun *'we'* as well as to personal possessive pronouns and verb subject and object pronominal affixes. The categories of inclusive, referring to *'we, i.e. I the speaker and the person or persons I now address'*, and exclusive, referring to *'we, i.e. I the speaker and another person or other persons exclusive of the person(s) I now address'*, apply in all classes. Plural forms are used; there are no dual or trial forms, except insofar as the morpheme indicating specific numbers in a group may be added as a separate word to a noun phrase.

'abo'ama 'atetoi *'we (excl.) we (excl.)-three'*

'abo'ada tatenima *'we (incl.) we (incl.)-five'*

Numerals are based on a counting of fingers and toes; a fact which the writer saw confirmed in a quiet little-visited village as a man told off the number of the inhabitants by first checking to ten on his fingers then placing each foot successively on the gunwale of his canoe and running through the digits until he had exhausted the 16 names of the inhabitants of the village; which he then gave as sanau ta nima ta 'ebweu *'ten and five and one'*. The reader is referred to J.K. Arnold's excellent book⁴⁵ for the paradigm of numerals.

7.4.5.9.3.3.3. The Verb Phrase

Order in the verb phrase is regularly with the verb in a central position, which may be preceded by a small class of tense or imminence-indicating words; or it may be followed by verbal modifiers.

ni'atu igumwara 'ai'aila.
completed it-finish true

'It has really finished'.

ʔiabe sielobaloba
almost they-are-meeting

'They were just about to meet'.

The verb word consists of a central verb stem which has an inalienable subject prefix, and an optional modal indicator -da- may also be prefixed; the stem may also be followed by several orders of suffixes, including modifiers, object personal pronouns, emphatic markers and others. This frequently results in some very long verb words. Examples of the verb are:

ʔi.esinue.mi.mo⁴⁶ 'he-chose-you (pl.)-only'
wa.da.tuʔe.ma 'you (pl.)-may-ascend-here (to me)'

I now make some comments about the formation of the verb stem; prefixes; and suffixes.

The verb stem may have two types of reduplicative processes to express what Arnold⁴⁷ refers to as the processive and projective forms. The first may refer to a process which is in process of going on - in the past, the present or the imminent future; the second to an activity which is in the future relative to the time being spoken about. Processive reduplication is by the reduplication of the first two syllables of the verb stem, and projective reduplication is by the reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem.⁴⁸

processive	ya.gui.guinua I-do-ing-(it)	ʔiabe ya.gui.guinua imminent I-do-ing-(it)
	'I am doing it'.	'I am about to start doing it'.
projective	ya.tu.tuʔe etamo ya.tu.tuʔe	I-will-ascend later I-will-ascend
	'I would ascend later on' or 'I will ascend later'.	
	(according to contextual implication)	

A compound verb stem is capable of considerable lengthening due to these reduplicative rules. Thus the two simple verb stems -ʔita 'see' and -esinua 'choose' may be combined to form the semantically complex notion -ʔitaesinua 'look at in order to choose'. Now either or both of these notions 'look at' or 'choose' may require to be given a processive sense, so that each or both may need to be reduplicated in the verb stem, thus:

-ʔitaʔitaesinua 'be looking at to choose'
-ʔitaesiesinua 'looked at while choosing'
-ʔitaʔitaesiesinua 'be looking at and choosing'

These expanded verb forms are a regular part of Dobuan conversation, and the writer has recently gathered (unsolicited) text forms such as:

si.awa.awa.were.werebane.ma
they-say-ing-witch-ing-us(excl.)

'They are declaring that we are being witches (now).'

nigea si.da.mwara.mwaratoni.ʔaiʔail.i
not they-can-know-ing-truly-it

'They can't be truly aware of this'.

This is a regularly-encountered phenomenon; it has been suggested that under such circumstances it would be better to regard the verb word as a close-knit phrase.⁴⁹

Part of our consideration of the verb stem must be given to particles which prefix to some stems; their function is to produce derived stems which 'enlarge or specify the meanings of the word; or they convert other parts of speech into verbs.'⁵⁰ Thus the noun waine 'woman' with a prefix e- 'become' is converted to a verb stem -ewaine 'become a woman'.

Prefixes to the verb stem consist of the inalienable subject pronoun with the optional modal marker -da-; these two prefixes must occur in that order.

ya.guinua *'I-do (it)'*

ya.da.guinua *'I-can (will)-do (it)'*

Suffixes to the verb stem consist of modifiers, transitive marker, pronoun objects, and several other particles. The transitive marker only appears if there is no pronominal object suffix, and functions frequently to imply the existence of an object which must be understood from contextual implication. Where modifiers are used as affixes to the verb stem they occur first in order, being followed if applicable by the transitive marker or pronominal object suffixes already referred to. Some examples of verbs with these suffixes are now given:

Simple verb (no suffix) ʔu.ʔita *you (sg.)-look 'Look!'*

With suffixes ʔu.ʔita.ʔaiʔaila *'you-look-properly'*

ʔu.ʔita.ʔaiʔail.i *'you-see-properly-this'*

ʔu.ʔite.i *'you-see-this'*

ʔu.ʔite.gu *'you-see-me'*

ʔu.ʔita.ʔaiʔaili.gu *'you-see-properly-me'*

Other suffixes may follow the above, including the exclusive marker -mo 'only'; the here/there indicators -ma and -wa; and emphatic markers -ya or -ga.

ʔu.ʔite.gu.mo *you-see-me-only 'Look at me and no-one else'*

ʔu.ʔite.gu.ya *you-see-me-emphatic 'Look at me!!!'*

The heavy semantic load carried by the verb word seems to lend emphasis to the expression 'event-dominated' as used by Capell.⁵¹

7.4.5.9.3.4. CLASSICAL AND LINGUA FRANCA FORMS OF DOBUAN

A word needs to be added as to the differences observable in the pidginised or lingua franca form of Dobuan, where it is used as a second language by non-Dobuan-speaking people.

7.4.5.9.3.4.1. Church Policy in Regard to Literature

Amongst the Dobuan Church leaders there has been a long-standing recognition that if their language has to be used as the literary language for an area of such linguistic diversity, then some aspects of Dobuan will need to be simplified. This has found expression on more than one occasion during the writer's time in Papua in formal resolutions of the Synod - 'That in all published Dobuan words the simpler words only shall be used'.⁵² This has been invoked mainly in reference to the longer verbs, which are used quite acceptably in spoken Dobuan but when reduced to writing, at least as written in the present orthography, they are unsatisfactory even for many well-educated Dobuans to read.

Dobuan which is either read or spoken as a second language becomes subject to some modification. These modifications are made in respect of phonological features of Dobuan not found in the languages of those using Dobuan as their second language.

7.4.5.9.3.4.2. The Glottal Stop

As most speakers do not have the glottal stop in their language, and have not been trained in their learning of Dobuan to reproduce the glottal stop, this feature in consequence suffers considerably; however it must be recorded that one seldom finds violence done to the meaning as a result; Dobuan which is spoken with total disregard for the glottal stop seems to be able to convey meaning adequately and unambiguously.⁵³

7.4.5.9.3.4.3. The Letters l and r

A second modification is the pronunciation of r and l according to the particular sound which predominates as a phoneme in a given area. Fluctuation between these two phones is a common feature in South-Eastern Papua languages, though there are one or two languages in this area where phonemic distinction is made between the two.

7.4.5.9.3.4.4. The Labialised Glottal Stop

One feature of written Dobuan which has caused confusion among non-Dobuan-speakers is the rendering of the labialised glottal stop ʔw by the orthographic sequence 'o'. Because of the large number of vowel sequences that is a feature of Dobuan, this spelling has resulted in confusion, as the letter o has been seen not as part of a consonant on the initial margin of a syllable but as a vowel in sequence with another vowel (which is of course the nuclear vowel of the same syllable). Thus words spelt as above with a labialised glottal are seen as having two phonemes in sequence and are pronounced accordingly. One Dobuan Church leader told me that in words containing this letter it was always possible to detect the non-Dobuan-speaker, because no non-Dobuan pronounced it correctly. The foreigner would see a word like leʔwasa '*sickness*' spelt as le'oasa and would regard it as a four-syllable word le.'o.a.sa, and try to pronounce it as such.

7.4.5.9.4. THE DOBUAN ORTHOGRAPHY

In this final section we look at the Dobuan orthography, which even today is a developing rather than a static thing.

7.4.5.9.4.1. THE ORIGINAL ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography laid down originally by Bromilow and his fellow-missionaries was carefully chosen, and for the most part is still satisfactory. There are however some reasons which cause us today to seek some improvement. These include the factor of language change, some observations of set patterns of writing among literate Dobuans that do not accord with the orthography of printed works, one or two inconsistencies in the old orthography - these things collectively have turned the attention of modern users of written Dobuan towards possible revision. Also the entrance of missionaries of the Sacred Heart, of the Roman Catholic Church, into the Dobuan area in the mid-1930s, has brought some differences, due mainly to their adoption of some different spelling conventions.

7.4.5.9.4.2. MATTERS FOR REVISION

The matters that came under consideration for possible revision include the treatment of long vowels; consistent representation of labialisation; problems of long words; the writing of the verb word; the glottal stop; the l/r question; and syllable margins in vowel clusters.

7.4.5.9.4.3. THE PILOT TRANSLATION PROGRAMME AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Some of these matters have in fact had a long history of controversy, forming subjects of keen if inconclusive debate at Synod meetings. Then in 1964 and 1968, when the United Bible Societies conducted Translation Institutes at Lae and at Banz, translators from both missions working in the Dobu area attended, each group being keen to initiate a revision of the Dobu Bible. This gave an opportunity for consultation on orthography difficulties; and so from the second Translation Institute joint proposals were made on orthography reform. In addition,

this report suggested a pilot translation programme, and that at the beginning of that programme both United Church⁵⁴ and Roman Catholic groups should first agree to the proposed orthography changes before commencing their work.⁵⁵

Rev. Fr Martin Atchison, of the Sacred Heart Order of the Roman Catholic Church, and the writer, of the United Church, were chosen as translators for the pilot programme. After some work on the problem areas, the translators met together with representatives of their Churches and of the Bible Society, and considered some specific proposals on orthography change.

7.4.5.9.4.3.1. Long Vowels

The representation of long vowels either as a single letter with a diacritic bar or as a pair of vowels in sequence had been brought into consideration originally by Rev. John W. Dixon, who had during and after the war worked on a draft translation of the New Testament, and who had used the diacritic throughout. The committee decided that since vowel clusters were a regular pattern in Dobuan there was no need to introduce a diacritical mark for one kind of cluster. Thus all double letters will continue to be so written, as for example in -ʔaari 'carry'.

7.4.5.9.4.3.2. Labialisation

The consistent representation of the phenomenon of labialisation on consonants⁵⁶ came next under consideration. Up to the time of the completion of the Dobuan Bible in 1927, there had not been a consistent representation of this in the orthography. Thus we find in the Buki Tabu it is written as o in boasi, for bwasi 'water'; as u in guausoara, for gwausoara 'joy'; and as w in -gwae 'said'. Later printed works however had tended towards standardisation by using w, except in the labialised glottal, which still retained o as in 'oama 'clothing'. The confusion which arises from this spelling⁵⁷ was also discussed. The

committee however decided against change in this last outpost of inconsistency, arguing that unfamiliarity would make such a change unacceptable to the people.

7.4.5.9.4.3.3. Long Words

The problems associated with long words were also considered.⁵⁸ The difficulty lay in regarding the affixes attached to the verb stem as marking the initial and final boundaries of the verb word; thus if *ya'itena* 'I saw him' is a single word bounded by subject and object pronominal affixes, then by the same rule *ya'ita'ai'ailina* 'I see him properly' must also be a single word, as also must *sidunedune'ae'asienamo* 'They are just watching him without helping him', and so on. The committee decided that whenever a verb stem was compounded with an adverbial element then it should be broken with a hyphen at this point. Thus the last two words quoted, when rewritten, would read *ya'ita-'ai'ailina* and *sidunedune-'ae'asienamo* respectively.

The writer had the opportunity of consulting further on this with staff consultants of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, at Ukarumpa, New Guinea, some time later. Miss Dorothy James had the following helpful comment on this problem.

On looking more closely at the material, we found that most if not all of the unduly long 'words' that resulted could in fact be interpreted as close-knit phrases containing a verb stem with its prefixes followed by an adverbial element with the remaining verbal suffixes as enclitics. This interpretation is further borne out by the fact that there are stresses both on the verbal and the adverbial parts of the phrase, though often one is more prominent than the other. This interpretation takes care not *only* of the long verbs, but also of the nouns and *adjectives*.⁵⁹

Thus by James' recommendation the long words would be written as two separate words.⁶⁰ This has yet to be considered by an orthography committee.

7.4.5.9.4.3.4. Verb Prefixes

The question of the method of writing verbal prefixes is really part of the same problem as outlined in 7.4.5.9.4.3.3. above. It was however treated separately by the committee. The traditional approach had been to write disjunctively, so that *sidatauya* 'they may go' would be found in the printed Dobuan works as *si da tauya*. After consideration of the written style displayed in a number of pieces of text, being unsolicited letters written in Dobuan by several people, where more than two-thirds

of the verbs had been written conjunctively, the committee decided in favour of conjunctive writing of verbs, as being apparently the most acceptable way for our people.

7.4.5.9.4.4. MATTERS TO BE SETTLED

The remaining three matters were left over, and to the best of my knowledge have not yet been settled by any committee. Because of the interest they have in the total picture of the Dobuan orthography I deal with each here, outlining main difficulties and some suggestions.

7.4.5.9.4.4.1. The Glottal Stop

The glottal stop as a changing phenomenon in the language has been under some study. However I did not recommend anything on this, as the whole matter needs detailed study in some depth. We are probably witnessing a language change phenomenon in the fluctuating place given to this phoneme in the language; the type of usage recorded by Bromilow, which reflects language study in the late 19th century, does not accord with that which Dixon used in his draft New Testament, which reflects intensive language study from the mid-1930s. And neither accord with the data we collect or the use we hear today. Further we have the testimony of some older informants who said to me, 'Young people do not worry about this (speaking with glottals) like we do. When we die it will all be finished.'⁶¹

This leads me to say that I believe the glottal stop may have been over-recorded, due perhaps to a sensitivity to it as an unusual feature of Dobuan phonology. This over-recording took the form of writing it every time it appeared, which meant that its appearance as a phonetic feature (i.e. non-phonemic) at the beginning of every sentence and following every pause in speech, whenever the sentence or phrase commenced with a vowel, was recorded; with the result that existing spelling conventions tend to reproduce it more often than necessary.⁶² It is clear that this area of Dobuan phonology needs a good deal of further study before a sure conclusion may be reached.

7.4.5.9.4.4.2. The l/r Question

The l/r question was tabled before the orthography committee but was not studied due to lack of time. But while the writer had at the time recommended that they be regarded as separate phonemes, he is now of the opinion that there is not enough evidence to support this proposal.

7.4.5.9.4.4.3. Syllable Margins

The major question of syllable margins in vowel clusters was also bypassed for lack of time. This is probably the most difficult decision to make, as it will be coloured with non-linguistic overtones; for within the United Church literature such sequences have been from the first time presented as, for example, *gea'abo*, *nuanua*, *anua*, *batua*, etc.; whereas the Roman Catholic solutions for these words have leaned more towards *geya'abo*, *nuwanuwa*, *anuwa*, *batuwa*, etc. There is probably equal justification for either decision, although it is possible on occasions to split hairs over the pronunciation of one informant or over one style of discourse. A major difficulty is the widely divergent appearance of samples of text when written with one or the other approach, as vowel clustering is so much a feature of the Dobuan language. Consider, for example, the following words representing on one hand the 'traditional' approach to vowel clusters, and on the other a proposed approach which spells out each transition sound in vowel clusters:

'uegueguyai	'uweguweguyai
'uatuatui	'uwatuwatuwi
siatuatui	siyatuwatuwi

There are possibly occasional potential confusions of morphemes when transitional phonetic elements are written in, as when *loaga* (*lo.aga*, from *lo-* 'do something by speaking' and *aga* 'article obtained on promise of payment') becomes *lowaga*, which has possible confusion with *waga* 'canoe'. Similarly *toai* 'person to be married' becoming *towai* which could be confused with *-wai* 'strike or slap someone'. If however such expressions are homophonous anyway, the potential for confusion is already built into the spoken language, so these points may not have validity. However I would not like to predict what will be the eventual issue of this last and thorniest problem.

7.4.5.9.4.5. RECENT RESEARCH

Since the above committee last functioned, a linguistic team from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dr David and Mrs Lithgow, has come to Dobu with the intention of helping where possible in the task of revision of the Dobu Bible. Some comments from Dr Lithgow's last letter have bearing on the problems of orthography revision, and I include them here as an indication of the most recent thinking on them. In reference to the glottal stop, Lithgow says, 'We feel the need to stress the full consonantal status of the glottal, giving it an upper-case form ' and a lower-case form '.' In reference to *l/r*, 'We can hear no contrast

between l and r with speakers who speak the language but have not been taught to write or read it.' He mentions the 'transitional y and w' problem but has not yet come to grips with it. In reference to the verbal prefixes Lithgow has an interesting comment. He says, 'We join subject prefixes to the verb, but separate them if followed by -da-, for example tada tauya. It is possible that the -da- creates conditions of loose-juncture. Writers almost invariably make a separation after -da-.'⁶³ I have checked this last statement of Lithgow's and can confirm its accuracy.

Thus the stage seems set for the final decisions on the Dobuan orthography. The ultimate decisions will have to come from the Dobuan people themselves.

7.4.5.9.5. A FINAL COMMENT

We have considered the early intentions of the Church in Papua to make use of the Dobuan language as a lingua franca or as a literary language throughout the area of its work; then we saw how the practical situation of a great diversity of languages modified this early intention, to such an extent that the original idea has largely been laid aside, or is held in only a much more limited form. Also we saw how modern influences are working against any resurgence of the lingua franca ideal. This we followed by a brief consideration of the shape of the Dobu language in its 'classical' form and as modified by second-language users; and finally considered some of the modern efforts towards orthography reform.

My final comment must be that the shape in which it is being studied and the methods being used to reform the orthography seem to me to support the continuation of Dobuan in its unmodified or 'classical' shape rather than as a lingua franca. It will continue to have a limited lingua franca use, but its main justification for being used will be that it is the language of the Dobuan people which is accessible to an inner-core of bilingual Church leaders - and not that it may reach out to 60,000 people as a common tongue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my thanks to the Council and Librarians of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, for research facilities extended to me in connection with the preparation of this chapter.

N O T E S

1. Bromilow 1929:61.
2. Lithgow and Staalsen 1965.
3. *ibid*:14.
4. *ibid*:14.
5. This figure must also be taken as arbitrary as I have based it on the dialect maps in Lithgow and Staalsen (1965:16ff) where percentage cognates of less than 80% show areas where mutual intelligibility is probably more a matter of culture contact than semantic cognates. The impossibility of thus juggling with figures with any degree of certainty may be seen by referring to the complex diagram for the Sewa Bay language (Lithgow and Staalsen 1965:19) where to take one example Bwakera and Maiabare are separated by a cognate percentage of 64%, yet the central dialect shows a relationship to them of 80% and 82% respectively. What may be taken as certain is that the linguistic situation in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands is extremely complex. (See also note 19 below.)
6. These include, with approximate numbers, Kiriwina (15,000; the Lusancay Island dialect Simsimla, 120 speakers, is almost certainly a dialect of Kiriwinan); Muyuwa (1,500); Budibudi (Laughlan Islands - 170); Keherara (8,000; Tavara, Nuakata and others included here but I have no information on them); Tubetube (1,500; includes Ware); Panaeatl (7,000; includes Misima); Sudest (1,800); Nimoa (1,000); Rossel (2,300).
7. Bromilow 1929:204.

8. *Missionary Review* May 1951:16.
9. Malinowski 1922:39-40.
10. *ibid.*
11. The word *gosiagu* is Dobuan for '*my friend*', and forms the usual opening gambit for conversation in Dobu.
12. See Schütz 1972:30. Cargill, who was the first student of Fijian, typifies this opinion -
Although the language of the Feejeeans is the same in its idioms, genus and construction; yet each district has a dialect peculiar to itself. But the same grammar will do for all the dialects, and the same dictionary, by writing each dialect in a column by itself.
(From a letter written 13 October 1836, printed in Report VII, 1838:53.)
13. Schütz's handling of this in Chapter 9 of his book is an enlightening treatment of this problem, well worth the attention of the student of 'language vs. dialect'.
14. Quoted in Schütz 1972:33.
15. Report IX, 1844:52.
16. *ibid*:53.
17. Schütz 1972:99 (map 1).
18. Lithgow and Staalsen 1965:19.
19. The phenomenon referred to by Schütz on page 94 as 'chains of mutual intelligibility with neighbouring villages understanding each other, and the extremes unable to communicate' is very much a feature of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands - as the writer has experienced along, for example, the south coast of Fergusson Island (the central island of the group) easily within the compass of a single day's walk.
20. Minutes of Synod, at Mitchell Library.
21. See Bromilow's reference to a 'small utilitarian vocabulary' quoted in section 7.4.5.9.1.2. above.

22. Rainey 1947:40.
23. In mission records for Papua, the term 'teacher' has reference to the indigenous pastor; 'missionary' to the expatriate staff member.
24. Burton was wrong here. By this time gospels, other scripture portions, hymn books, catechisms, etc., had been printed in four other languages besides Dobuan. See Dixon's article in *Missionary Review*, May 1951:16-17, where books are detailed in chronological order.
25. *Missionary Review* 33/6, 1923:5.
26. *Missionary Review* 42/8, 1932.
27. However the Dobu language did become on many of the Head Stations of each circuit the medium of instruction in the schools, for general education.
28. 'Schools' refers to day schools for formal education; 'class members' to meetings of those preparing for Church membership.
29. Methodist Mission records in Mitchell Library.
30. Report of Commission to Papua October-November 1933:13 (Mitchell Library).
31. *ibid*:16-17. See Appendix I for the Commission's list of books either printed or in course of preparation at the time of their visit.
32. See Appendix II to this chapter for a list of works produced in the various vernaculars in this area of the Methodist Church's activity. The list is not limited to those produced by the Methodist Church.
33. Report of Commission to Papua October-November 1933:16-17.
34. *Missionary Review* May 1951:17.
35. *ibid*.
36. Grant's works are listed in Appendix II to this chapter.

37. This is the work of Dr and Mrs Lithgow of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

38. There has always been, in my experience, some pressure against the use of New Guinea Pidgin, as the humorist or clown in any group of Dobuan-speakers will frequently speak 'Pidgin English' to 'get a laugh'. Though this is lessening today, it is still likely to cause simple English rather than Pidgin to have prior place.

39. Along with all other languages in the area occupied by the Methodist Church in South-east Papua, with the exception of the language of Rossel Island.

40. Capell 1969:23, 26. See also my statement on word order in section 7.4.5.9.3.3.1.

41. Capell 1943:61-3.

42. Comments on functional load are based on a phoneme count made for the studies on Dobuan orthography (Lawton 1970:15 (appendix II)).

43. An example of this is itoo '*he tried*'; itotoo '*he will try*' (where the rule duplicates first syllable of the verb stem); itootoo '*he is trying*' (where the rule duplicates the first two syllables of the verb stem). Of incidental interest also are the examples where the two vowel elements of a glide phoneme are seen to act as a sequence of two vowels which may be separated to meet the needs of this rule, giving support to the suggestion that glides are in reality vowel clusters and not single indivisible phonemes.

44. The glottal stop is represented in the traditional orthography as ', and the labialised glottal as 'o. Thus ?wabura '*widow*' is spelt 'oabura.

45. Arnold 1928: section 140.

46. The dots here are used to indicate morpheme boundaries.

47. Arnold 1928: sections 100 to 108.

48. See also the example quoted in note 43. Note that this explanation of the rules for processive and projective forms gives the most general

forms only; the total picture in fact is much more complicated than this. The reader is referred to Arnold 1928: section 108 where a more detailed statement is made.

49. See also section 7.4.5.9.4.3.3. on this feature.

50. Arnold 1928: section 129. See also the list of such prefixes which Arnold includes in this section.

51. Capell 1969:23, 26.

52. This is quoted from memory only.

53. See also section 7.4.5.9.4.4.1.

54. The Methodist Church became part of the new United Church in January 1969, at its inception.

55. Lawton 1970.

56. See also section 7.4.5.9.3.2.2.

57. This has already been mentioned - see section 7.4.5.9.3.4.4.

58. This was introduced in section 7.4.5.9.3.3.3.

59. Letter dated 16 September 1971.

60. If James' recommendation was followed, the two hyphenated examples given in this section would be written as two words, with the word break at the hyphen.

61. Lawton 1970.

62. See record of research done by the writer on this - Lawton 1970.

63. Letter dated 31 January 1974.

APPENDIX I

The Board Commission which visited Papua in 1933 listed the following as those which were available at that time or were shortly to become available. Thus we are able to see the level of achievement some 40 years after the work had commenced in Papua; and it must be compared with Appendix II, which lists books printed up to the present time, 40 years later.

Books printed or roneoed

Proposed books

I DOBUAN

Old and New Testaments
Two small primers
Hymn Book and Catechism
Newspaper - in abeyance at present

Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles
Local paper from January 1934

II KIRIWINAN

Mark and Acts of Apostles
Hymn Book and Catechism
Primer

One Primer

III PANAEATIAN

Mark
Hymn Book and Catechism

St John's Gospel (manuscript will need much revision)

IV BWAIDOGAN

Mark (manuscript)
Hymn Book and Catechism
Primer (now being printed)

V TUBETUBEAN

Luke
Pilgrim's Progress
Hymn Book and Catechism
Twenty Hymns in Bunaman

Books printed or roneoed
VI TAVARAN (East Cape)

Hymn Book

Catechism (four chapters)

Newspaper

Proposed books

Complete Catechism

Life of Christ

Lives of Biblical Characters

APPENDIX II

Here are listed books which have been printed in the various languages in South-east Papua, in which the Methodist Church (now United Church Papuan Islands Region) has worked. Books are included from both United Church and Roman Catholic Church; also Summer Institute of Linguistics and Government sources where known to me. Unfortunately I cannot lay claim to presenting here an exhaustive list.

I DOBU

Book of Offices. Geelong 1896.

Hymn Book and Catechism. Various editions, the first being 1898.

Dobuan Bible, *Buki Tabu*, first printed 1927.

Two small primers printed before 1933.

Newspaper *Tapwaroro Teterina* has been in continuous publication from Methodist Mission Press since mid-1930s, except during wartime.

BROMILOW, Rev. W.E. *Hymns in the Language of Dobu, British New Guinea; With Literal Translations.* Townsville (1895?).

ANDREW, J.R. *Gimi Waridi be 'Ewa be Same.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1938.

DIXON, Rev. J.W. *Aposetolo Idi Guinua Enega.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1936.

Nuaedaedadama Marika Ina Tetera Bobo'ana manuna.
Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1934.

Tetera Bobo'adi Ediega. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1934.

Paulo Teterina (translating text by H.T. Schotton.
Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1936.

Wiki Tabu ta Yesu Keriso ina Tooro Limana. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1938.

(Note: Dixon also produced a complete manuscript retranslation of the New Testament, completed about 1949; this was not printed, but is in use in a scripture revision programme.)

GRANT, Rev. R.V. *Dobuan Reader No.1*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1952.

_____ *Dobuan Reader No.2*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1953.

_____ *Augustine Teterina*. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1940.

_____ *Tosinasinapu Eatana Bomatuyega Teterina*. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1941.

_____ *Onaupaua Auauna - Ana To'Etoladi be 'idi Leta Teteridi*. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1941.

_____ *Tetera Bobo'ana Marika Etoladina 'Ana Ebeli'ama*. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1940.

_____ *Ta Da Tapwaroro*. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1941.

_____ *Buki Tabu Teterina (nos.1-8?)*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press. Several of these books on general Bible knowledge were printed from 1948 to about 1955.

_____ *'Imu Buki Tabu 'uda Mwaratoni (nos.1-10)*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press. These were translations of the 'Know Your Bible' series by Dr R.L. Smith. Manuscripts of books 11 and 12 are in the hands of Mrs Grant.

_____ *Yesu Keriso Yawasina Teterina*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1949.

_____ *Guinua 'Ana Ebeli'ama Buki 1, Upwa 1-12*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1950.

_____ *John Wesley Teterina*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1950.

_____ *Kerisitianiti Teterina (Church History)*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1950.

_____ *Aggrey Goma Africa*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.

_____ *Yesu 'ina onasemalimali 'ana ebeli'ama*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1951.

_____ *Buki E'ita'ita 'ana ebeli'ama*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1958.

- _____ *Gosedao Me Australia*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1953.
- _____ *Ida Sena Papua*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.
- _____ *A School Dictionary*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.
- _____ *Ida Tapwaroro Methodist Teterina*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.
- _____ *The Village Committee Book*. (This was from an English text by W. Cottrell-Dormer.)
- _____ *Nuaedaedadama 'Aina Yesu Keriso Manuna*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1955.
- _____ *Gogama 'Enadi*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1955.
- _____ *Aposetolo 'Idi Vareyare*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1955.
- _____ *Yoni Part III*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1959.
- _____ *Buki Tabu 'Ana Ebeloesaesabwarena*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1963.
- SECOMB, Sr G.R. *Pilgrim's Progress*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1968?
- _____ *How The Jews Lived* (a translation of book by PNG S.I.L.). East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1968?
- ATCHISON, Fr M. *Hymn Books*.
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7.4.5.10. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: BOIKEN

John A. Z'graggen

The Boiken¹ language with its 30,528 speakers in the East Sepik Province is the second largest language of North-East New Guinea. D.C. Laycock (1973) classifies Boiken as a member of the Ndu Language Family, the Middle Sepik Super-Stock, the Sepik Sub-Phylum and the Sepik-Ramu Phylum.

Bishop Franz Wolf, SVD, who was in charge of the Catholic Mission of New Guinea mainland from 1922 to 1931 and from 1931 to 1944 of its eastern part, decided in the first half of the 1920s to make Boiken the lingua franca of the area under the influence of the Catholic Mission. The Catholic Mission had begun its work in New Guinea in 1896 on Tumleo Island, in the Aitape Sub-District, and in the course of time extended its influence in an easterly direction along the coast and the adjacent hinterland to the vicinity of the Madang town area.

Following a decision of the superior of the Mission, the already available grammar and dictionary were duplicated. Textbooks for religious instruction, translations of parts of the Bible and a hymnal were printed at Alexishafen press. Some staff of the Mission, fluent in Boiken, were transferred from Boiken to Alexishafen, the centre of the Catholic Mission located about 13 miles west of Madang town, to implement the decision.

The attempt, however, failed in a short time and left only a few traces that old-timers remember.² Fr Blaes, SVD, who is now retired and lives in Western Germany, saved much of the old Boiken dictionary and grammar and hopes to publish this material soon. Copies of the printed and duplicated books in Boiken have yet to be found on the shelves in the archives.

In the colonial period prior to World War I German was used and taught in schools of higher education. At a later stage, the German government began to express interest in introducing the German language into New Guinea by supplying the missions with textbooks. The use of German is still very well remembered by old people in coastal villages where the Catholic Mission established itself in that period. But for religious purposes numerous vernaculars were used. To my knowledge, there is no comprehensive study in existence on the use of German in New Guinea by either the Administration or the Catholic Mission. Nothing is known of an attempt to establish an indigenous lingua franca during this period, but this may be because the archives of the Catholic Mission have not yet been well studied.³

After World War I, German was replaced by English. In the 1930s the Administration began to support the use of English actively in mission schools through supplying textbooks. In the transition period after World War I, the Catholic Mission used vernaculars almost exclusively in church and to some extent also in schools. This was done because there was no definite policy regarding the use of English, and Pidgin English spread rapidly, but its potential was yet uncertain and much debated.

In this situation it was decided to make Boiken the lingua franca for the Catholic Mission. The linguistic situation was known to be highly complex, a fact everyone had experienced. There was no adequate linguistic survey study available yet. W. Schmidt's (1900) summary of the linguistic situation of German New Guinea was at that time outdated⁴ and in addition he had made no recommendation regarding a possible lingua franca. No trade language with enough prestige to become a lingua franca was available.

In spite of all these difficulties, the need was felt to have an indigenous language as the lingua franca of the entire Mission to bridge over the language barrier. Boiken was the largest language known at that time. Extensive studies of its grammar had been made and a dictionary compiled, though nothing was published. It seems also that Fr Limbrock, SVD, one of the first Catholic missionaries to arrive in New Guinea, was much in favour of the use of Boiken.

The attempt failed because of the complexity of the linguistic situation and the approach in the missionary work. Indigenes east of the Sepik River very much resented having to learn another New Guinea language, whereas they regarded their own language as equally good or even better for the purpose of becoming a lingua franca. Missionaries outside

the Boiken area found it bothersome to learn another language foreign to the area of their activities. In addition, preference was always given to more immediate practical work. The Catholic Mission had little time to spend on thorough theoretical studies. Fr Kirschbaum, SVD, the linguistic expert at that time, who had an extensive knowledge of the languages east and west of the Sepik River, favoured the use of Pidgin English instead of Boiken.

At a conference held at Alexishafen towards the end of 1930, it was decided to make Pidgin English the lingua franca of the Mission, instead of Boiken.

N O T E S

1. Information for this chapter was obtained by correspondence from Fr Ross, SVD, who had been in New Guinea from 1926 until his death in Mt Hagen on 20 May 1973; Fr Blaes, SVD, in New Guinea from 1929-70; and by oral communication from Fr Boehm, SVD, in New Guinea from 1931 onwards; Br Gerhoch Eder, SVD, in New Guinea from 1928 onwards; and Br Venantius Michelkens, SVD, in New Guinea from 1934 onwards. To all of them my thanks are due for their valuable information. For other sources of information the reader is referred to the bibliography.

2. Fr Höltker, SVD (1945), discusses in some detail the lingua franca situation of the Catholic Mission in the time between the two wars. But he fails to mention the choice of Boiken as lingua franca. The Catholic Mission selected in Boiken a lingua franca, but failed to introduce it successfully because of the complex situation. This is clear from Fr Höltker's statement:

Die konkreten Verhältnisse und die aus diesen erwachsenden unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten haben der katholischen Mission in Neuguinea die Auswahl und Einführung einer einheimischen Sprache als Missions- und Verkehrssidiom verunmöglicht. (Höltker 1945:50)

3. Perhaps the Monumbo language (Z'graggen 1971, Laycock 1973), a member of the Torricelli Phylum isolated from the other members of the phylum and located in the Bogia area, was at one stage considered for use as a lingua franca. Höltker (1945:50, note 24) refers to this possibility. The extensive grammatical and lexical studies by Vormann-Scharfenberger (1914) also point towards this interpretation. But further inquiries have to be made regarding this matter.

4. Recent surveys of the area concerned were conducted by Z'graggen (1971) and Laycock (1973).

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7.4.5.11. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: WEDAU

Emily Clarke

7.4.5.11.1. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND EXTENT OF INFLUENCE OF WEDAU

Wedau is the language of three coastal villages in Bartle Bay, to the west of Cape Frere on the north coast of Papua. The two villages of Wedau and Wamira on opposite sides of the Wamira River, flowing north from the Owen Stanley Range, each claim to have the more correct form of the language. That it was named the Wedau, rather than the Wamira language, is due to the fact that the pioneer missionaries of the Anglican Church settled on the plateau above Wedau village, so forming a buffer between the coastal village and their traditional enemies in the mountains. The satellite village of Divari shares the vocabulary of Wamira, which has occasional slight differences from that of Wedau.

To the east of Cape Frere for about 30 miles of coastline, there are variations in vocabulary and pronunciation, but all the variations are mutually understood through all the villages over that distance, till it reaches the Tavara language area of East Cape. This also has close resemblances to Wedau.

As Wedau is the language of a coastal and agricultural people, its vocabulary is related mainly to the sea and subsistence farming, with many words to indicate the several species of food grown or gathered, specific methods of planting, types of marine life to be found near the shore, familiar land forms, natural elements, seasons (based on fruits, etc. or winds, peculiar to various times), directions based on prevailing winds. It is a flexible language in its methods of word building, clear and pleasant to the ear.

7.4.5.11.2. STRUCTURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WEDAU

The structure of the Wedau language has many features characteristic of the Austronesian group, but with some special traits of its own. In vocabulary, though with phonological variations, and in grammatical structure, it has many resemblances to other island languages of Melanesia. In its word order, however, it differs from the normal Austronesian pattern as found in many parts of Melanesia in placing the verb at the end of a sentence.

7.4.5.11.2.1. PHONOLOGY¹7.4.5.11.2.1.1. Vowels²

a e i o u, long or short. Diphthongs have the essential quality of both component vowels.

a	low open central unrounded short	kamkam	'fowl'
		long āā	'dance'
e [ɛ]	mid open unrounded front short	ētāra	'judge'
		long ēgǎ	'no'
i	high close unrounded front short	vībāgǎ	'ask'
		long tTtTtT (tseetseetsee)	'tremble'
o [ɔ]	mid open rounded back short	pompom	'all day'
		long tōm	'sugarcane'
u	high close rounded back short	kaidūrūm	'old woman'
		long gūgūTnT	'maiden'

7.4.5.11.2.1.2. Consonants³

Stops p b t d k g q. Of these, /t/ and /d/ have two allophones: /t/ is a dental stop, and an affricate in conjunction with the sibilant s, before the vowel /i/, i.e. written as ti, it is pronounced [tsi]. /d/ is a voiced dental stop, except when it occurs before /i/, when the allophone [dz] appears (z). Recent attempts to substitute j in writing for this allophone (this letter is not used otherwise in Wedau orthography) have not found favour with the Wedauans. What is written g in the Wedau orthography represents two different phonemes /g/ and /ɣ/. In Copland King 1901a, /ɣ/ was presented by an italic g, and will be also in the Bible now in preparation. The letter q of the Wedau alphabet represents the labialised velar /kʷ/; in most, if not all, other local languages this sound is represented by kw in writing.

Fricatives *v w l r*. /v/ and /w/ are articulated with lips protruding, and the /w/ is not easily distinguishable from /u/. In early publications, *u* and *w* were often used together: e.g. *auou* 'dog' written as *auwou*; *egualau* 'greeting' as *eguwalau*. This is not acceptable to the writer's present informants. /m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal, but with more lip rounding than is the case with the English equivalent. Acoustically it has a soft blurred sound; this also applies to /b/ and /p/. (/m/ is the only final consonant; otherwise all words and syllables end in vowels.) /n/ is a voiced dental nasal, more dental than /n/ in English.

Variations of Wedau-Wamira dialects have similar phonologies, and there are some variations in vocabulary, but east of Cape Frere a glottal stop appears in words which in Wedau have two contiguous vowels forming a diphthong: e.g. *aiwai* 'what' is *awai'i*.

Syllables consist mainly of two or three phonemes and always end in a vowel (CV), with the exception of final /m/ which produces CVC, e.g. *tom* 'sugarcane'; *i tenam* 'it floated'.

7.4.5.11.2.2. STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WEDAU

7.4.5.11.2.2.1. Word Order

The word order, unlike that of most Austronesian languages outside the New Guinea area,⁴ is not S V O but the verb is usually at the end of a sentence or clause; i.e. S O V:

<i>waga</i>	<i>ruaga</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tenatenam</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>inanai</i>
<i>boats</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>were</i>	<i>floating</i>	<i>he</i> <i>saw</i>

7.4.5.11.2.2.2. Nouns

Nouns do not show gender distinction, except that there are separate words for 'man, woman, boy (youth), young girl'. Where it is necessary to indicate gender, these words with the addition of the suffix *-na* function as adjectives:

<i>oroto-na</i>	'male'	<i>wavine-na</i>	'female'
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Nouns generally have no plural forms, with few exceptions:

<i>bada</i>	'chief'	<i>babada</i>	'chiefs'
<i>gavia</i>	'enemy'	<i>gavigaviai</i>	'soldiers'

Also relationship words have plural forms: *ama* (root word) 'father'

<i>amai</i>	'their father'	<i>amamai</i>	'their fathers'
<i>alomi</i>	'your mother'	<i>alolomi</i>	'your mothers'
<i>turau</i>	'my friend'	<i>turaturau</i>	'my friends'

Reduplication of syllables also occurs to express diminutives, or wild varieties of plants:

gimori	'large shingle'	gimogimori	'small shingle'
akova	'banana (cultivated)'	akoakova	'wild banana'

Prefixes and suffixes play a large part in the structure of Wedau, as in other Austronesian languages. The suffix -na, and -i in the plural, functions as a definite article when emphasis is required:

rava 'man' becomes ravana 'the man' (previously referred to) or 'a certain man'; in relative clauses: 'the man I am looking for' ravana a baibaieia; also after the demonstratives, wei 'this', lamna 'that', noi 'those':

wei ravana	'this man'	lamna ravana	'that man'
wei ravai	'these men'	noi raval	'those men'

rava is also a generic term for 'people', taking the plural form ravai under certain conditions.

With these exceptions nouns have no separate singular and plural forms.

In the free form of the pronouns a distinction is made between singular and plural in the third person. These are often, but not necessarily, used before the verbal particle to give emphasis or to avoid ambiguity. The verbal particle does not of itself show any distinction in the third person between singular and plural.

As in Indonesian languages,⁵ Wedau has a set of free pronouns, whose endings appear as suffixes to certain nouns (those indicating parts of the body and personal relations) to show possession. In the first person plural these show inclusive and exclusive forms, ending in -ta and -ai respectively.

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	tau	tam	tauna
Plural incl.	tauta	taumi	taui
excl.	tauai		

Dual and multiple forms also occur, as atai rua 'we-two (incl.)', tauai ai rua 'we-two (excl.)', tau ai rua 'they two', ami tonuga 'you three', using the possessive forms of the personal pronouns.

The endings of the pronouns in the above table constitute both the possessive suffixes appearing with nouns denoting parts of the body and personal relations, and the possessive pronouns used before all other nouns; thus:

natu	'my son'	au numa	'my house'
uram	'your hand'	am lam	'your food'
aena	'his foot'	ana peipei	'his garden'
uata	'our neck(s)'	ata dobu	'our land (incl.)'
amaiai	'our father'	ai poro	'our pig(s) (excl.)'
kolami	'your heads'	ami uri	'your taro'
aparai	'their hair'	ai waga	'their boat(s)'

These pronoun forms and suffixes of Wedau, and their usage, are closely paralleled in the neighbouring languages of the coastal belt from East Cape to Wanigela at the head of Collingwood Bay. In Wedau there are no special usages as in Mota and Kuanua.⁶

Attributive adjectives follow the noun and take the suffix -na or -i according to whether the noun which they determine is in the singular or plural:

ami numa gaegaena	'your (pl.) big house'
am auou gaegaei	'your (sg.) big dogs'

Ambiguity may be avoided by using the plural form anatapui 'all', or nununai 'several', or magamagaui 'many', where there is no other indication of number.

7.4.5.11.2.2.3. Verbs

The verb, in common with other Austronesian languages, is quite simple. The characteristic verbal particle⁷ precedes the verb, the cardinal pronoun is not obligatory and only appears to denote emphasis; in the third person, both singular and plural, the particle changes for tense: e in the present, i in the past, i na in the future.⁸ These are the only tense forms; there is no passive form.

The object of a transitive verb is indicated by a suffix.

Both the particle and the object suffixes are derived from the radical element of the personal pronouns.

Some verbs have both transitive and intransitive forms, such as riwa 'to speak', riwei 'to speak to, to tell'. The transitive form is derived from the intransitive by the change of a to e and the addition of the suffixed pronoun for the respective persons:

i riwe-u	'he said to me, he told me'
a riwe-m	'I said to you, I told you (sg.)'
u riwe-i	'you told him (or them)'
i riwe-ta	'he told us (incl.)' i riwe-lai (excl.) (the l is for euphony)
a riwe-mi	'I told you (pl.)'

The basic form of the verb indicates the past tense, the present and continuous past being formed by reduplication of the whole or part of the basic form:

a ririwem 'I am (was) telling you'
 e ririweu 'he is speaking to me'
 i ririweu 'he was telling me'

The particle *ta* is added to form a negative or the subjunctive:

ega u ta riweu 'you did not tell me'
 a ta riwem 'I should have told you'
 mepa da a ta ririwem 'if I were to tell you'
 mepa da a ta riwem 'if I had told you'

The particle *na* is added to indicate the future, except in the second person singular, when *ma* is used. This also forms the imperative:

i na riwem 'he will tell you'
 ma riwei 'speak to him (them), you will tell him (them)'
 ma riwelai 'tell us, you will tell us'

but o na riwei 'tell him, you (pl.) will tell him'

Verbal nouns⁹ are formed by prefixes and suffixes:

irage 'to die'	aniirage 'means of death'
terei 'to put'	aniterena 'a container'
geta 'to arrive, to reach'	ola a ta amgaena 'we should go up the
	au Dogura getana hill in order to
	au baina reach Dogura'
	(for the sake of reaching Dogura)

There are also several forms of causative prefixes, used with verbs or adjectives, sometimes with a personal suffix:

virageni 'to kill (cause (someone) to die)'
 vipeuta 'make us fall'

Thus in common with other Austronesian languages of Melanesia, one word may become a phrase or clause: *rau* causative prefix, *nua* 'heart', *apoapoe* 'bad': i raunuaapoapoelei 'he was sorry for them, he caused his heart to become bad for them, he had mercy on them'.

The object suffix of a transitive verb is transferred to the adverb following:

ma nei 'come'; ma neiai 'bring it'
 ma nei lagiagina 'come quickly'
 ma neiana lagiaginai 'bring it quickly'
 ma purui 'cover it' ma ruba kaua 'run well'
 ma puru kauai 'cover it well'

Numerals show differences from the general Austronesian forms; they are based on a quinary system of fingers and toes, with adding by ones and twos:

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--|-------|---|--------|
| 1 | tagogi | 2 | ruaga | 3 | tonuga |
| 4 | ruaga ma ruaga | '2 and 2' | | | |
| 5 | ura tagogi i qa | 'hand 1 is finished' | | | |
| 6 | ura gela tagogi | 'the other hand 1' | | | |
| 7 | ura gela ruaga | 'the other hand 2' | | | |
| 8 | ura gela tonuga | 'the other hand 3' | | | |
| 9 | ura gela ruaga ma ruaga | 'the other hand 2 and 2' | | | |
| 10 | ura ruaga i qa | '2 hands are finished' | | | |
| 11 | au ae tagogi | 'on the foot 1' | | | |
| 15 | ae tagogi i qa | '1 foot is finished' | | | |
| 16 | ae gela tagogi | 'on the other foot 1' | | | |
| 20 | rava tagogi i irage | '1 man is dead' (all fingers and toes gone!) | | | |

Numbers beyond 20 continue by twenties:

- 40 rava ruaga i irage '2 men are dead'

but normally any number beyond 20 is magamagau i 'many' or patara gaegaena 'a great crowd'.

7.4.5.11.2.3. HOW WEDAU CAME TO BE USED AS A LINGUA FRANCA

The actual landing place of the first Anglican missionaries, Albert Maclaren and Copland King, in August 1891, was at Kaleta, between Wedau and Wamira, where now stands a memorial shrine venerated by both villages. The natural native courtesy of these people changed their wary readiness to attack strangers, appearing in a winged boat off their shore, into a friendly gesture of rescue when the dinghy carrying them ashore capsized in the tumbling surf and one of the visitors was in danger of drowning. The story has been often told by an old priest who died recently and who was as a young boy kept back with the women of the village while the warriors waited on the beach.

The strangers were allotted a few acres of land on a plateau 200 feet above the village of Wedau, on which they built their house and a place of worship. One of the corner posts of that first church building grew into a tree which stands now as a symbol of the spread of the Gospel whose seeds were planted at that time.

Before long a school was started on the plateau and later in the two villages, and in time evangelists from Wedau and Wamira, after being taught, baptised and trained, began fanning out into the surrounding

district, taking with them their new-found faith through the medium of their own language, so that the buffer between the traditional enemies became a link of fellowship as the Christian faith was taught in the mountain villages and nearby coasts.

Some language discussions must have taken place at a conference between Anglican, Methodist and London Missionary Society leaders held at Kwato in May 1893, when it was decided to use 'Jesu Keriso' uniformly as the name of our Lord.¹⁰

As the teaching spread - eastward to Taupota, inland to a height of 3,000 feet, westward to Menapi at the head of Goodenough Bay - schools were established and churches built in the villages. Catechumen classes were held regularly, attended mainly by young men and their wives.¹¹

By 1895 work had been extended by the missionaries as far as Wanigela at the head of Collingwood Bay. The villages on the coasts of Goodenough Bay and Collingwood Bay speak languages resembling Wedau in structure, though consonants vary and vocabularies differ, but it is possible to make close comparisons between Ubir, the language of Wanigela, and Wedau in form and structure and vocabulary.

Some of the difficulties of those early days are discussed in *A Pioneer of Papua* by Gilbert White (1929),¹² in the words of Copland King himself and of Sir William MacGregor in his report of 1894,¹³ and by Henry Newton as Bishop of New Guinea in 1914.¹⁴ King says,

It may be easy to learn the second island language, but when one has to learn the first merely from daily intercourse with the natives and without anyone to help, one's task is by no means easy. One may readily get a large number of native words and their equivalents by pointing and gesture. But when the words sometimes ended with one syllable and at other times with another syllable it was puzzling. Of course these terminations meant something, It was the same with the verbs, because there were both ends of the word to puzzle us. Then there were the sounds to bewilder us. We could not tell whether to insert h or not, whether to write v or w, and there were two g's which we found it hard to distinguish, and one of them still harder to pronounce to the natives' satisfaction. And, again, the differences in dialect troubled us. ... It was long before we realised how great the differences in dialect were.

Sir William MacGregor wrote, 'Mr. King has mastered the language of the people near him; ...' (This was only three years after he first arrived in the country.)

Bishop Henry Newton, writing of the Mission in 1914 said,

The language difficulty is one of the most serious obstacles to our work. Roughly speaking, there are two distinct languages on the north-east coast of New Guinea: a Melanesian language as far up as Wanigela in Collingwood Bay, and a Papuan language from there to the German boundary and farther

on. Of both of these, but especially the Melanesian, there are many dialects. The structure of the language remains fairly fixed, but the vocabulary alters every few miles along the coast and pronunciation varies with it, so that he who knows one dialect will find that spoken a few miles from home unintelligible, nor will he be understood The staff had all to learn the language; they could not be of much use for their work till they had done so, to some extent at least. We went through a course of Wedauan, reaping the benefit of years of patient labour on the part of Copland King In language lessons every day Mr. King gave us the full benefit of his past work, and few of us realised how different it is when one enters into the labours of others ... the language has a very definite grammar with exact rules, ... The language is very powerful in assimilating new words. An English word is taken notice of, the pronunciation adapted, a prefix and a suffix perhaps added, and lo and behold! it is at home at once; ... So 'Keep a look out' becomes 'virukautiei', 'down below' becomes 'daumbaro'.

From the early days of mission schools Wedau was the language of instruction in primary schools (there were no secondary schools until the early 1950s), English being taught as a second language, and of necessity at Standard Four level and beyond it was impracticable to use anything but English for such subjects as geography and physical science owing to the lack of vocabulary in Wedau. Thus as the work of evangelism spread, so did a knowledge of the Wedau language for those who attended the schools.

The importance of learning Wedau was from the beginning realised by the head of the Anglican Mission, Rev. Copland King, in order to present the Word of God in the language of the people. This was testified by Bishop Newton, quoted above. As early as 1897 his translation of St Luke's Gospel was printed in Sydney, together with a 'New Guinea Native Dictionary' which presumably was the Wedau language, though it probably contained many words from other dialects.¹⁵

In 1901 the dictionary was revised and a grammar included.¹⁶ Since then no other official revision of this has taken place, though many who have worked on the language in the intervening years have noted its few inaccuracies and discussed other possibilities. Because from the beginning and until very recently translation and language study has been a spare-time occupation, the available time of those able to do so has been put to producing needed Bible passages, prayers and hymns, or articles of religious instruction. Several hard-worked priests, teachers and other missionaries are remembered as much for their labours with the language as for the specific work they came to do. Among these are those mentioned in the Appendix to Gilbert White's (1929) book,¹⁷ those who assisted King in his later Wedau translations, and also such devoted

people as Miss Alice Maud Cottingham, Bishop Henry Newton, Rev. A.P. Jennings and Rev. A.J. Thompson.

7.4.5.11.2.4. DISADVANTAGES OF WEDAU AS A LINGUA FRANCA

It was apparently assumed when it was found that so many of the coastal dialects were closely similar, that Wedau could safely be used as a language of instruction in all districts that came under the influence of the Anglican Mission. While it is true to a certain extent along the coast from East Cape to Cape Vogel, yet there are still many difficulties, and away from the coastal fringe the language groups are very dissimilar. It is likely that many attempts at evangelising have failed, and many strange cults have arisen, because of misunderstanding of the Christian teaching, through the failure to insist on more earnest attempts to learn the particular language of any given area.

In particular this is the case in the mountain areas behind the coasts of Goodenough Bay and along the coast of Collingwood Bay, where the Ubir language of the Wanigela villages is interspersed between pockets of non-Austronesian languages, and even in a four-mile radius of the school itself four distinct languages are represented: Ubir, Oyan, Onjob, Maisin; Miniafi, resembling Oyan, is spoken along with Maisin in a village only 12 miles away and again at Naniu 15 miles from Wanigela in a westward direction. For many years the services and teaching of the church throughout this area were in Wedau and also at coastal villages eastwards towards Cape Vogel where Maisin was the natural tongue - an Austronesian-influenced Papuan language from inland. Consequently Wedau came to be looked upon as a 'church' language and it was quite irreverent to expect God to listen to any other than English or Wedau.

As all theological and evangelist training had been given in the Wedau language, it was very difficult to change this attitude, even when it was realised that in ordinary conversation Wedau had absolutely no meaning to most of the people in any of these villages. Over the past 25 years, a good deal has been done to remedy this so far as Ubir is concerned, but there is no record of any Maisin translation having been undertaken other than the Anglican Liturgy which has been in use in Maisin since before 1940.

As long ago as 1901, Copland King produced a Binandere Grammar (King 1901b) for the region beyond Wanigela, realising the wide difference between this Papuan language and the Melanesian Wedau.

7.4.5.11.2.5. *EARLY WEDAU PUBLICATIONS*

By 1900 a Mission Press had been set up at Dogura, where a number of translated portions of scripture, prayers and hymns, psalms and teaching material were printed. Some of these were later published in London or Sydney. These include the Pentateuch completed by 1903 at Dogura, the Book of Joshua to II Chronicles 1907 in Sydney, and portions of scripture readings from the Old Testament Lectionary in London. The Gospel of St Matthew was added in 1902 at Dogura to that of St Luke published in Sydney in 1897, the Psalms printed in Sydney in 1905. In addition to these translations from the Scriptures, portions of the Book of Common Prayer and a Catechumen's Book were printed in Sydney in 1899, the Confirmation Service and Hymns and a Manual for Communicants at Dogura in 1900, a Grammar and Dictionary of the Wedau Language, first at Dogura and then in Sydney in 1901 (King 1901a), and a Catechism at Dogura. The Epistles of St John and the Book of the Revelation were printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London in 1908, a book of New Testament Stories by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1909, Lectionary Passages, Ezra-Malachi, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1910, and a further collection of Hymns and Psalms in 1912. An undated copy of the Epistle to the Ephesians was also printed, probably at Dogura.

During the following years Wedau language work seems to have been devoted to revising and consolidating early translations. The greater part of the Book of Common Prayer, with all the Psalms, was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1919, following two earlier editions without Psalms in 1905 and 1917. During this time the work of translation was being carried on by various members of staff at Dogura in consultation with Copland King, who was then at the Mamba. The first complete edition of the New Testament was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1929. After slight revision it was reprinted in 1953. A revised version of the Pentateuch was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1947.

7.4.5.11.2.6. *PRESENT-DAY USE OF WEDAU*

Apart from a Wedau Primer and a few collections of stories, little other translation or original work has been done on Wedau since the work mentioned above in 7.4.5.11.2.5. With the official insistence on the almost exclusive use of English in primary schools, there has been little inducement for teachers to spend time on secular translation so that the use of Wedau is confined to domestic purposes in the village and in

church for services and instruction. The writer feels that there is a great need to encourage the local people to write and translate in their language.

The work of translators named in 7.4.5.11.2.3. was directed towards the eventual publication of the whole Bible. Before the disruption by war in 1941, the final work of co-ordinating all previous translations and filling in the gaps was undertaken by Canon A.P. Jennings in association with a group of Wedau advisers. After his death in 1955, the work was continued and completed by Rev. A.J. Thompson. The typescript translation Joshua-Malachi was submitted to the British and Foreign Bible Society just before his death in 1964, and no-one has since been available to complete the task. It is now proposed to have printed not the whole Bible, but those selected passages giving a 'broad panorama of the Old Testament "history of salvation"', proposed by W.A. Smalley for the United Bible Societies, in conjunction with the New Testament. This is now undergoing revision, and it is hoped that the work will be presented for printing soon.

APPENDIX

List of Publications in and on the Wedau Language

(a) Publications by Copland KING

- 1894 'Vocabulary of Words Spoken by the Tribes of Wedau, Wamira, and Jiwarl, Bartle Bay, on the North-East Coast of British New Guinea'. *British New Guinea Annual Report 1892-93*:92-100.
- 1897 *St. Luke's Gospel*. Sydney: British and Foreign Bible Society.
New Guinea Native Dictionary. Sydney.
- 1899 *Portions of the Prayer-Book*. Sydney.
Catechumen's Book. Sydney.
- 1900 *Confirmation Service and Hymns*. Dogura: Mission Press.
Manual for Communicants. Dogura: Mission Press.
- 1901 *Book of Genesis, Selected Passages*. Dogura: Mission Press.
Grammar and Dictionary of the Wedau Language. Sydney.
Catechism on the Christian Faith and Sacraments. Dogura: Mission Press.
- 1902 *Book of Sunday Lessons*. Dogura: Mission Press.
Hymns and Psalms. Dogura: Mission Press.
Gospel of St. Matthew. Dogura: Mission Press. Later reprinted by British and Foreign Bible Society.
- 1903 *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy: Selections*. Dogura: Mission Press.
Occasional Services. Dogura: Mission Press.
- 1905 *Reading Book*. London.
Psalms. Sydney.
- 1907 *Joshua to II Chronicles*. Sydney.
Old Testament Lectionary. London.

1910 *Old Testament Lectionary Passages Ezra-Malachi, with Apocrypha.*
London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

1913 *Theological Terms in Native Languages.* Sydney: D.S. Ford.

(b) Further Publications

Translators not named, probably in collaboration: Canon Tomlinson, Miss Annie Ker, Rev. Wesley Taylor, Miss A.M. Cottingham, Right Rev. Henry Newton, Rev. A.P. Jennings.

1908 *Epistles of John and The Revelation.* London: British and Foreign Bible Society.

1909 *Sacred Allegories.* London: Spottiswoode and Co.

Gospel Stories. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

1912 *The Book of Genesis.* Sydney.

1927 *The New Testament.* London: British and Foreign Bible Society.

1953 *A Revision of the New Testament.* Sydney: British and Foreign Bible Society.

n.d. *The Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.* London: Clay & Sons.
The Epistle to the Ephesians. Dogura: Mission Press.

(c) By the Right Rev. Henry NEWTON

1930 *The Church's Teaching.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

(d) Compiled by pupils of St Paul's School, Dogura

1956 *Local Stories and Legends.* Sydney: The Pacific Christian Literature Society.

N O T E S

1. Capell 1940:6-7.
2. King 1901a:5.
3. Capell 1940:12-13.
4. Capell 1940:25.
5. Capell 1940:26.
6. Capell 1940:27.
7. Capell 1940:28.
8. Capell 1940:28-9.
9. Capell 1940:29.
10. White 1929:31.
11. White 1929:34.
12. White 1929:29-30.
13. White 1929:37.
14. White 1929:48-51.

15. White 1929:30.

16. King 1901a:Preface.

17. White 1929:91.

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CAPELL, A.

1940 *Language Study for New Guinea Students.* OLM 5, and
 Oceania 11:40-74.

n.d. An Introduction to the Wedau Language. Typed notes lent
 to translators in New Guinea.

KING, C.

1894 'Vocabulary of Words Spoken by the Tribes of Wedau, Wamira,
 and Jiwari, Bartle Bay, on the North-East Coast of British
 New Guinea'. *British New Guinea Annual Report 1892-93*:
 92-100.

1901a *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Wedau Language (British
 New Guinea).* Sydney: Pepperday and Co.

1901b *Vocabulary of the Binandele Dialect Spoken by the Natives
 of the Mamba River, British New Guinea.* Sydney: D.S. Ford.

1913 *Theological Terms in Native Languages.* Sydney: D.S. Ford.

n.d. *History of the New Guinea Mission, 1891-1901.* Sydney.

Many Scriptural and other translations in Wedau and
Binandere.

Articles on linguistics and missionary subjects in
Australian Board of Missions Review and other missionary
and scientific periodicals.

WHITE, G.

1929

A Pioneer of Papua (The Life of the Rev. Copland King).

London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Sydney:

The Australian Board of Missions.

7.4.5.12. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: SUAU

C. Abel

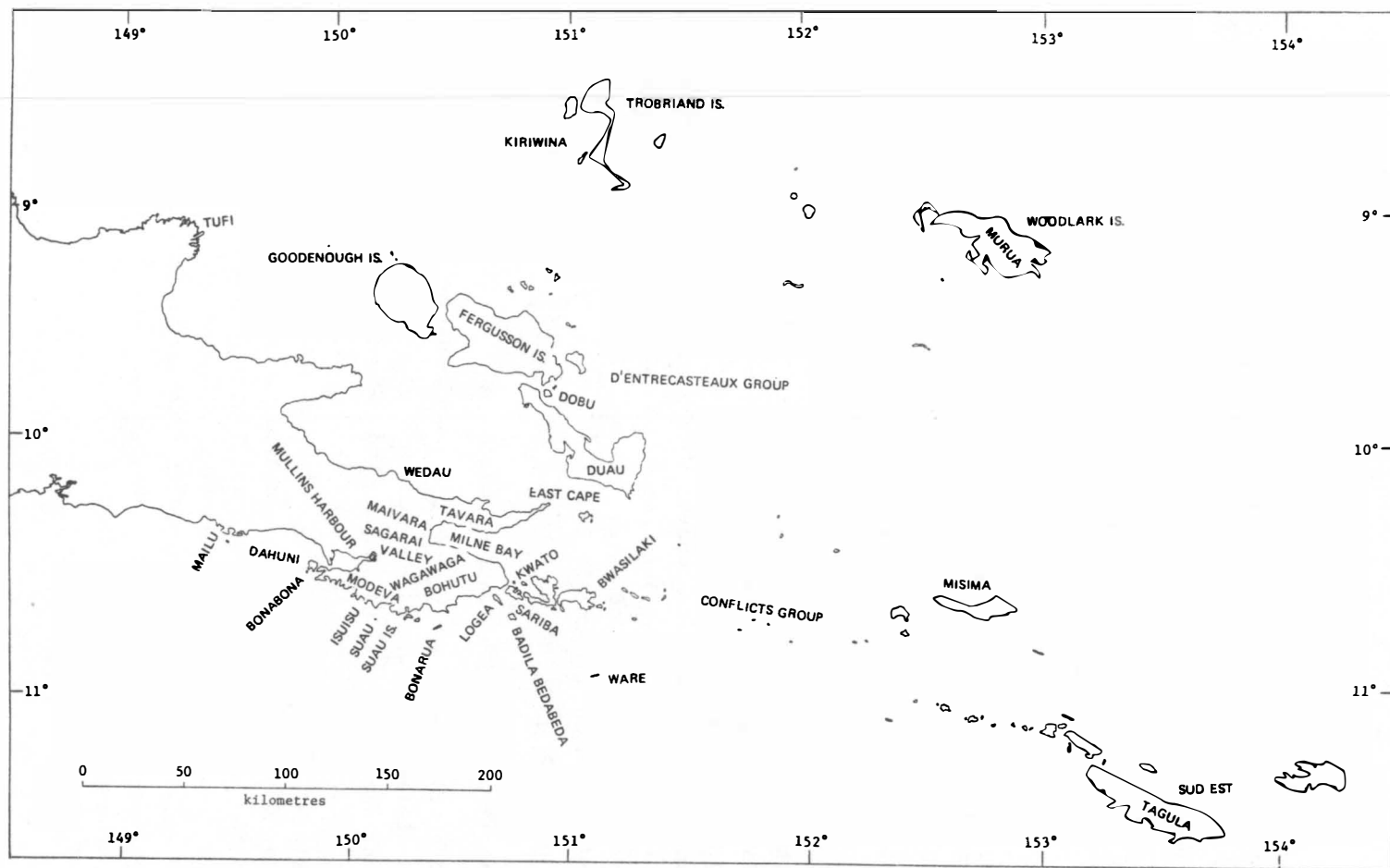
7.4.5.12.1. THE BOUNDARIES OF SUAU

7.4.5.12.1.1. SUAU AND RELATED DIALECTS

The Suau language in its original form is the Austronesian language spoken on Suau Island, and on the mainland from Savaea in the east to Modewa and Koukou in the west and in the islands of Bonarua and Baibaisika, east of Suau. The dialect that most resembles Suau is the Dauī dialect which commences at Isuisu and extends westward to Dahuni and Konemaiava. Two other minor dialects are confined to very limited areas but are worth noting. One is the Bonabona Island dialect and the other is spoken by the mainland people opposite Bonabona in and around Suabena. The Suau speak of these people as *Se ava teka* meaning '*They speak of teka*' rather than the Dauī *teha* (Suau *tupo*) which means '*the part, region, or portion of*'.

7.4.5.12.1.2. SUAU AS A TRADE LANGUAGE

Before expatriates arrived on the scene, the Suau language and its related dialects was the common language of about 4,000 to 5,000 people. It was also a second spoken language to many more than this, probably half as many again. These would be the Eareba in the Sagaraī Valley, the Logea and the Sariba people, and those who spoke it as a trading language. In all three languages many Suau words are to be found. This was due to the close clan and migration affiliations of these people with the Suau. A number of Logea families originated in Suau, migrating first through Bonarua and then Badila Bedabeda to the south of Logea. Inter-marriage between the Sariba people and the Suau and Modewa goes back a long way and still persists.



7.4.5.12.1.3. MIGRATIONS INTO THE SUAU AREA

Many clans in Suau itself owe their origins to migrations of people four and five generations back who came over from Bohutu in the Sagarai Valley and settled, first temporarily and then permanently, in Saga'aho which is still the main coastal outlet to the south from the Sagarai. From Saga'aho these migrations moved eastwards during the great famine. Some stayed at Navabu and some went on to Suau Island. This indicates a close clan and language relationship between Suau and the Bohutu to the north and the Logea and Sariba to the east.

7.4.5.12.1.4. SUAU LOANWORDS IN NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

But whereas Suau shows no indication of words borrowed from any of the three, they on the other hand show strong traces of Suau words and word roots. This chapter is not concerned with the origins of these Suau-speaking peoples, except to show that the Suau people were the dominant tribe and Suau the dominant language even in pre-contact times and was almost a *lingua franca*, in its own right, long before Charles Abel and Fred Walker arrived to take up their work in Eastern Papua.¹

7.4.5.12.2. THE ILO TRADE ROUTE AND THE SUAU LANGUAGE

7.4.5.12.2.1. MAILU TRADING VOYAGES

One of the three most important regular trading ventures in Papua was the Mailu-East Papua-Aroma cycle. The other two were the well-known Hiri Motu trade cycle and the Kula Ring. The people of Mailu Island have for a long time travelled east towards the end of the north-west monsoon to Panaeati, Misima, and even on occasions to Kiriwina, in search of the armlets, or shells from which the armlets were ground, and which they sometimes dived for on the reefs, or which they bought in exchange for the superb Mailu cooking pots and other trade articles sought after by island people in the east. During the first of the south-east monsoon blows they sailed west to Maopa in the Aroma region exchanging these shell armlets for pigs and other forms of wealth which they took back to Mailu for their mortuary ceremonies and feasts. The return journey in the south-east monsoon season was no sailing problem for the experienced Mailu seamen who made use of the *Mirigini*, a Motu word for the night, offshore land breeze, in a steady reach for Table Point and along Table Bay for Mogubo.

7.4.5.12.2.2. SUAU: A CONTACT LANGUAGE

The navigators and captains of the Mailu Ilo or Kilo could all speak Suau. A very remarkable Mailu girl called Boru, who came to the Abels as an orphan, stayed on at Kwato to become a senior mission school teacher. Boru looked forward to these periodic visits during the north-west monsoon season. She would go down to see these beautiful, seagoing craft from her native Mailu and would gossip about home with the captains and crews. Since she had lost her fluency in the Mailu language she spoke in Suau. The Mailu mariners found no difficulty in either understanding or conversing in Suau with their kinswoman.² They used the Suau language as their forbears had done because wherever they went eastwards from Mailu there was always someone who spoke Suau. In other words they had adopted a language that was already spoken by other seafaring people of Eastern Papua and used this as a trading or 'pidgin' language. This strengthened a trend that already existed. It was also true that none of their trading partners were known to speak the complicated and difficult Mailu language.

7.4.5.12.2.3. EXTENT OF ILO TRADING VOYAGES

W.J.V. Saville, in his book *In Unknown New Guinea* (1926), contends that the Mailu Ilo traders never went further east than Suau for fear of falling into the hands of hostile tribes and that they did most of their trading and shell collecting in the Mullins Harbour area. He makes it clear that the main objective of their trading journeys was to obtain the conical shell from which they made the much sought after armlets. The Mailu must therefore have traded with people who not only knew how to grind and shape these into armlets but who also dived for them in the first place. This could not have been done anywhere in Mullins Harbour which is an inland bay with a shallow muddy bottom. There are no extensive reefs in this area. Saville, in his book, is obsessed by what might be called the 'savages' syndrome, as were all early missionaries of that time, and his view that the Mailu only traded beyond the China Straits when it was safe to do so could be a rationalisation based on this 'savages' outlook. The Mailu certainly did go beyond Suau in pre-contact times and were actually in the Logea area on one of their expeditions in 1891 when Abel and Walker invited them to assist with the filling in of the swamp on the foreshore at Kwato. Old photographs show a flotilla of about 15 to 20 Ilo drawn up on the beach at Kwato.

7.4.5.12.2.4. MAILU TRADERS COMPARED WITH KULA JOURNEYS

(a) Compared with the Mailu traders in their *llo*, the Kula sailors undertook a comparatively simple journey between the islands of the Eastern Papuan archipelago. Quite apart from the specific purpose of the Kula journeys the Trobriand Islanders were in frequent sailing contact with the D'Entrecasteaux Islands as well as with Milne Bay, Logea and Sariba, the Conflict Islands and other islands. Furthermore, the traffic went both ways because of the remarkable sailing and seaworthy characteristics of the distinctive canoe which has been quite wrongly called the Kula canoe. This unique, planked-up, outrigger canoe, known to the Suau as *Amuyuwa*, or more often *Vaga-U'e*, was built not only at Kiriwina but at Bwasilaki, Panaeati in the Conflicts, Tagula (Sud-Est) and at Murua (Woodlark Island). This craft is one of the unique features of the southern Massim culture and made it possible for the island people to travel long distances, often in heavy weather, between their islands. For this reason the journeys of the Kiriwina Islanders were not unusual and were only special in relation to the Kula ceremonials and feasts which were a part of the cycle. They travelled frequently in the same canoes on other occasions and for other purposes and were, in turn, visited by other islanders using the same type of canoe.

(b) Long before the expatriate came these island peoples were linked by a homogenous culture, which Seligman (1910) described by the word Southern Massim. They possessed common social and trading ties, as well as seafaring abilities and a maritime tradition that was made possible by a sailing craft unlike anything to be found anywhere else in the Pacific. The fact that they spoke widely differing languages in no way seemed to conflict with their inter-island trading activities.

(c) This contrasts sharply with the Mailu excursions eastwards in search of the armlet shell. The Mailu were a 'foreign' people making periodic journeys for a specific trading purpose. To do this they had to find some way of communicating with the various island people they visited and with whom they traded. They had no tribal, social or marriage contacts. To do this they used the language of a neighbouring people which was known in the places where they did most of their trading. The Suau language at this stage can hardly be called a *lingua franca*. It was more a useful and long-established trading language which the Mailu made use of.³

7.4.5.12.3. CHARLES ABEL AND THE SUAUI

7.4.5.12.3.1. JAMES CHALMERS IN THE SUAUI AREA

James Chalmers, the pioneer missionary of the London Missionary Society, first landed at Suau in 1877, and met with a somewhat mixed reception. Although he and Mrs Chalmers faced the threat of an attack on their lives, their courage won the day as well as the support of many waverers, for he had strong and influential friends amongst the Suau people. These friends not only negotiated a settlement, but indicated their willingness to help him, and to allow him to establish a mission station on the island.

7.4.5.12.3.2. SAMUEL MCFARLANE'S VISITS TO THE SUAUI AREA

Prior to this, Samuel McFarlane of Lifu, one of the two missionaries to start the London Missionary Society work in New Guinea, had visited Suau and Eastern Papua at least twice between 1876 and 1878, the first time with W.G. Lawes. On the latter occasion, with Chalmers, he had left Lifu and Rarotongan teachers, first at Wari (Teste Island) and later in Milne Bay. Both McFarlane and Lawes agreed that Suau Island would be the best centre from which to carry out their mission work in the east.⁴

7.4.5.12.3.3. FRED WALKER IN THE SUAUI AREA

In 1888, two years before Abel⁵ came to Papua, Fred Walker was sent to take charge of the London Missionary Society's work in the east of Papua. The mission's sphere of operations at that time extended as far east as Misima, and north to the Trobriand Islands. When Abel arrived in 1890 Fred Walker was already speaking halting Suau with a rather English accent. He had also done the main work, with the help of South Sea Island teachers, on the translation of St Mark's Gospel which was printed in 1892. Both men were unmarried, though Abel was engaged to his future bride, Beatrice Moxon, whom he had met on board ship on his way out from England.

7.4.5.12.3.4. CHOICE OF SUAUI FOR MISSIONARY WORK

It would have been understandable if Abel had decided early to use the Suau language as the main language for their work. He and Fred Walker had travelled widely throughout their district. He was aware of the two trading cycles in his area, the Kula coming out of Kiriwina, or Boeowa as it is known to the Suau, and the Mailu trading expeditions

to the Calvados Chain and the Sud-Est. He knew that, unlike the Kiriwina traders, the Mailu used the Suau language with its widespread offshoots and dialects. In spite of this knowledge Abel did not decide to make Suau the dominant language of the mission for at least two years after his arrival. He depended heavily on his wife Beatrice whose knowledge of phonetics and English grammar were to help them both in translation work in later years. It would be at least 1893 or 1894 before they regarded themselves as sufficiently fluent in the language to begin translation or to make the Suau language a medium of education. Neither Abel nor his wife would have chosen Suau simply on the grounds that it was the first language they had learned.

7.4.5.12.3.5. THE TAVARA LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION WORK

At one stage Abel was seriously thinking of using both the Suau and Tavara languages for translation. The Gospel of St Mark had been translated into Tavara, the language of the people living on the north coast of Milne Bay, and generally understood though not spoken in many parts of the bay. This Tavara translation had been done by an early Samoan 'teacher', and was the only Tavara translation until the Methodist Overseas Mission took over East Cape in exchange for Sedela Island and began translating other parts of the New Testament into Tavara.

7.4.5.12.3.6. FIFE BAY AS LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY HEADQUARTERS FOR THE SUAU AREA

There were other considerations which later highlighted the Abels' decision to proceed with Suau. One of these was the establishment of Fife Bay as the London Missionary Society station headquarters for the Suau area about 1899. The politics of this decision are obscure, but it meant that instead of being responsible for a district, a large part of which was Suau-speaking, the Kwato District was now to end at Koukou and Delina Island about 12 miles west of Kwato. This left the Abels with a Tavara-speaking people in part of their district and the Suau language spoken at Kwato and at a few other places. Suau Island was now no longer within their district. When the time came however they decided that Suau was the better and more effective language.⁶

7.4.5.12.3.7. CHARLES ABEL AND THE CHOICE OF SUAU AS MISSIONARY LANGUAGE

There were a number of factors that lay behind this choice. Abel was a man of vision and his long-range plans were reflected in many of his decisions. He was one of the very few who at that time looked

forward to the time when Papuans would govern themselves and run their own affairs. And he planned accordingly. Even as early as 1906 good English was spoken by the young people who were being trained at Kwato.⁷ In Abel's opinion Papuans would never be able to meet and speak with expatriates as equals unless they could converse freely and easily in the expatriate's own language. He was equally farsighted in his choice of the Suau language for the work of the mission.

7.4.5.12.3.8. PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS PROMPTING THE CHOICE OF SUAU

The main reasons for Abel's decision in favour of Suau were simple and practical. It was already a widely used trading language. Anything printed in Suau, whether it was the Bible or a school primer, would have a far wider circulation and usefulness than if it was printed in any other language such as Tavara. His early assistants were predominantly from the Suau area. Furthermore, the level of education, such as it was, at that time was far more advanced on the Suau side than it was amongst the Tavara people. It was to these educated Suau-speakers (who were men and women from Tavara and Logea as well as Suau) that Abel looked to assist him in translation, as well as in other aspects of the progressive and forward-looking work at Kwato.

7.4.5.12.3.9. CONSIDERATIONS INHERENT IN THE SUAU LANGUAGE ITSELF

Primarily however, it was the superiority, as the Abels saw it, and the richness and expressiveness as well as the phonetic simplicity of the Suau language that finally made them decide in its favour. And they were well aware that in so doing, Suau would not only continue to be a trading language, but could also become a lingua franca for the Kwato District. This was, in effect, just what happened. Suau not only became a second spoken language amongst the Tavara-speaking people of Milne Bay and the Eareba-speakers of Wagawaga and the Bohutu but wherever there were Kwato Mission schools young people grew up with a knowledge of simple Suau as a second language. This later extended to schools that were opened up amongst the Bam and Amau villages of the Central District.

7.4.5.12.4. SUAU AS A LANGUAGE

7.4.5.12.4.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARK

The name Suau was originally confined to the people living on Suau Island. It has since been adopted by people living in a far wider area.

The coastal people of Savaea, Saga'aho, Navabu, Ipulai and Modewa, now call themselves Suau.

7.4.5.12.4.2. THE DAUI DIALECT AND THE FIRST TRANSLATION

The first translation of the scriptures in Suau which was started by Walker and completed later with Abel and with the help of South Sea Island teachers, was the Gospel of St Mark. On the fly leaf of the first printed edition were the words 'Mareko ena evanelia - the Gospel of St Mark in the Dauí Language'. Reference to Dauí was dropped in subsequent editions however, and it would appear that the distinction between Suau and Dauí was later recognised. The Dauí dialect differs from the Suau language in a number of minor respects and this is evident in both vocabulary and grammar. However, in spite of these differences, the Dahuni people speaking the Dauí dialect have always regarded themselves as part of Suau and do not resent the dominant role played by their near neighbours and co-linguists.

7.4.5.12.4.3. RICHNESS OF SUAU IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM

The Suau language in its original form was rich in picturesque idiom, in precise vocabulary and in expressions of sentiment and courtesy that are noticeably lacking in many other Melanesian coastal languages. For instance the Suau had words for greeting, farewell and thanks. These were *eauedo*, *aioni* and *agutoi*. The word *agutoi* was never used for greeting as it is now. This corruption has come about as a result of careless usage introduced partly by Samoans and by European missionaries. In general practice, along with the correct and authentic greeting *eauedo*, *agutoi* has now become adopted as a greeting.

7.4.5.12.4.4. THE RICH VOCABULARY OF SUAU

It is doubtful whether a complete vocabulary of the language has ever been compiled. Only a Suau-speaker with a command of English could register Suau words for which there are no single, adequate English equivalents. The Suau's seafaring vocabulary is more precise and economical than it is in English. For instance, there are three separate words indicating different kinds of waves. *Bagodu* are the kind that break on the seashore; *butubutu* are the storm driven waves that buffet a small ship or canoe, and *wowoli* are the rollers one encounters in a steady south-east blow. They even have a single word, *lobibi*, for a ground swell.

7.4.5.12.4.5. SAILING TERMS IN SUAU

There are single words for the sailing expressions '*running free*' or '*running before the wind*', '*to come about*', '*to furl sail*' and '*to run along the coast*'. This is understandable for although the Suau lack the seagoing traditions of the Mailu ilo and the eastern amuyuwa they were no mean sailors in their tough little guredau. This was a fairly large outrigger canoe with a planked-up coaming in the amuyuwa style, and an oval mat sail. In this strong, seaworthy craft they sailed eastwards to Wari Island, the Calvados Chain and north-east to Duau and Murua (Woodlark Island). These journeys were largely to visit people in these other islands with whom they had kinship ties by marriage or with whom they engaged in barter, trading and exchange of traditional 'wealth' and pigs.

7.4.5.12.4.6. LINKS BETWEEN THE SUAU AND THE ISLAND PEOPLE

Although the Suau were closer to the Tavara people geographically, they had more in common with the island people to the east and with the Duau (Normanby Island).⁸ This was due in large part to their common maritime traditions. This aspect of the southern Massim culture is worthy of far greater study and research. It is only possible to point out here that ability to travel long distances in unique craft made for this purpose indicates that they had been doing this for a long time.

7.4.5.12.4.7. SIMILARITIES IN LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND BELIEFS

The consequences of this inter-island, inter-tribal traffic and cultural exchange must have given rise to some marked similarities in language, culture and religious beliefs. This is in fact evident in a number of places. In Suau, Logea and Sariba, Duau, and at Wagawaga and Maivara, the two places in Milne Bay most closely linked with Suau, the name for the supreme spirit or being who was above all other spirits was Yabowahina. The only variation from this is in the Trobriand Islands where the name is Gabowahina. Furthermore, the rites and ceremonies in connection with Yabowahina were also identical. This important bond is not even mentioned by Malinowski, in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922).

7.4.5.12.4.8. THE TAVARA PEOPLE

The Tavara by comparison are not a seafaring people and although they build and decorate some of the finest dugout canoes seen anywhere in

Papua New Guinea, these are strictly coastal and calm-water or river craft. The Tavora language likewise is more closely related to the Wedau speech of the north-east coast. Seligman (1910) refers to these as 'Northern Massim'.

7.4.5.12.4.9. CHOISE OF SUAU STRENGTHENING CULTURAL HOMOGENEITY

The unifying effect of a maritime tradition and culture amongst island peoples has never been adequately explored. If this conclusion is valid, then it stands to reason that Abel's decision to use the Suau language had the effect of establishing even more firmly a cultural homogeneity that already existed amongst these island peoples.

7.4.5.12.5. PRINTED TRANSLATIONS INTO SUAU

7.4.5.12.5.1. NATURE OF PRINTED MATERIALS

There were three ways in which printed translations assisted the establishment of a dominant language. The first was the way reading matter was made available in the form of printed editions of the gospels which for many years were the only books people had to read. The second was the printing of hymn books from which people could sing in their own language and the third was the printing of school primers and other reading aids in the vernacular.

7.4.5.12.5.2. TRANSLATIONS RECORDED IN SUAU IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM

The record of a language through translation at an early stage of European contact not only gave that language a certain distinction, but gave the translators the best chance of recording the language in its original form. This was not always recognised at the time.

7.4.5.12.5.3. CHANGES AND DETERIORATION OF SUAU

A language that is widely used beyond its natural boundaries is bound to undergo changes through the introduction of new words, or by investing old words with new meanings. But it also undergoes inevitable mutilation and change by its use as a second language. This results in a certain loss of clarity of expression and some confusion in the original idiom. The Suau language has suffered in this respect, and this has come about as a result of careless usage by some early teachers and missionaries. It has suffered even more because, as a second language, it has been passed on by non-Suau to other non-Suau. An example of this is the hybrid brand of Suau which came to be spoken at Kwato, and which lacked

the strength, vocabulary and expressive features of the original Suau, or what Russell Cooper (1926) calls Standard Suau.

7.4.5.12.5.4. NEED TO PRESERVE THE NATURE OF ORIGINAL SUAU

It is important therefore that some effort should be made to correct this and to preserve the vigour and simplicity of the original Suau language. It must be distressing to a Suau listener to hear an educated young Suau announcer over Radio Milne Bay mutilate what was once, and still is, a most expressive and articulate language. There is a need to re-educate Suau-speakers while there are still people in the Suau villages who speak the original, unadulterated Suau language.

7.4.5.12.5.5. HYMNS WRITTEN IN SUAU

One of the strongest influences resulting in the spread of the Suau language has been through the singing of hymns that were translated into Suau. The Massims are a musical people and have a natural ability to harmonise. In the Suau-Milne Bay area this was given an unexpected boost by Abel's enthusiasm for the tonic solfa system and by his talent for simplifying approaches. Ability to read and sing music from sight and to sing in their own language gave to the Suau-Milne Bay people a source of enjoyment that was both new and rewarding.

7.4.5.12.5.6. SPREADING OF THE DOBU LANGUAGE THROUGH HYMNS

Although first in this field the spread of hymn singing in the Suau language was later overshadowed by the Methodists' prolific output of hymns in the Dobuan language. Aivanavana, as it was called, became a kind of songfest when, from Suau to Misima and East Cape, groups of people would spend the night singing from the Methodist hymn book without even knowing what they were singing about. Aivanavana did much to spread the knowledge of the Dobu language in the Suau-Milne Bay area and as a result of this, it became widely known in the 1920s and 1930s. Dobu was accepted long before this as the dominant language in the Methodist sphere following Bromilow's decision to translate the Bible into Dobu.

7.4.5.12.6. SUAU AND EDUCATION

7.4.5.12.6.1. TEACHING IN SUAU

Teaching the three r's in the vernacular meant teaching in Suau so that learning Suau became obligatory. Since most of the young people coming to Kwato, or to Kwato outstations, as students were from Milne Bay,

it meant that all who came to school had to learn two second languages, namely Suau and English. In the early days, speaking Tavara at the Kwato head station was prohibited. This meant that in one generation the Milne Bay people became bilingual speaking their own vernacular and Suau. Those who went on to English became trilingual.

7.4.5.12.6.2. SUPREMACY OF SUAU IN THE KWATO MISSION SPHERES

The use of Suau as the language of communication and education established its supremacy in the Kwato mission spheres as it did for Dobu in the Methodist sphere. The effect of this in trade and normal social intercourse meant that a man with a speaking knowledge of Suau and Dobu could converse freely anywhere amongst educated people from Baibara to Misima and the Trobriands. Store assistants, boats crews, government servants, storekeepers and plantation assistants were multi-lingual. Many, if not all, could speak simple English as well as Police Motu, and every one of these people could also speak either Suau or Dobu or both. The point of contact and communication, however, for north-east coast men was English. On the whole they appeared to be better educated at Dogura than either Kwato or Methodist students. But the Wedau they spoke did not go beyond mission boundaries, as Suau and Dobu did, and therefore remained strictly a mission language.

7.4.5.12.6.3. EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

The reason why Dogura-(Anglican)-trained men appeared better educated was because all school leavers, with the exception of those that remained to train for the priesthood, went out and found employment as clerks in business houses or as Administration public servants. In contrast to this most Kwato and Methodist school leavers went on to post-school training, within the mission, in manual crafts, technical training in carpentry and boat building and engineering and plantation management, and in the case of Kwato girls, into domestic science, teaching and nursing. This secondary training both at Kwato and Salamo took place in both the vernacular and in English, as did all education from early primary classes in outstation and village schools.

7.4.5.12.6.4. UNIFYING EFFECT OF DOBU AND SUAU

The unifying effect of these two languages, Dobu and Suau, over a long period, cannot be overestimated. To this must also be added the superiority in English speaking possessed by Kwato students and the young

people coming out of Dogura. The fact that the Milne Bay District has for some years regarded itself as a political entity, which under the new Local Government Authority has now been established, must be due in very great measure to the two *lingue franche*, Suau and Dobu, that cover three quarters of the Milne Bay District population.

7.4.5.12.7. THE SUAU LANGUAGE TODAY

7.4.5.12.7.1. DECLINE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF SUAU

The importance of the Suau language as a *lingua franca* has decreased in recent years to the point where it is now only one of five languages used by Radio Milne Bay in their daily broadcasts from Alotau. These are Wedau (north-east coast), Dobu (D'Entrecasteaux, Trobriands and Misima), Suau (Suau, Dahuni, Logea and Milne Bay), Police Motu (now Hiri Motu) and English. There are occasional broadcasts in Misima, Kiriwina and Tavara.

7.4.5.12.7.2. ENGLISH CAUSING THE DECLINE OF SUAU

The reason for this decline can be attributed to the increase in the number of children attending primary school throughout the Milne Bay District in recent years, and to the fact that for the rising generations English is now, and has been for some time, the main language of communication. For an even wider and older circle of people it is also the language of business and administration. As more and more children go to school, and as more and more people listen to programmes in English from the Regional and National broadcasting stations, this trend towards English will continue, but it will never take the place of the local vernacular.

7.4.5.12.7.3. SUAU SONGS KEEPING THE INFLUENCE OF THE LANGUAGE ALIVE

This does not necessarily mean that the Suau language will cease to be an important language group. The popularity of local village string bands and the songs they compose which are broadcast regularly over Radio Milne Bay, as well as from the National broadcasting studio will be an important factor keeping alive the Suau language in spheres far beyond its old boundaries and influence as a *lingua franca*. Kanusia's songs composed for the Kaihea festivals and other special occasions, Simon Andrew's 'Hula Daumori', Hetei Dixon's 'Farewell, Aioni' and many other songs are now sung, in Suau, by young people all over the country. This is the new Aivanavana made possible by the electronic transistor,

popular today but just as likely to be forgotten and superseded tomorrow by another composition in a different language unless Kanusia and his fellow composers continue to create more and more successful songs in the language of their forefathers.

7.4.5.12.8. SUMMARY

7.4.5.12.8.1. HISTORY AND ROLE OF SUAU

Suau was a language of trade in coastal and inter-island commerce long before the expatriate came. The mission gave this language a new dimension and a new importance as a language of communication, religious instruction and education. The mission was also responsible, in the case of Suau, for giving to Suau-speakers in a wider area the ability to sing, harmonise and compose songs in their own language. Because of the rising popularity of these 'place talk' songs and through National and Regional broadcasting networks, these Suau songs are now a part of the culture and heritage of the whole country of Papua New Guinea. Not only so, but Suau expressions and phrases like *aioni* and *kapore* are now common, everyday expressions in many other parts of the country. They have been adopted because they have been heard so often and because there are no appropriate or local equivalents of these expressions.

7.4.5.12.8.2. DOBU AND SUAU IN BROADCASTING

Any historical study of the part played by a regional language as a lingua franca must raise many questions that cannot be dealt with in a cursory survey such as this. However, it is worth noting the fact that in a rapidly developing country like Papua New Guinea both Suau and Dobu, the two lingue franche used in mission spheres, are now being employed in regional radio broadcasts to reach a majority of the Milne Bay District listeners. It is to be hoped that every effort will be made to improve the quality and standard of these local languages. In this way radio broadcasts can become an educative medium in reviving and restoring the original vigour and clarity of these languages. The current trend is towards deterioration and a kind of school-boy Suau. This must be reversed and corrected. Any future study of the Suau language made by linguists must have this practical aim in view.

N O T E S

1. What was true in 1894 is equally true in 1974. Russell Cooper (Coastal Suau: A Preliminary Study in Internal Relationships, 1974) says in paragraph 26 of this unpublished paper:

Suau Island speech is definitely dominant both in the number of speakers using it as their only spoken variety of speech and in other ways; it is imitated by speakers from all other speech communities.

2. My elder sister Phyllis, my younger brother Russell and I were all born at Kwato and we grew up speaking the Suau language as fluently as we spoke English. My recollection of these Mailu Ilo visits is not surprising seeing that, in those days, Boru was our nurse, confidante and mentor. At her instigation I was taken on board one of these Ilo and shown over it by the captain who was her uncle.

3. Russell Cooper (1974:paragraph 3.2), goes as far as to make the tentative observation 'that Suanic is the intermediate link between Central Papuan and the Dobuan group' but will not enlarge on this 'until more evidence is available'. Suanic is the term he uses to designate the entire domain of Suau speech communities from Wari and Tubetube in the east to Gaidisu in the west and Wagawaga and Bohutu in the north. The term covers the same region as Seligman's (1910) Southern Massim.

4. Cf. 'History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895', in Richard Lovett 1902:451ff.

5. Charles William Abel was the youngest son of William Ernest Abel, a director of Mudies Library in London. Abel spent his early days amongst the Maoris of New Zealand and later went through Cheshunt College in

Hertfordshire, a theological college endowed by what was then known as the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection. Instead of returning to work amongst the Maoris, Abel responded to James Chalmers' appeal for adventurous young men to work with him in bringing the gospel to New Guinea. He was a contemporary of Chalmers, or Tamate as he was known, until the pioneer was murdered at Goaribari in 1903. In 1918 Abel was allowed to continue the unique Kwato experiment under a separate organisation known as the Kwato Extension Association on which Sir William MacGregor, Sir George Le Hunte and Captain Barton, three former Administrators of British New Guinea, served as directors. Abel was killed in a motor accident in 1930 in Surrey, England, while actively engaged in establishing Kwato as a permanent organisation.

6. I do not remember hearing my father or my mother ever say they regretted that decision. The adaptability and suitability of the Suau language was a subject they often discussed. My father would emerge from long translating sessions with Dago'ela, his senior Suau assistant in translation, tired but delighted that he had learned new Suau words to express shades of meaning he had not thought possible.

7. Cf. Rev. Joseph King (1909:298, 300) on a visit to Kwato in 1906.

8. The approximate percentage of shared words common to Suau and Ulada (Normanby Island) according to Pawley's 1970 survey material is 39% compared with 14% in the case of Tavara (East Cape).

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7.4.5.13. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: TOARIPI

H.A. Brown

7.4.5.13.1. INTRODUCTION

The people included in this chapter are mainly the Elema who live along the eastern shores of the Gulf of Papua from Cape Possession to the Aivei mouth of the Purari River, a distance of some 120 miles. With them are two very small groups of people, the Raepa-Tati in the vicinity of Kerema, and the Kovio, whose home is inland along the upper reaches of the Lakekamu River. The former total 266 (1970 census), and the latter about 150.

In marked contrast to these small groups are the Elema who total 37,000. Although, as with tribal groups elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, the Elema were never a political unit, they may be regarded as a single ethnic group, sharing a common traditional culture, and speaking languages and dialects that have a close relationship with each other. A broad east-west linguistic division can be made amongst them. The Western Eleman forms of speech, which include Orokolo and its associated dialects, are characterised by the absence of the phonemes /f/ and /s/ which are present elsewhere. There are, however, regular sound changes, and words in Toaripi which have these phonemes initially appear with /h/ in Orokolo and its related dialects; e.g. fi, hi 'cry'; fave, have 'stone'; siri, hiri 'mildew'; sare, hare 'sun, day'. The following table shows sub-tribes with their languages and dialects, together with population figures taken from census sheets dated 1970-71, except for the Sepoe and Toaripi speakers whose census sheets are dated 1968.

TABLE 1

Sub-tribe	Dialect or Language	Population
Eastern Eleman Linguistic Group		
Sepoe	Sepoe ¹	1,077
Morip1-Iokea }	Toarip1	5,343
Moveave-Toarip1 }		9,018
Melarip1-Kaip1	Kaip1 ²	4,689
Uarip1	Uarip1 ³	2,470
		<u>22,597</u>
Western Eleman Linguistic Group		
Opao	Opao	1,116
Hae Haela }	Keuru (Belepa) ⁴	1,219
Haura Haela }		2,609
Aheave Haela	Aheave	695
Muro }	Orokolo ⁵	944
Orokolo }		6,395
		<u>12,395</u>

7.4.5.13.2. THE BEGINNING OF LITERACY

When the London Missionary Society opened up work amongst the Elema early in the 1880s, the missionaries found themselves faced by a number of forms of Eleman speech. It became necessary to choose one as the medium through which to work. Toarip1 was the obvious choice, for it was the dialect spoken by the largest and most enterprising group of people with whom contact had earlier been made in Port Moresby through the hiri trading voyages.⁶ The speakers of this dialect lived, moreover, in the vicinity of the mission headstation established by James Chalmers in 1884 between the dual village settlement of Mirihea-Uritai, known to the Motu by the name of Motumotu. There two South Sea teachers were settled, both from the island of Manihiki. One of the two, Esekiela, lived only a few months, but the other, Tauraki, a most intelligent and energetic man, made a good beginning to the work. It was he who wrote the first book in Toarip1, *Siare Karoro Mutia Satiriaraia Elema Uri* ('Boy Writing Read Teach Elema Language'), the contents being reading lessons, a short Bible history and 24 hymns.⁷

Chalmers himself together with his wife lived at Motumotu for a brief period, but finding the site unsuitable, he moved the headstation to Moru, near Iokea. Toaripi was still the dialect spoken in the vicinity of the mission station. In former times the Moripi-Iokea had their own dialect, but had changed from this to Toaripi many years before the coming of Europeans.⁸

The successor to Chalmers in 1894 was Rev. J.H. Holmes. He made a beginning in Bible translation, and published his first book in Toaripi, *Buka Ovariave Fara*, 97pp.), in 1897. It contained Scripture portions, hymns and a vocabulary of Toaripi words. The following year he moved westwards to Orocolo, where he again succeeded Chalmers. Although he was no longer in a Toaripi-speaking area, he continued his translation into Toaripi, for it was then being used as the church language for both the eastern and western Elema. His Toaripi publications in 1902 were two primers, *Atutemori ve Buka Meha*, Books 1 (37pp.) and 2 (43pp.) and an enlarged version of his first book entitled *Buka Ovaria ve Asiasi Haria Meha* (210pp.) containing Scripture portions and 81 pages of vocabularies Toaripi-English, English-Toaripi. In the same year the British and Foreign Bible Society published his four Gospels, *Iesu Keriso ve Evanelia*. After his move to Urika in the Purari Delta, Holmes did no more work in Toaripi.

Rev. E. Pryce Jones in the meantime had settled at Moru, and as he acquired familiarity with the vernacular he took over the work of providing books in Toaripi. His chief contribution was the completion of the New Testament, published by the Bible Society in 1914. He continued working on this translation, and a revised version appeared in 1928. Another book of his appeared first in 1923 and continued through reprints until 1952. This was *Fara aea Salamu aea Ualare la loki leita o* ('Hymns, Psalms (extracts) and Prayers') (167pp.).

Believing that through education he could best further his work, Pryce Jones took a keen interest in the mission schools under his direction. In the Government Report for 1909 he received high commendation for the work of his schools. The Government Report of 1911 states that eastwards from Kerema (i.e. the mission schools under the supervision of Pryce Jones), there were 12 schools with a total attendance of 1,127 scholars. English had been taught in the schools from 1905, but the missionary required fluency in the vernacular (i.e. Toaripi) reading and writing before the scholars proceeded to English. To assist reading in the vernacular he produced a school reader in Toaripi. The Mission Report for 1915 gives 1,200 as the total school enrolment, and states

that over half were able to read the New Testament. Thus Toaripi was early established as the literary dialect throughout the Eastern Elema.

7.4.5.13.3. LITERACY AMONGST THE WESTERN ELEMA

Westwards from Kerema as far as the Aivei mouth of the Purari River Toaripi was also being used as the church language. There it had certain drawbacks. In contrast to the Eastern Elema there was no large body of indigenous speakers of Toaripi. While not completely unintelligible, it was to a varying degree strange to them all.

A further difficulty was that there was no one to teach Toaripi. The mission staff at that early period came mainly from various South Sea Islands - Rarotonga, Niue, Tahiti and Samoa - where the London Missionary Society had established work. As time went on some mission teachers were appointed from the Central District of Papua; these were Motu-speaking. Whether South Sea or Papuan, each mission teacher came to his appointment amongst the Western Elema ignorant of the local language. There was no set course of study for the newcomer, but according to his ability each one picked up a working knowledge of whatever was the dialect of the locality where he was settled. In his church and school work he had however to use books printed in Toaripi, a form of the vernacular unfamiliar both to him and to his people.

While Holmes was missionary at Orocolo his interest in and familiarity with Toaripi gave it some local relevance. In 1907, however, he moved into the Purari Delta to open a new station at Urika. Here he became involved in translation work in the Namau (Koriki, Purari) language. The new missionary at Orocolo, Rev. R. Bartlett, came to his appointment with the same language difficulty as his mission staff; the books for use in church and school were in Toaripi, but the local vernacular was Orocolo.

His successor, Rev. H.P. Schlencker, who settled at Orocolo in 1912, was an experienced missionary already familiar with Motu. Finding that Toaripi was not well understood amongst the Western Elema, Schlencker began translating into Orocolo. In 1922 he produced a Gospel Harmony which was printed privately. Four years later, and a year before he retired through ill-health, the Bible Society published his Four Gospels and Acts, classed by the Society as a 'tentative' version.

7.4.5.13.4. LATER TOARIPI PUBLICATIONS

In the same year that Schlencker retired, Pryce Jones also resigned from Moru, although he subsequently returned for a brief period in order

to complete the revision of the Toaripi New Testament. Shortly after his final departure from Papua, *Ava O*, a short catechism, was printed in Sydney from a manuscript which he had prepared.

Apart from reprints, 16 years elapsed before the next publication in Toaripi appeared. This was in 1944 when a school hymn book *Atutemori ve Fara Buka*, that I had written, and an illustrated school primer of mine, *Atutemori ve Mutita Buka* ('Children's Reading Book') (47pp.), were published. Other books that I have written in Toaripi are: *Fara aea Veveu* ('Hymn and Service'), (155pp.), published in 1969, the third of a succession of such books to be printed, each larger than its predecessor; *Ovava Lei Peita Mai* ('Way of Light') (48pp.), which was published by the Scripture Gift Mission in 1963. The Toaripi Old Testament is being published by the Bible Society; *Salamo* ('Psalms') came out in 1960; *Genese* ('Genesis') in 1963; *Esodo* ('Exodus') in 1965 and *Iobu* ('Job') in 1968. For the last three books I designed covers along the lines of the traditional Elema art, thus taking a first step towards rehabilitating it.⁹ I am currently working to complete the whole Bible in Toaripi.

7.4.5.13.5. LATER OROKOLO PUBLICATIONS

It was Schlencker's successor at Orokolo who continued with the work of Scripture translation. Rev. S.H. Dewdney was appointed to Orokolo in 1936, and he continued there until his retirement in 1970. This long period amongst the Western Elema made it possible for him to gain a surer knowledge of Orokolo than any of his predecessors. This he put to good use in his revision of Schlencker's Four Gospels and Acts, the inadequacies of which had long been apparent. It was in 1951 that the long-awaited *Evanelia Buka Hari Ila aea Aposetolo ve Horova* ('Gospel Books Four and Apostles') appeared. The entire New Testament entitled *Pupu Oharo Are* ('Taboo Word New') was published in 1963. Two other books had appeared in the meantime, one being a school primer, *Akoremari ve Mureaki Buka* ('Children's Reading Book') (47pp.), 1947. This was an adaptation of the Toaripi school primer. The other publication, dated 1943, reprinted in 1952, was a hymn book and catechism, *Hivi Buka Apevelavela Oharo* (95pp).

Following the publication of the New Testament, Mr Dewdney turned his attention to the Old Testament. In 1970 *Genese* ('Genesis') was printed with the same format as the Toaripi *Genese*. *Ruta* ('Ruth') appeared in 1973. As a consequence of this work in Orokolo, Toaripi ceased to be used as the church language amongst the Western Elema.

7.4.5.13.6. RAEPA-TATI AND KOVIO

The vernacular spoken by the Raepa-Tati people is remotely akin to the Eleman language family (see (I) 2.7.8.4.). In basic vocabulary there is agreement that ranges from 17% with Toaripi to 21% with their western neighbours, the Uaripi, and 20% with Kaipi to the east of them.¹⁰ Of their three hamlets, two are situated at the extremity of the Koaru Church Circuit, and hence the people are familiar with Toaripi. The third, Uriri, is off Kerema Bay. As it lies within the Orokololo Circuit the people there are accustomed to using Orokololo as a church language.

Kovio is an Austronesian language that has its closest affinity with Mekeo. Their nearest neighbours are, however, the Moveave-Toaripi. A number of them are bilingual, with a knowledge of Toaripi that they have gained while attending school as boarding scholars at the mission stations of Koaru or Moru. I have translated St Mark's Gospel into Kovio, but it has not yet been printed. A few typescript copies are in use. The two village pastors, themselves Kovio men, use the Toaripi Scriptures and Service books in their work.

7.4.5.13.7. THE USES OF LITERACY

As the names of publications in Toaripi and Orokololo demonstrate, literature in both languages is restricted almost entirely to religious books, the exceptions being the school primers, and these are designed to enable people to read the religious books. The Elema have thus a very narrow range of reading, the main reason for this being the high cost of publication. Such printed literature as is available is the outcome very largely of the support of the Bible Society which has met not only the heavy initial cost of publication, but also by subsidies has enabled the books to be sold at low prices.¹¹

However, although books are few, the people put their literacy to good use in other ways. Local opportunities for advancement being few, large numbers of Elema people during the past two decades have been migrating to all parts of Papua New Guinea, particularly to urban centres. The largest group of these migrants will be found in Port Moresby, but considerable colonies of Elema people will be found in any of the townships. They still retain their language in their urban environment, and also links with their home villages. It is through the medium of letter writing that these people keep in touch with village and family affairs. The Elema, particularly the Eastern Elema, for literacy in Toaripi was early established, must be amongst the most industrious letter writers in the country.

Amongst young people a notable use for literacy is in the writing of love letters. In so doing the youth of today continue in a way the traditional mode whereby a young man made known his desires to a girl. This was by carving his clan designs onto a betel nut which he sent to the girl. Such a design was known as *karoro* in Toaripi or *hohoa* in Orocolo, words that are nowadays used to mean '*letter*', '*writing*'. A departure from tradition is seen in that nowadays not infrequently the girl initiates the correspondence.

A letter has obvious advantages over the personal approach, particularly in the early stages of the affair when the response of the other person is still uncertain, although both boy and girl are living in the same village. If the outcome be a rebuff, it is better for it not to be an open one; unsympathetic people may laugh about it. The approach by letter in love affairs is favoured by another factor, the feeling of *maeamariti* (Toaripi), *maeamakiri* (Orocolo), not uncommon on such occasions. The word has '*shame*' as its general meaning, but in this context '*bashfulness*' would be a better translation.

A somewhat similar feeling gives rise to other types of letters. A request of one kind or another will often be penned rather than voiced, even though the writer be his own messenger. A person wishing to tell off another will put his angry words to paper, although in such a case he will seek someone else to deliver the letter.

There are other and more important uses for literacy, such as in the use of the vernacular to keep minutes of Circuit and other Church meetings. Village co-operative societies likewise record their minutes in the vernacular. The ability to write enables people to set down details about the various exchanges that are made between families and groups,¹² and to preserve in written form any family traditions.

It could be concluded from the paucity of printed books that literacy in the vernacular is of small importance to the Elema people. In assessing the importance of literacy, account should however also be taken of the innumerable letters that pass through the mail, or are carried by hand, and of other uses that are made of the written word. Since it is in Toaripi that they have become familiar with the written word of the vernacular, speakers of other dialects amongst the Eastern Elema will usually use Toaripi when putting pen to paper.

Since the opening of the radio station at Kerema in June 1964, Toaripi and Orocolo have achieved added importance over other dialects in that they are used together with Hiri Motu and English as the languages for broadcasting from that station.

N O T E S

1. Called 'Lepu' by Ray (1907), a name that has no local currency whatsoever. I have not, therefore, used it. Possibly it should have been 'Levo' (= Motu 'Elema'), the name given to the Sepoe by their eastern Roro neighbours at Kivorl and Walma.
2. Called 'Milareipi' by Ray (1907). I give the name 'Kaipi' to the dialect because the Kaipi are much more numerous than the Melaripi, and are said to have been first on the coast. An account of the traditions relating to the early settlement of the coast will be found in the *Annual Report 1925-26*.40-1.
3. The township of Kerema, which is within the Uaripi sub-tribal area, has a mixed population totalling 1,552 (1970). The people are mostly Elema, but as their names would have been recorded also in their home villages, there is no need to allocate the town population to the local groups.
4. The word haela, which appears in three of these names, means 'people'. Hence such names are hardly suitable to use in that form as the names of dialects. The Hae Haela are also known as 'Keuru', the name used by Ray (1907). Hence I have continued with it as the name for the dialect. Haura Haela, Aheave, as well as Keuru and Orocolo, are names used for the Haura Haela, although locally Belepa refers to a place within the Haura Haela area.
5. Called 'Elema' by Ray (1907).
6. See chapter 7.4.3.1. in this volume.

7. This was published in 1886. The following year Tauraki was killed, together with his small son, while endeavouring to stop an attack on some Toaripi people by Moveave warriors.

8. This is recorded by Ray (1907:333), who gained his information from Holmes. Enquiries I made about this tradition confirmed it, but like Holmes I was unable to recover a single word of this early dialect.

9. As a consequence of my designing these covers I was commissioned to design a set of Papua New Guinea stamps along the lines of the Elema traditional art. The set appeared in 1966; a second set was issued in 1969, and a third set is appearing in 1977.

10. See Franklin 1973:Appendix H.

11. The subsidy is sometimes large. The Toaripi *Esodo*, for example, cost 75£ (Australian) each to produce; the selling price was fixed at 10£.

12. One such family record book that came to my notice some years ago was a second-hand ledger. Amongst the entries there was a list of 34 people who were contributors to a marriage payment. The items they had given were neatly tabulated in seven columns, cash (from 1/- to £1, i.e. 10£ to \$2 Australian), armshells, dogs' teeth, cups, spoons and the like, the last column being miscellaneous. This list did not include the main contributors. On another page a much shorter list named those who had made up the return gift given by the bride's people on this same occasion.

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PART 7.5.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION

7.5.1. GENERAL THOUGHTS ON VERNACULAR EDUCATION

Ebia Olewale

Papua New Guinea is a small country, with a small population of just over 3,000,000 people - but nevertheless, about 700 distinct languages are spoken in it - a situation which is unique in the world and which constitutes a special and colourful national heritage of the people of the country - something that the nation would have good reason to look upon with pride in its distinctiveness.

It is something which could, if looked upon from this point of view, well be a feature helping the Papua New Guineans in establishing their national identity.

People outside Papua New Guinea, and expatriates inside it, tend to take the view that this great multiplicity of languages constitutes a great obstacle to progress and development in the country. Exponents of this idea have been responsible for the great emphasis laid upon the introduction of English as the sole medium of education in Papua New Guinea during the last two decades - quite often producing the saddening results that children lose contact with their traditional culture entirely, and even lose the command of their own language. In other words, this approach has led to the destruction of that part of the childrens' lives which made them members of the uniquely Papua New Guinean heritage.

It is beyond question that there is a very important place for English in Papua New Guinea - for matters of higher education, and contacts with the outside world for instance - but is it really necessary for the gaining of proficiency in English to be at the expense of, and mutually exclusive with, the continuance of the ties which a Papua New Guinean has with his original cultural background, and the means of its expression, i.e. his own local language? The answer to this question is, I strongly believe, a firm 'no'.

Language is basic to any learning, and in order to understand one's environment properly, one has to have a proper command of the language which serves as a medium of reference to and within this environment. The language learnt during childhood, and continued in use after that, is the one which gives any person the most cherished and welcome means for the expression of his innermost thoughts - and, in Papua New Guinea, this language should be each person's own local language. This is the language in which children ought to receive their first introduction to systematic and organised thinking in fields novel to them - i.e. in elementary education.

The logistic difficulties in utilising each one of the 700 languages of the country are of course considerable and fully appreciated, and it is realised that a situation in which every child in Papua New Guinea receives his primary education in his own language, constitutes an ideal which may take a long time even to approximate. However, I do not believe that it is impossible, and ways and means can probably be found which would constitute steps towards this goal. It has been the view of many in Papua New Guinea since the time of self-government that this goal is a desirable one, and should be striven for.

In the meantime, it appears that a good compromise would be for the teachers of any school to be permitted to freely use, in instructing their pupils, any language of which they know that the children will understand it. To get new ideas across to them, to explain things which are novel to them, be it talking about cars or aeroplanes, or new concepts of geography and other parts of general knowledge, it is essential that a language be used which the pupils know well, without first having to be taught it with the result that a newly acquired, often imperfectly understood, medium of intercommunication is resorted to to teach them about novel things which they may sometimes find somewhat difficult to grasp anyway - a situation prevailing quite commonly when English is used as a means of instruction right from the start.

In many instances in which a teacher will resort to the use of a language which he knows his pupils will understand, though it may not be their own local language, such a language will be Pidgin or Hiri Motu - this has been mentioned in a similar chapter elsewhere in this volume (see 7.4.2.1.) and will not be elaborated on here.

After their first year or years of elementary education in languages other than English - be it in local languages or Pidgin or Hiri Motu - English should increasingly enter the picture, as a language constituting a subject of study by itself, and later as a medium of instruction in

the higher grades - the goal is to produce young generations which have not lost contact with their own world, culture and language, who are at home in one of the great *lingue franche* of Papua New Guinea, and the educationally more advanced of whom have a good proficiency of English as well so that they can continue to higher levels of education and actively partake in the civilisation of the modern world.

The idea of education through the vernacular is not new in Papua New Guinea - attempts on varying scales, with varying degrees of success, go back a long time. Mr Neuendorf has very ably discussed its history elsewhere in this volume, and the reader is referred to his chapter (7.5.2.). Suffice it to say that, for the first time in the history of Papua New Guinea, vernacular education should be resorted to on a national level, and it could be envisaged that official policy in education may consider this matter as eventually being of prime importance in the educational pursuits in Papua New Guinea.

To work towards the goal of elementary education in the vernacular languages on a level as general as possible, a number of pilot projects are needed to establish the nature of possible problems and the best ways of approach.

Objections to elementary education in the vernacular have been raised on various grounds. The two main objections appear to centre on the following:

a) The preparation of textbooks in a multiplicity of languages would be an almost impossible task in terms of logistics, and would be prohibitively expensive.

b) Children educated in the vernacular would find their way to further formal education barred since on higher levels of education the language of instruction is English, and they would not have a command of it.

The answers to these objections seem to be as follows:

a) The Summer Institute of Linguistics, New Guinea Branch, has prepared elementary textbooks in close to 100 Papua New Guinean vernaculars, and some are available in additional languages. If the task of preparing such textbooks in further vernaculars is concentrated on as a matter of priority, such books could well be produced in many more languages in a not unduly long time.

The cost factor is by no means forbidding: textbooks already prepared are available at low cost, and it has to be kept in mind that only few will be required in the first few years of schooling during which the vernaculars are to be used and they could certainly be produced locally in the respective vernacular areas as a community project, using simple processes.

b) As it has been pointed out above, it should not be intended for education to be exclusively in the vernacular. Pupils reaching the stage at which they would face the possibility of continuing their education on a high school or technical level would have an adequate command of English.

I would see very great advantages in the children entering school for the first time to be introduced into their new local and intellectual environment in a language setting with which they are familiar and which allows them to maintain contacts with their own culture and their own home society, and which enables them to talk to members of the adult generation in their home villages about concepts new to them in a language with which both are familiar.

Some difficulties may arise in towns where the children entering a school would come from a multiplicity of vernacular backgrounds. However, they will all undoubtedly be fully familiar with whichever of the *lingue franche* are used in the town - and it is in this sphere where the question of the use of these in elementary education gains added importance (see chapter 7.4.2.1. in this volume).

7.5.2. A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF VERNACULAR EDUCATION

A.K. Neuendorf

7.5.2.1. THE PERIOD UNTIL 1962

Prior to 1962 there was no official statement at all as to any policy re vernacular education. Very largely in government agency schools there was no such teaching as the government had committed itself to the teaching of English. In church agency schools there were a variety of approaches. At one end of the scale there was a 'universal' two-year programme where children learnt to read and write their own language and where other subjects were taught in vernacular and from which brighter pupils were selected to go into the English programme. Often vernacular as a subject extended into the English programme as well. In the middle of the scale there was a two-year programme of vernacular as a subject in the first two years of the English programme, to make children 'literate' in their own language. At the other end of the scale in church agency schools there was no vernacular at all. It depended very largely on how important the local missionary or missionaries felt vernacular to be.

Where it was taught it was often badly taught. Usually untrained teachers were used for the task and the mechanics of reading, for example, was taught but no regard was paid to comprehension; and where the mechanics of writing was taught it was assumed that children would be able to put words together into sentences and sentences into paragraphs and letters and stories. Teaching was usually poor.

There were also times when the teachers were, at best, hesitant speakers of the language themselves. And in addition there was often little in the way of reading material or syllabus for the course. There were also, happily, exceptions to all the above.

But with the above situation it was not surprising that government education officers were not overly impressed with the bulk of the vernacular education in schools. It was not of good quality.

7.5.2.2. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION 1962 SYLLABUS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In 1962 the first real syllabus for primary schools in Papua New Guinea was produced by the Education Department. It was widely welcomed. And in it there was a definite place given to vernacular education. Part of the preamble to the syllabus reads as follows:

THE PLACE OF THE VERNACULAR.

English is to be taught in all Primary T schools in accordance with this syllabus.

The place of the vernacular in the Primary T school [Primary T schools were those following the Territory syllabus as opposed to Primary A schools which followed an Australian syllabus - these latter mainly for expatriate children being educated in Papua New Guinea] is a somewhat vexed question in Papua New Guinea. This is particularly so since there are over seven hundred languages spoken by approximately two million inhabitants. No one language is spoken by a sufficiently large number of people to make production of books in the vernacular feasible (with the exception of a very limited range of scriptural material).

The Government takes the view that the need for a national language is paramount. The teaching of English must be fostered by all possible means and with ever increasing efficiency.

On the other hand it is not the intention of the Government that most vernaculars become extinct. The aim is to develop a nation of bilinguals, people who prefer to use the national language in public and commercial dealings but who retain their skills in their mother tongue.

From the school point of view the dilemma is what language policy will lead to facility in English - the national language.

It is NOT a scientifically proven fact that prior literacy in the mother tongue is necessary for successful teaching in a second language. Several experiments purporting to prove this claim have been reported but all have marked weaknesses of design or efficiency of teaching which invalidates the conclusions. At most we have the views of a number of field workers in places where there is bilingualism.

The Department of Education has an open mind on the question. It considers the evidence inconclusive especially in view of recent success with English teaching without prior literacy in the vernacular. Its attitude to vernacular teaching is conditioned by

- (a) past failures in vernacular teaching in Papua New Guinea due to the inadequacy of the teachers,
- (b) the absence of any approved syllabuses for the teaching of the vernacular,

- (c) the lack of suitable reading material for small children plus the lack of other suitable follow-up reading material and/or suitable technical books in the vernaculars.

The Department considers that schools teaching a vernacular can only be successful where these three conditions are met. Since at present they cannot be met in Administration schools, these schools will use English as the medium of instruction. Educational authorities which propose to teach the vernacular in schools for which recognition is sought must fulfil the following conditions:

- (1) English must be taught at least concurrently with the vernacular. The time devoted to English must be at least the minimum recommended times as set out under Hours and Times of Instruction.
- (2) The vernacular taught must be the vernacular of the area in which the school is situated.
- (3) The teachers must be competent to teach that vernacular. For registered teachers evidence that the language is their mother tongue is sufficient evidence. Evidence of competence must be presented when the vernacular is not the mother tongue of the teacher.
- (4) A full syllabus for that vernacular must be prepared and then approved by the Syllabus Development Committee. The Committee has appointed an evaluation sub-committee of teachers, themselves competent in at least one vernacular to make recommendations on the adequacy of the syllabus. The syllabus need not be printed but there must be sufficient typed or duplicated copies to provide one for each teacher.
- (5) There must be evidence that adequate vernacular reading material is available for the children. Minimum adequacy for first approval will be material covering the reading needs of children to the end of Standard II.

Providing these requirements are met educational authorities are free to conduct schools using the vernacular as the medium of instruction up to Standard II. English must be used as the medium of instruction beyond Standard II level. The vernacular as a subject can be continued beyond Standard II.

Supervisory officers are instructed to offer every assistance to schools which produce evidence that the above conditions have been met.

Schools which cannot meet the five conditions are to be firmly discouraged.

As a result of the above passage from the 1962 syllabus, a small number of syllabuses in various vernaculars were prepared with accompanying primers and readers. These syllabuses were presented and approved by the committee set up. But many who had been involved in the teaching of vernacular literacy were discouraged by the five conditions set, and ceased teaching it. Others elected to continue teaching it outside the primary school system and receive no Government assistance

towards it. From 1962 on, then, the amount of vernacular literacy taught in schools was very very little indeed. The Revised Primary Syllabus issued in 1967 carried a complete re-print of the 1962 statement on vernacular education, and so the position did not at all alter.

7.5.2.3. THE 1971 PRIMARY SEMINAR

In 1971 a Primary Seminar was held of only Papua New Guineans who discussed what they would like to see in the primary syllabus. There was a growing disenchantment with primary education as it seemed to result in a majority of pupils becoming divorced from the community in which they lived, and alienated from their own society, by their own choice. The seminar was a group of thinking Papua New Guineans concerned about the situation. The seminar was to recommend ways to obtain what was felt desirable for primary education. Amongst the resolutions were:

- RESOLUTION 4 : Teach children to respect the view of their parents and the village community.
- RESOLUTION 5 : Teach children to examine the values and beliefs of their own culture.
- RESOLUTION 14 : To teach children how to work towards a better society; that this can be done through selecting good things from the old and adding to them new ones which are suitable for our society in Papua New Guinea.
- RESOLUTION 16 : To teach the children how to reconstruct their cultural heritage through practising traditional dancing, folk songs, drama, art and craft and so forth.

The Director agreed to all of these with the one modification below:

Children should be made aware of the values and beliefs of their own culture but should not be expected to examine them critically. There is a need for people in Papua New Guinea to identify their own values. Teachers will be encouraged to promote discussion of their own society amongst themselves so that their own values and beliefs may be expressed in their school curriculum.

Principals of Teachers' Colleges will be requested to ensure that their Lecturers emphasise a programme of getting students to ascertain their own ideas of values and beliefs and to incorporate these into training programmes. Schools and Colleges should put into practice the expression of these values and beliefs through cultural activities such as dancing, drama, art and craft.

7.5.2.4. DR V. McNAMARA: ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF USING THE VERNACULAR ONLY IN SCHOOLS

Inherent in these resolutions, though not explicitly stated, was the subject of vernacular. This (vernacular) took on a new lease of life and people began to become interested. A paper prepared by Dr V. McNamara, the First Assistant Director of Education, was discussed at the ninth and tenth meetings of the National Education Board in September and October 1971. One section of the paper gave the following advantages and disadvantages of using the vernacular only in schools:

ADVANTAGES

1. Children coming to school for the first time are educated in an atmosphere that is made less foreign by a familiar language.
2. Skills learned at school may be more readily imparted to the local community.
3. More involvement by the local community in school affairs may be anticipated, since the community should know more about what the children are learning.
4. The cultural heritage of the local community is more likely to be preserved.
5. There could be a pay-off in creativity if children are encouraged to express themselves in their mother tongue.

DISADVANTAGES

1. The way to further formal education is closed since in High Schools and Technical Colleges the language of instruction is English, and to enter these institutions proficiency in English is demanded.
2. If there is a number of vernaculars there will need to be prepared a large number of different text-books. This will be extremely expensive.
3. Syllabuses will have to be written in vernacular languages.
4. Teachers will have to be found who can teach in vernaculars, or other teachers will have to be given special training in order to teach in the vernacular.
5. Difficulties might arise when teachers have to be replaced or transferred.
6. A community educated only in its vernacular might tend to feel isolated. Such an education might have a divisive effect on the nation.
7. Because of the lack of suitable text-books children will be denied access to a great deal of the accumulated knowledge and experience of the world.
8. Many vernacular languages are too simple in structure to be able to advance children intellectually as far as they could go if they used a more advanced language.

Then followed a section dealing with vernacular in the lower classes and English in the upper:

ADVANTAGES

1. The child is allowed to become adjusted to his environment gradually, in a language setting that is familiar to him.
2. Costs of text-books will not be unduly high since few will be required in the first years of schooling, and these could be produced locally.
3. A measure of literacy in the vernacular would have been encouraged.
4. Some children will be given the opportunity to proceed to higher education.
5. Better use may be made of teachers who can handle the vernacular but are suspect professionally when teaching in a second language such as English.

DISADVANTAGES

1. The task of teacher preparation will be made immensely more complicated.
2. Syllabuses for the lower primary school will need to be produced in a number of dialects. This will be a long and costly process.
3. There will need to be produced separate syllabuses for rural and urban schools since it will be unlikely that a common vernacular language will exist in towns.
4. Inspections of lower school teachers will have to be carried out by Inspectors familiar with the vernacular. Standards may lapse if the inspectorial system proves inadequate.
5. Problems are inevitable in the replacement and transfer of teachers.
6. There is a danger that teaching and learning in the vernacular may be allowed to continue in the upper primary classes, thus hindering the development of English.

Other sections dealt with in the paper included:

A trade language only;

A trade language in the lower classes, English in the upper;

A trade language in the lower classes, vernacular in the upper;

Vernacular in the lower classes, a trade language in the upper;

A trade language and vernaculars in the lower classes, English in the upper.

The National Education Board asked for the paper to be revised and condensed and then at its tenth meeting resolved that the revised and condensed paper was to be issued to interested community groups, District Education Boards, Local Government Councils, etc. to assist them to reconsider and crystalise their views.

7.5.2.5. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION PRIMARY CURRICULUM 1972

During 1972 the Education Department published *Developments and Changes - Primary Curriculum 1972*. The following sections were included:

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

This syllabus is to be taught in English. The teacher may use Pidgin, Motu or other native language to help the children understand.

Most children commencing Class I will know only their native language and the teacher should encourage them to speak in English. However the teacher must allow the children to express their ideas in their native tongue if they do not know enough English to do so. In some schools it may be possible to teach children to speak and write a native language if a speaker of that language is available.

NATIVE LANGUAGES

Where the Board of Management agrees, teachers who understand the native language well should teach these lessons. These activities can be combined with village visiting.

1. Invite a villager to come into the classroom to tell a story in the native language. Make a summary of the story on the blackboard.
2. Class can visit some village people to listen to their stories. Later, in the classroom, write down the main points of one of the stories.
3. Written composition in a native language.
4. Children write a letter in a native language to a relative telling what happened in school today. Post the letter.
5. Write and design a notice that announces a sporting event or other happening.
6. Practise songs in native language. Prepare a short play.
7. Listen to native language broadcasts on the radio.

A circular from the Education Department that elaborated on the changes and development in the primary curriculum added the following:

The term native language means any language used by Papua New Guineans and includes Pidgin and Motu. The reason for including native languages is not that they should be taught as subjects but rather that they should be included as part of the local culture. Experience has also shown that the vernacular can be a useful medium in helping to explain difficult ideas and concepts to children. Younger children especially appreciate story telling lessons in the vernacular where this is applicable.

7.5.2.6. 1973 AND LATER

7.5.2.6.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARK

The year 1973 saw much discussion. At lots of teachers' conferences, in-service group meetings and seminars the subject was debated. Most educated Papua New Guineans felt the practical problems were too great to introduce vernacular and that English would have to stay as the language of instruction and the main language in the primary school. The National Education Board considered at its 24th meeting in October 1973 the feasibility of introducing to all Teachers' Colleges in Papua New Guinea the subject of 'How to Teach Vernacular Literacy in Primary Schools'. The question as to whether it is feasible or not has still (at the time of writing) not been resolved.

7.5.2.6.2. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION 1973 FIVE YEAR PLAN

In November 1973 the Education Department published a Proposed Five Year Plan for Education in Papua New Guinea. This was published with a preface by the Minister for Education and was produced for discussion inside and outside the education system. It was explained that its status was that of a proposed plan and not an approved plan. Its chapter 6 on Language Policy has nine interesting points:

1. Since there are so many different languages it is not easy to decide what language policy should be followed.
2. For the conduct of national business it is essential that there be a common means of communication for newspapers, for radio and for Government. This language can be used by a person from one part of the country who wishes to communicate with a person in another part.
3. It is also essential that some citizens can represent Papua New Guinea in international circles and look after the business of Papua New Guinea on the world scene. Much enrichment and growth will come from international contact.
4. In practical terms it is not possible for Papua New Guinea to develop all vernaculars to a stage which would make them capable of expressing complicated technological concepts, nor would it be possible to publish books in more than a fraction of vernacular languages.
5. This plan makes the suggestion that the most useful policy is to make use of the history and tradition of language learning which exists among the people of Papua New Guinea.
6. The language of instruction in Papua New Guinean primary schools will be selected by the community which the school serves.
7. English will remain the language of secondary and higher education.

8. In selecting a language for their primary school, however, the community will need to think about two main factors:
 - (a) whether the teacher knows the language selected well enough to that he can teach it as a subject and so that he can teach other subjects in that language,
 - (b) whether there are teaching materials available for teachers and the pupils to use.
9. Vernacular languages, including Pidgin and Motu, may be taught as subjects in primary schools.

7.5.2.6.3. 1974 INSTRUCTION NO.81 ON IMPLEMENTING THE NEW LANGUAGE POLICY

Ministerial thinking at this stage was that there should be some flexibility in language teaching in primary schools. And so, early in 1974, the Director of Education issued his instruction No.81 on Implementing the New Language Policy. He wrote:

The Minister's new language policy for primary schools introduces a welcome degree of flexibility into primary school language curriculum. At the same time it points out that the freedom to change depends on such resources as the availability of teachers to teach in the vernacular, the availability of such professionally designed curricula and the availability of books printed in the language. Communities wishing to teach the vernacular or in the vernacular must also take account of the requirement that pupils should be fluent in English by Standard 6 if they are to be selected for further education. Because of these difficulties the Minister has limited changes in local primary school curriculum to those specifically approved by the Department.

This Director's instruction is meant to make the decision-makers in primary language policy (Boards of Management, subject to District Education Boards) aware of some of the possibilities and problems, so that they will be able to see the choices open to them in terms of what can realistically be attempted. Boards of Management which make proposals to modify the language of instruction in their schools in 1975 in the light of this Director's instruction, having considered all the possibilities and difficulties outlined below are much more likely to gain speedy approval for such changes as they propose.

A follow up to this instruction, early in 1974, addressed to District Superintendents, will advise them as to which kinds of proposals may be approved without further consideration, and which must be forwarded to the Assistant Director Primary before approval may be granted.

Boards of Management wishing to make changes in their language programme for the 1975 school year must submit their proposals to the District Superintendent no later than 30th. June 1974. Approvals which cannot be granted immediately by the District Superintendent will be considered by the Assistant Director Primary during July/August. Where approval for these proposals is granted, it will be notified to the District Superintendent no later than September 1st. This will give schools five months to prepare for the introduction of an approved language programme in 1975.

Set out below are some of the more obvious options open to Boards of Management. Boards of Management should work down the list of options starting with option 1, and consider whether they can meet all the requirements for the option. The requirements get progressively more difficult as we pass down the options from 1 to 6 and we should normally expect a school to try out for a year one of the earlier easier options before committing itself to one of the later harder options.

A Board of Management may choose all, none, or any combination of the options. Alternatively, it may put up its own proposal which will be given full consideration by the Department, and, if considered practical, will be approved.

OPTION	REQUIREMENTS
1. No change. Continue with the present curriculum.	1. Same requirements as in past years.
2. Use the vernacular as the language of instruction in Standards 1 and 2 only (English as a foreign language to be taught as a <u>subject</u> in these <u>grades</u>).	2. All children in these classes speak the vernacular fluently on commencing school. 3. An assured future supply of teachers who speak the vernacular fluently, sufficient for each class at Standard 1 and 2 level.
3. Teach literacy in the vernacular in Standards 1 and 2.	In addition to requirements 1, 2 and 3 above: 4. An adequate supply of suitable materials in the school designed for teaching reading in the vernacular. 5. A clearly worked out programme and methodology for teaching literacy in the vernacular. 6. A clearly worked out programme for the transition from literacy in the vernacular to literacy in English as a foreign language.
4. Teach the vernacular as a <u>subject</u> through the Primary school.	In addition to requirements 1 to 6 above: 7. Sufficient teachers to teach the vernacular as a subject throughout the school. Materials (including a curriculum) adequate to provide a worth-while programme of communication skills in the vernacular.

OPTION	REQUIREMENTS
<p>5. Use the vernacular as a language of instruction throughout the primary school.</p> <p>6. Teach fluency, literacy and communication skills in a <u>lingua franca</u> (Pidgin/Motu/Kate etc.) by grade 6 - that is, teach the <u>lingua franca</u> as a <u>subject</u> (as distinct from teaching in one of these languages as the vernacular - i.e. in a community where all of the children entering school are already fluent in the <u>lingua franca</u>).</p>	<p>In addition to requirements 1 to 6 above:</p> <p>8. Sufficient teachers and materials to offer this programme throughout the whole school (i.e. <u>all</u> teachers would have to be fluent in the vernacular).</p> <p>9. A teaching programme and overall primary school timetable to show how these objectives will be achieved, together with a programme of teaching English as a foreign language (in less time than at present) which will achieve also the objective of English fluency.</p> <p>1. An assured supply of teachers fluent in the lingua franca, in sufficient numbers to teach it as a subject throughout the school.</p> <p>2. A fully worked out curriculum leading from an oral programme (for fluency) followed by a programme to develop communication skills in the lingua franca - to include a timetable showing the relationship of time spent on the lingua franca to that spent on the vernacular, English and other subjects.</p> <p>3. Adequate materials to put the above curriculum into effect.</p>

Once a proposal by a Board of Management has been approved then the Board of Management will be committed to whatever expenses and staffing obligations it says it can meet in satisfying the requirements.

7.5.2.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This, then, is the current situation (at the time of writing in April 1974). Whether any community will have a Board of Management for a primary school brave enough to commit itself in this way remains to be seen. Quite a few church schools virtually do this now, but so far none in the government agency. Whether these will venture forth remains to be seen. There will be much professional and administrative work needed to ensure this policy can be implemented. Though flexibility is stated as desired, the document itself is rather restrictive and forbidding. But it is not impossible. Many thinking Papua New Guineans believe that a true Papua New Guinean identity can only be developed in Papua New Guinean languages. Time will tell how successful it is.

EDITOR'S NOTE: There have been recent policy decisions (in September 1976 - see 7.3.2.7. and Appendix to 7.3.2. in this volume) which even more strongly favour the use of English in education in Papua New Guinea. This constitutes a setback for the time being, for hopes of an eventual introduction of vernacular education on a sizeable scale in the schools of Papua New Guinea in general.

7.5.3. VERNACULAR EDUCATION, YAGARIA: A CASE STUDY

G.L. Renck

7.5.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Yagaria, a non-Austronesian, i.e. Papuan language, is spoken by over 20,000 people who live in the area east and north of Mt Michael, in the Lufa District, Eastern Highlands Province. All of the inhabitants of the Yagaria Census Division speak Yagaria, but one of the dialects of the language extends into the Labogai Census Division. In addition, there are 360 Yagaria-speakers in Yagusa village, Okapa District, surrounded by a Keiagana-speaking population.

Yagaria is closely related to Keiagana, Kanite, and Yate, and a little more distantly to Kamano, and belongs, together with these languages, to the Kamano-Yagaria-Keiagana Sub-Family of the East-Central Family, of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (see (I) 2.7.2.2.3.).

Yagaria consists of eight different dialects (and quite a number of sub-dialects) which are, however, all mutually intelligible. Because of the dialect situation, the speakers of Yagaria very seldom refer to their language as a unit, and until recently had no common name for it. The name 'Yagaria' originates from the people living in the areas adjoining to the north (Bena and Goroka), who call that area 'Yagaria', and consequently speak of the 'Yagaria people' and the 'Yagaria language'. The name 'Yagaria' for scientific classification was introduced by Wurm (1961).

Of the eight dialects, the Move (Kiseveloka) dialect, also known as the 'Filigano' dialect, was chosen for literacy purposes, for the following reasons: a) it carried a certain prestige already in the old times, b) it was the language of the people first to be contacted by Lutheran Mission workers, and thus by anyone from 'outside', and c) it also proved to be phonologically and morphologically the most regular

of the eight dialects. Anything said in the following about the structure of 'Yagaria' is therefore to be understood as referring to the Move dialect exclusively (Renck 1975).

7.5.3.2. STRUCTURE OF YAGARIA

7.5.3.2.1. PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of Yagaria (only the most important allophones are listed) are the following:

7.5.3.2.1.1. Consonants

- /p/ voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop
- /b/ with submembers:
 - [b] voiced bilabial stop occurring word initially
 - [ʔb] voiced bilabial preglottalised stop
- /t/ voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop
- /d/ with submembers:
 - [d] voiced alveolar stop occurring word-initially
 - [ʔd] voiced alveolar preglottalised stop
- /k/ voiceless velar unaspirated stop (occurs only word-medially)
- /g/ with submembers:
 - [k] voiceless velar unaspirated stop occurring only word-initially
 - [ŋ] voiced velar fricative occurring between [a] and [o]
 - [g] voiced velar stop
- /ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop
- /f/ voiceless labiodental fricative
- /v/ voiced labiodental fricative
- /h/ voiceless glottal fricative
- /s/ voiceless alveolar grooved fricative
- /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
- /n/ voiced alveolar nasal
- /l/ voiced velar lateral (This phoneme was previously described as a voiced heterorganic affricate, consisting of velar stop followed by alveolar lateral (Renck 1967))
- /y/ voiced alveopalatal continuant

In the practical alphabet, p, b, t, d, k, g, f, v, h, s, m, n, and y, have been used for the respective phonemes. The apostrophe ' has been used for the glottal stop, and l for the phoneme /l/.

7.5.3.2.1.2. Vowels

/i/ voiced high close unrounded front

/ε/ voiced mid open unrounded front

/u/ voiced high close rounded back

/o/ voiced mid close rounded back

/a/ voiced low open unrounded central

Besides the basic five vowels, there are four glides:

/εⁱ/ voiced mid open unrounded front gliding to high close unrounded front

/o^u/ voiced mid close rounded back gliding to high close rounded back

/a^ε/ voiced low open unrounded central gliding to mid open unrounded front

/a^o/ voiced low open unrounded central gliding to mid close rounded back

In the practical alphabet, i, u, o, and a are used for the respective phonemes, e is used for the phoneme /ε/. The glides are represented by ei for /εⁱ/, ou for /o^u/, and ae and ao for /a^ε/ and /a^o/.

7.5.3.2.1.3. Suprasegmentals

There is a combination of tone and stress in Yagaria, dominated by the stress factor, which causes the occurrence of completely reduced syllables with very short, sometimes hardly audible, vowels (Renck 1967). Quite a number of minimal word pairs can be found which are distinguished only by stress. Stress, therefore, has to be regarded as *emic* in Yagaria. It has, however, not been indicated in the practical orthography, since it would be beneficial for the non-indigenous reader only. For the indigenous unsophisticated reader, the indication of suprasegmentals has been found to be more confusing than helpful, since he will pronounce the words, especially within a given context, correctly even without stress being indicated.

7.5.3.2.2. MORPHOLOGY

7.5.3.2.2.1. Nouns

There are basically two sets or classes of nouns. Class I nouns occur in a long form carrying the suffix -na, and a short form in which the suffix is omitted and the syllable preceding it ends in a glottal stop. Morphemes indicating agentive, relation, location, time, and instrument, have a stop as their initial consonant and are suffixed to the short form of the noun.

Class II nouns have only one form which ends in an open syllable. The agentive etc. suffixes used with Class II nouns differ from those appearing with Class I nouns allomorphically in their initial consonant being a nasal, fricative, or lateral, instead of a stop.

There is a sub-class of nouns in Class II which behave somewhat like Class I nouns. (Most of them are nominalised verbs.) They all carry the suffix *-'na*, but also have a short form occurring without it and ending in a glottal stop. These short forms function generally as noun adjuncts. Agentive etc. suffixes are added to the form provided with the suffix *-'na* and appear in the allomorphic form in which they are added to Class II nouns.

There is a set of nine possessive morphemes which may be suffixed to nouns of both classes. With Class I nouns, they are suffixed to the short form.

A third class of nouns (neutral) has to be assumed for kinship terms. The majority of those have an obligatory suffixed possessive morpheme. Since they never occur without that suffix, they cannot be classified as belonging to either Class I or Class II. For reasons of simplicity, also kinship terms for which the suffixing is not obligatory, have been included in this class.

Four kinship terms have been found which have an obligatory possessive morpheme infixed for all of the nine grammatical persons, and carry an optional possessive suffix in addition.

A special group of nouns whose members belong to different classes, includes the names of all body parts and other things which essentially belong to a person, and also a number of kinship terms. Prefixed possessive morphemes are obligatory for these nouns, with a zero morpheme for the third person singular. Except for these prefixes, these nouns behave like any other noun of the class to which they belong, they even show optional suffixing of possessive morphemes.

7.5.3.2.2.2. Verbs

Yagaria has four basic classes of verbs which are distinguished by their stem vowels. In each class, two stem vowels occur which are always the same in their height of articulation, but are distinguished as front or back vowels:

Class I	u	-	ɪ
Class II	o	-	e
Class III	ou	-	ei
Class IV	ao	-	ae

Thus every verb has at least two stem allomorphs. There are irregular verbs with up to six stem allomorphs.

There are five indicative tenses in Yagaria: Present, Present Progressive (actions which are still going on, or actions which always or customarily take place), Past, Future I (which, besides the indicative mood, may express intention), and Future II. Imperative forms exist for the second persons singular, dual, and plural, and a separate imperative form which is used for first and third persons. There are three conditionals: real, potential, and irreal (or contrary-to-fact) for all tenses. Every verb may be nominalised and adjectivised, and every indicative verb form may be turned into a participle. There are durative forms expressing long-lasting actions, for all tenses.

Tense, subject, and mood are expressed by morphemes suffixed to the verb stem. The present progressive morphemes are prefixed to the verb stem which otherwise carries the normal present tense suffixes. Negation of an action is expressed by the morpheme a'- prefixed to the verb stem. Both present progressive and negation morphemes are infixes into the verb stem if that stem has more than one full length, i.e. unreduced syllable. The interrogative morpheme is the suffix -vie (~ -pie).

One feature of verb structure which occurs in Yagaria as it does in other Papuan languages, is sentence medial verb forms which may never occur sentence finally. These sentence medial verb forms are of two categories: if in subsequent actions described in the sentence, the subject remains the same, the verb form used is inflected with regard to the subject, and may be inflected with regard to an action being completed, or still in progress. If in the subsequent action the subject changes, the verb form is inflected with regard to both the preceding and the following subjects, and also with regard to tense. All sentence medial verb forms may be negated by a prefixed a'-.

Objects, if they are other than the third person singular, are indicated by object morphemes prefixed to the verb stem. Verbs carrying object prefixes may belong to any of the four classes, and are basically transitive. There are, however, some verbs which are semantically transitive, but never occur with prefixed object morphemes.

A large number of Yagaria verbs consist of a complex of two words: a non-inflected word which carries the meaning of the verb complex (such words may occur otherwise as nouns or adjectives, or may be words limited in their occurrence to those peculiar verb structures), and a fully inflected verb which in many cases loses its original meaning completely, and here becomes the mere carrier of the verbal functions of the complex, an 'auxiliary verb'.

7.5.3.2.2.3. Other Words

7.5.3.2.2.3.1. *Adjectives*

There are some primary adjectives, but most existing adjectives are derived from nouns and verbs. Used as attributive adjuncts, the adjectives always precede the noun. Adverbs are morphologically not distinguished from adjectives, but quite often are linked with the verb by a succeeding sentence medial form of the verb *hu-* 'to be, to say' which is the most common of the 'auxiliary' verbs mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

7.5.3.2.2.3.2. *Numerals*

There are only two basic number words, 'one' and 'two'. 'Five' is 'one of my hands', 'ten' is 'my two hands', 'fifteen' is 'my two hands and one of my feet'. The numbers in between are expressed by sums of fingers, toes, hands, and feet, with the help of the two basic number words. The number 'twenty' is 'my feet and hands are finished'.

7.5.3.2.2.3.3. *Personal Pronouns*

There are personal pronouns for all of the nine grammatical persons, three each in singular, dual, and plural. Each personal pronoun has, in addition to the full form with the ending -a, a short form without -a, with the last syllable ending in a glottal stop. This short form may function as a possessive pronoun, or it may take suffixes of the same kind as appear with Class I nouns. Nothing can be suffixed to the long form of the pronouns.

7.5.3.2.3. SYNTAX

The usual order in a clause is: Subject-Object-Predicate. In transitive clauses, the subject may be indicated by the suffixed agentive morpheme -ma' (Class I: -ba').

An unlimited number of clauses may constitute a sentence. There are, as in other Papuan languages, no principal and subordinate clauses in a sentence, but there are sentence medial and sentence final clauses in which the predicate is represented by sentence medial and sentence final verb forms respectively (see 7.5.3.2.2.2.). In a sentence, only the closing clause is a sentence final one, all preceding clauses assume the sentence medial form. It may happen, though very rarely, that a sentence medial clause is left without a succeeding final clause, but only if something ought to follow which is generally understood, and therefore does not have to be expressed.

Any clause can function as a subordinate clause (temporal, purposive, motivational, conditional) when the predicate is a sentence final verb form in which the indicative morpheme has been replaced by a morpheme denoting one of the functions listed above.

The negative morpheme a'- (see 7.5.3.2.2.2.), prefixed to a predicate, makes a clause negative. In order to negate a whole sentence, each individual clause has to be negated.

Questions, if not indicated by an interrogation word, are expressed by the interrogation morpheme -vie ~ -pie suffixed to a sentence final verb form without the indicative mood marker.

7.5.3.3. THE BEGINNING OF LANGUAGE AND LITERACY WORK IN THE YAGARIA AREA

7.5.3.3.1. THE BEGINNING OF MISSION WORK

From 1949 on, the first people from outside who entered the Yagaria area in order to stay, were Lutheran evangelists mainly from the Kainantu and Henganofi areas, most of them speakers of the Kamano/Kafe language. In order to converse with the people, those evangelists learned Yagaria, i.e. each of them learned the dialect of the people amongst whom he lived. As Yagaria shows much more complexity than Kamano, not all the evangelists succeeded in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the language. That was especially the case if the evangelist found somebody who could understand and speak Kamano, and act as interpreter at the place at which he worked. Some evangelists went even so far as to teach the people Kamano, since they looked upon Yagaria as only a very peculiar and distorted form of their own language. Some of the Kamano loanwords now found in Yagaria are said to have entered the language in those years.

In the course of their work, the evangelists had to translate Bible stories, but that was merely done orally, usually from the Kâte Bible Story book, or from a collection of Kamano Bible Stories. Illiterate evangelists translated from memory. As the work progressed, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and also the Words of Institution of Baptism and Holy Communion were translated, and some evangelists even ventured to write those translations down in order to have a fixed wording which the people could learn by heart. The writing down of those translations was certainly a great achievement. It was, however, not very advantageous to have as many versions of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the Yagaria area, as there were dialects, or even more, as in some instances evangelists working in the same dialect, but in different villages, produced separate translations (and separate versions) of

their own. Thus, for many years, Christians from different villages in the Yagaria area, when worshipping together, could never say the Lord's Prayer or the Creed together, for there simply was no common version of those.

7.5.3.3.2. EARLY SCHOOL WORK

In 1950 the first Lutheran Church schools (or Lutheran Mission schools, as they were then called) were established in the Yagaria area. The medium of instruction was at that time the Kâte language. The children enrolling in the schools, were taught Kâte orally (monolingually) by the teacher first, and usually acquired enough knowledge of that language within a few months that formal education could be started in it. Although in the Kâte schools, nothing was done with regard to Yagaria literacy, they did some ground work for the Yagaria language work which was carried out in subsequent years, since some of the former students of the Kâte schools later became excellent language informants, and Kâte, in a bilingual approach to a Highlands language, has been found much more suitable as a medium language, being Papuan in character itself, than for instance Pidgin.

7.5.3.3.3. EFFECTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATION'S SCHOOL AND LANGUAGE POLICY

When the use of *lingue franche* in school work was forbidden by the Australian administration towards the end of the 1950s, the Lutheran schools in the Yagaria area were also affected. The District Education Officer at Goroka had two alternatives for the teachers: English or the local vernacular (Pidgin was not even thought of by him as a possibility). The only other way out was to close the schools.

All teachers, even the ones who had never learned a word of English in their lives before, first tried to teach in English. It did not take long for everybody to realise the impossibility of that venture, and it was soon dropped. The question then arose as to what could be done next.

There was not much Pidgin material for schools available at that time which could have been utilised. Also, there was a certain aversion against Pidgin amongst most of the older mission workers, indigenous as well as expatriate. Yagaria had at that time not yet been analysed phonologically. Since something had to be done, however, the present writer, and some teachers and evangelists, ventured in 1961 to compile a Yagaria primer for use in the Lutheran schools. The system of spelling employed was partly that of Kâte, its special feature being

the use of the symbol *c* for the glottal stop. Word-initial [k], and the [ɕ] sound, had not been recognised yet as sub-members of the /g/ phoneme, and were therefore spelled with the symbols *k* and *r* respectively. The preglottalisation of word-medial *b* and *d* had not been detected yet as non-emic, and that caused the occurrence of many word-medial glottal stops in the writing. Lack of vowel interpretation, especially of VV sequences and glides, resulted in a lot of inconsistencies in the spelling.

The primer was illustrated, and duplicated in an edition of 500. It served for some years as the means by which Yagaria children learned the mechanics of reading and writing.

7.5.3.3.4. THE FIRST TRANSLATIONS

Early in the 1960s, an attempt was made to consolidate the until then only oral *ad hoc* translations of Bible Stories from the Kâte through writing them down. With the help of some Kâte-speaking Yagaria informants, most of those translations, first taperecorded and then written down, turned out to be good enough to require rather little revision afterwards. Kâte thus proved to be an excellent stepping-stone for translation work as well as for the learning of Yagaria by an expatriate.

In those years also, the above-mentioned translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Words of Institution of Baptism and Holy Communion were revised, and common versions agreed on. That was the starting point of the translation of the whole of Luther's Small Catechism for use in the congregations.

Orders of Service in Yagaria were also compiled at that time, most of those compilations being translations from the Kâte, or close adaptations of the existing Kâte formulas.

7.5.3.4. THE PRESENT SITUATION OF LANGUAGE AND LITERACY WORK IN YAGARIA

7.5.3.4.1. CONSOLIDATION OF THE SPELLING OF YAGARIA

In 1967, the spelling of Yagaria was consolidated by a phonological analysis of the language (Renck 1967). Although the phonemic statement was termed 'tentative' at the time, in subsequent years the practical orthography proved by its use to be quite adequate, therefore the system of spelling has remained unaltered since that time.

Unfortunately, the present writer was absent from the Yagaria language area for five years, which resulted in a setback to the language and literacy work.

7.5.3.4.2. REVISION OF TRANSLATIONS

In 1967, an effort was also made to revise and complete the translations mentioned in 7.5.3.3.4. The result was two booklets in duplicated form, one containing 92 Yagaria Bible Stories, the other one the Orders of Service and Luther's Small Catechism in Yagaria. The second booklet was put to use immediately by the pastors, whereas with regard to the Bible Stories, the majority of the congregational workers preferred to stick to the old practice of *ad hoc* oral translations from the Kâte, or from the Pidgin version which had been published in the meantime. It was found that quite a number of people who had become literate in Kâte (or, in the meantime, Pidgin), regarded it as too much of an effort to adapt their ability of reading and writing from one to another language. Even though that other language happened to be their mother tongue, the words appeared 'foreign' to them. Others, however, went to read the Yagaria texts right away, and the results were encouraging.

7.5.3.4.3. INTEGRATION OF YAGARIA INTO THE PIDGIN-MEDIUM SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the meantime, from the middle of the 1960s onwards, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea had inaugurated, besides the official Primary School system of the Administration where English was the medium of instruction, its own vernacular school system with Pidgin as the language of instruction. Through newly trained teachers, or re-trained old teachers, this programme was introduced also in the Yagaria area. More and more textbooks and teaching aids in Pidgin were produced and used.

The question was now how Yagaria could be integrated into that system, or, to put it differently, how the system could be utilised for Yagaria literacy. It was obviously a waste of effort, with all the teaching means available in Pidgin, to teach reading and writing in Yagaria from scratch to children who learned the mechanics of reading and writing in Pidgin anyway in school. It would also have been very unwise to withhold from the children any education in the lingua franca of the country, for the sake of making them literate in their mother tongue only and thereby limiting their area of contact to their immediate neighbourhood.

The main task, therefore, was to help those children who had become literate in Pidgin to overcome difficulties which they had in making the transition from reading and writing in Pidgin to reading and writing in their mother tongue. For that purpose, a Yagaria reader was produced and printed (Renck 1971). This reader is accompanied by a teaching

guide which had to be compiled in Pidgin, since some of the teachers who were not indigenous Yagaria-speakers themselves, would have had difficulties in using a teaching guide compiled exclusively in Yagaria. This reader has now been in use in the schools from 1971 on. It is usually towards the end of the second or at the beginning of the third school year, when the children have become fluent in reading Pidgin, that they, with the help of the Yagaria reader, take up reading and writing in their own mother tongue. The reader starts off with words and brief clauses, aided by illustrations, eventually switches over to sentences, and ends with stories. In the course of 40 lessons, a Yagaria-speaker who is literate in Pidgin, can thus easily be guided into literacy in his own language.

7.5.3.4.4. PROBLEMS OF DIALECTS IN YAGARIA

People who have become literate in another than their mother tongue, can be quite fascinated when they discover that their own language can also be written and read. This experience was certainly made with the new Yagaria reading and writing course. When the course was taught first in the schools, the students were found quite enthused about it. The enthusiasm alone, however, could not overcome certain problems which were encountered. Not very many students have had any real problem with the reading, but quite a few have with writing, especially those who are speakers of any other but the Move dialect, since when writing, they quite often fall back into their own dialect, and since for those dialects no phonological analysis has been carried out and therefore no fixed system of spelling exists, the results of such writing are sometimes quite unintelligible. The only solution to this problem is, since the speakers of the other dialects have no difficulties reading and understanding the Move dialect, that they also adjust their speaking and writing habits to that dialect.

7.5.3.4.5. THE QUESTION OF FURTHER TRANSLATION AND LITERATURE WORK

Selections of translated Scripture passages have not been published as yet. It remains to be seen how much popularity literacy in their own language will yet gain amongst the Yagaria people. Unless it does, there would not be much point to produce any more secular and/or religious literature in Yagaria. The Yagaria people would, of course, benefit greatly from having more literature in their own language available to them for reading because that language is the means of conversational contact in the everyday village life of the Yagaria people, even of those who understand and speak (and are literate in)

Pidgin. Unless the people can integrate the matters of changing life, changing society, and all the 'modern world' offers, into their daily life (and that means the ability to express those matters in terms of their own language), they will retain a kind of schizophrenic attitude towards life: village life, social bonds, old tales and customs, old religion, on the one side, and economic and political progress, modern means of life, even Christianity, on the other. Misconceptions could be avoided if the process of conceptualisation could be aided by literacy in two languages, the lingua franca as well as their own.

7.5.3.4.6. ADULT LITERACY

Adult literacy has just recently been started on a very modest scale. Pidgin textbooks and teaching aids have been employed to teach adult people (mainly women show special interest in literacy at this time) the mechanics of reading and writing, even though some of those people know only a limited amount of Pidgin. Pidgin with its relatively short words, and often re-occurring syllable patterns makes literacy easy even for those people. The transition to their own language which alone could provide those people with meaningful reading, has not yet been carried far enough to say anything at the time of writing about its possible results.

7.5.3. VERNACULAR EDUCATION, YAGARIA: A CASE STUDY

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7.5.4. VERNACULAR EDUCATION, A CASE STUDY: IRIAN JAYA

Joan Rule

As with the Australian Administration in Papua New Guinea, so also on the western side of the island neither the Netherlands nor more latterly the Indonesian Administration has made it a matter of policy to attempt the provision of vernacular education in the schools. In the *Handbook on Netherlands New Guinea* published in 1958, the 'Annual Report of the Governing Body to the United Nations' summarises the Netherlands Government's viewpoint:

the almost complete absence of sizable areas in which one and the same language is spoken renders it hard to apply the accepted rule that the vernacular be used in elementary education Merely for the sake of convenience has the Government at some time in the past decided ... to employ the Malayan language ... as a language for general intercourse in schools In the more advanced grades of all schools other than village schools [writer's note: after Grade 3] the Dutch language is used as the language of instruction. (New Guinea Institute 1958:50-1)

The first school in Irian Jaya was actually a Mission school, established by Protestant missionaries on the north coast in 1857 shortly after their arrival, but although it was not till 1898 that 'the Indies budget included a sum ... for the establishment of two permanent posts in New Guinea' (i.e. the then Dutch New Guinea) (Souter 1963:129), and some time afterwards that the Administration ventured into education, both the Protestant Missions on the north coast and the Catholic Missions on the south coast had been conducting their schools using Malay-speaking teachers and with Malay as the medium of instruction. The Netherlands Administration instituted a system whereby Mission schools could receive a subsidy and be regularly inspected or be unsubsidised and not subject to inspection. The subsidised village schools were of three categories, A: four years, B: 3 years, and C: two years, but in

all of these, Malay was used as the medium of instruction. The number of children in these subsidised schools is given in the afore-mentioned Handbook as 25,365 in 1957, while the total number of school children (subsidised and unsubsidised) is given as 50,000. That is, almost an equal number of children were in unsubsidised schools. The Handbook comments:

In the more primitive districts where the first contacts with the population have been made only recently, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions maintain unsubsidized small schools ... here religion, flute playing and some very elementary subjects are taught. (New Guinea Institute 1958:48)

However, besides the religion and the flute playing, reading and writing in their own language were among the subjects taught to children in a number of those newly opened areas. When the Indonesian Government took over in 1963, Government schools were maintained and subsidies were still extended to Mission schools. All teachers were to be Indonesian, as had been the Dutch policy with Malay and Dutch, and the medium of instruction was to be Indonesian. Unsubsidised schools have been gradually phased out. Even in newly entered areas, such as the ranges east of Mt Juliana, where the people are still in the first phase of contact, the writer witnessed the first semblance of a regular school being set up by personnel of the Unevangelised Fields Mission (in response to requests from the people) with Indonesian-speaking Irianese who were teaching in Indonesian.

There has been no veto at all by the Government, however, on the holding of vernacular literacy classes among adults and young adults, and in the Highlands, these have been widespread and successful (see chapter 7.2.5. in this volume, entitled 'Vernacular Literacy in Irian Jaya'). The Government has also not opposed in any way the establishment of Bible Institutes among the Christian adults, and these have provided vernacular education for many of the Christian leaders in the Highlands communities. Bible Institutes teach not only the Bible but also the social sciences, written expression, mathematics, Indonesian, health and hygiene and whatever subjects are considered valuable in providing a good background for the future ministers and pastors of the church. The Dani Bible Institute at Mulia, established in 1964, now has on the staff as well as three Americans, three Dani lecturers, who all received their original education and training at the Institute. So that, vernacular education, while limited in its scope and extent, does exist among the adult tribal groups even though in the schools the education is through the medium of the metropolitan language.

7.5.4. VERNACULAR EDUCATION, A CASE STUDY: IRIAN JAYA

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PART 7.6.

INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH

7.6.1. INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH:

GERMAN AND JAPANESE

D.C. Laycock

7.6.1.1. GERMAN

The history of the German language in a wider area than just Papua New Guinea has been reviewed by Laycock (1971). The German administration of the former Territory of New Guinea - then Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck-Archipel - lasted just 30 years (1884-1914), although missionaries of German origin stayed on in the area, and continued to exert a linguistic influence, albeit a steadily declining one, until the present day. Nevertheless, German influence on indigenous languages was slight enough to almost escape notice. One reason for this is the shifting attitudes of the German administration on language policy; a brief attempt was made in the old mainland capital of Alexishafen to introduce Bazaar Malay as a lingua franca, but this rapidly yielded to New Guinea Pidgin, which was spread round the region of administration by employees - domestics, police, and ships' crews - who had acquired this language in Rabaul, or even in other parts of the Pacific. Some schools - mainly mission schools - attempted to teach in German, but they rarely achieved more than the *Kauderwelsch* reported by Neuhauss (1911); the continuing presence of these missionaries in New Guinea resulted in some speakers attaining fair fluency in German (McCarthy 1970:71) - but such speakers were the exception, and their very fluency prevented any noticeable impact of German on the vernacular languages.

The Lutheran missionaries in the Madang area adopted a different approach, and promoted two indigenous languages - Yabêm and Kâte - as lingue franche for the area; brief attempts were also made to use other local languages such as Amele, Nobonob, Bongu, and Gedaged. Kâte and

Yabêm, especially, show a number of German loanwords, especially in areas of schooling, technology, and introduced foodstuffs - e.g. Yabêm katope, Kâte katofen 'potatoes' (Kartoffeln); Kâte hama 'hammer', sege 'saw', lambe 'lamp', tafe 'blackboard, slate' (Hammer, Säge, Lampe, Tafel); but even these languages often used their own derivational resources for the new concepts - e.g. Kâte zoctepe 'gun' ('fire-bow'), sawawoke 'aeroplane' ('air-canoë'), becâsic 'horse' ('pig-carry'). From these missionary lingue franche, many of the German loans are reported to have entered other languages of the Lutheran mission area, but no examples are to hand.

The case of Pidgin is similar. The existence of a widespread lingua franca appears to act as a buffer against the direct assimilation into local languages of words from the language of the colonists, and the only German words which have entered local languages seem to be those such as bensin 'petrol' which were already widespread in Pidgin. (Data on this point are however sparse, as the few dictionaries which have been produced on languages which might be relevant - e.g. Lanyon-Orgill's dictionary (1960) of Kuanua, or Mager's dictionary (1952) of Gedaged - rarely include identified loanwords.)

German influence on Pidgin is of course undisputed; about 80 words, or about 5% of total entries, included in Mihalic's dictionary (1957) of Pidgin, are of German origin. The percentage is much higher in older dictionaries of Pidgin such as that of Schebesta and Meiser (1945), but there is a continuing tendency in Pidgin for words of German origin to be replaced by their English equivalents - a tendency which however is unlikely to affect words such as kakao 'cocoa', meta 'measure', rausim 'expel', and tabak 'tobacco', which are an integral part of the present Pidgin vocabulary (German Kakao, Meter, heraus, Tabak). The continued use of German in the Lutheran mission area is seen in the recent production of an English-Pidgin-German dictionary (Steinbauer 1969).

A difficulty in identifying German loans in both indigenous languages and in Pidgin is that of distinguishing them from English loans; Pidgin words like man 'man' and ais 'ice' could come from either source. The Buin language of South Bougainville, shows, besides the undisputed German loan arapaita 'work' (Arbeit), two loans in this category: amarin 'arm-ring' and uaita 'white man'. As both these loans occur in songs which date back at least 50 years, when a knowledge of English cannot have been widespread in Bougainville, I take these loans to reflect German Armring and Weisser.

7.6.1.2. JAPANESE

As the Japanese occupation of parts of the New Guinea area lasted only a few years (mainly Buka, Bougainville, and New Britain 1942-1945), and took place under wartime conditions, during which many of the local population removed themselves from direct contact, it is to be expected that the impact of Japanese on local languages would be slight. This is certainly the case; yet there is no doubt that many Niuginians acquired, in a remarkably short time, some knowledge of Japanese, or pidgin Japanese - even though the main language of communication between the two groups was Pidgin. I met in the Sepik in 1959 several men who had been to temporary schools conducted by the Japanese, and who could count in Japanese and carry on a simple conversation in that language. Persons with similar competence must also exist in the New Britain area, though I have no direct evidence.

The type of cultural and linguistic contact exerted by the Japanese in Buka and Bougainville is described thus by Oliver (1973):

At the beginning of the occupation the Japanese forces adopted friendly, even fraternal, attitudes toward the Bougainvillians, presenting themselves as their deliverers from European oppression and as ethnic cousins and partners in the glorious new Co-prosperity Sphere. On Buka where contact was earliest and closest, schools were set up to teach Japanese language, customs and songs. Indigenous officials were presented with Japanese titles and impressive new insignia, and were frequently consulted Also, on Buka at least, the Japanese deliberately sought to win over the affections of the population at large by a show of friendly egalitarianism. Visitors were hospitably welcomed at the military camps, and friendship between soldiers and indigenes was encouraged.

In Buin (Bougainville), as a consequence of this policy, I recorded in 1966 two songs sung in Japanese - or rather, a Buin phonetic interpretation of Japanese, since none of the singers knew what the words meant. These songs run:

I. miotokaino toraakete
tokutiti takoto kagaiakepa
tentina tentina aturatoto
ipoua oturupoi atima
oo teino no ata guumoni
topiuru utino togorakotoo
inoi muketui uroginaki pagani ponno
kookooriinaare

II. momotaro tan, momotaro tan
 okotini tuketa kipirangu
 ititu uatatini kurataino
 iarimatoo, iarimatoo
 korekare unioi teipatuni
 tunke okunara iarimatoo

I have not identified the Japanese original of the first song, but the second is the well-known Momotaro-san ('Little Peach-Boy' - perhaps learnt in school rather than from soldiers?); a comparison with the first two verses of the Japanese original will show the retentiveness of the Buin singers' memory, even after 20-odd years:

1. Momotaroo san, Momotaroo san
 okosini tuketa kibidango
 hitotu watasini kudasai na
2. yarimasyoo, yarimasyoo
 kore kara oni no seibatu ni
 tuite yuku nara yarimasyoo

A comparison of Japanese and Buin phonology demonstrates that Buin is well adapted to assimilating Japanese words:

Japanese: a e i o u p t k g m n ŋ r w y b d h s z
 Buin: a e i o u p t k g m n ŋ r [u] [i] - - - -

In Buin, as in Japanese, long vowel sequences are permitted, /t/ is affricated (but as [ts] rather than [tʃ]) before /i/, and sometimes before /u/), and the syllabic nasal (symbolised in Buin as /ŋ/, on the basis of its intervocalic occurrence) functions in exactly the same way. Any of the 'Japanese' words in the songs quoted could easily be Buin words.

I have found in ordinary spoken Buin only one Japanese word, *tomotati* 'friend' (*tomodati* - a significant loan), but there may be others in areas where the Japanese influence was greater than in the village where I collected my data.

7.6.1. INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH: GERMAN AND JAPANESE

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7.6.2. INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH: DUTCH

C.L. Voorhoeve

As an intrusive language Dutch was beginning to play a role of some importance only during the last decade of Dutch colonial rule in West New Guinea (1952-62). In the educational system Dutch was taught on all levels except on the lowest, i.e. in the village schools, in which the sole language of instruction was Malay. Fluency in Dutch however was attained only by those who had completed a higher level of education - high school, or a higher vocational training such as a technical, agricultural, or administrative college. In general the results of the teaching of Dutch were poor and the majority of those who had been taught it had only a passive knowledge of it. A lively issue in those last years was the question whether Dutch would become the sole medium of communication in West New Guinea, and therefore would replace Malay even on the village school level. The Roman Catholic Mission was strongly in favour of it; the Government and the Protestant Missions were sceptical towards the idea and wanted to create a Dutch-speaking elite first before changing to mass education in Dutch. The issue died a sudden death when Dutch New Guinea became part of the Republik Indonesia and Bahasa Indonesia became the sole medium of instruction.

Although at present Dutch is still spoken by quite a few of the old-time West New Guinea elite, it is now on its way out and can be expected to disappear altogether in the near future.

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7.6.3. INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH: CHINESE

David Y.H. Wu

7.6.3.1. THE MIGRATION OF CHINESE TO NEW GUINEA AND ITS SETTLEMENT HISTORY

Before the beginning of a large-scale immigration of Chinese to New Guinea at the end of last century, a small number of Chinese had already been active in the Bismarck Archipelago and the Sepik valley of the New Guinea mainland. How these Chinese arrived in New Guinea is not known; some of them might have accompanied Malay bird-of-paradise hunters and so visited the Sepik River valley long before the Germans claimed New Guinea in 1884. In any case, Chinese traders had apparently established contact with the islands off Aitape before the German New Guinea Company was established there. At the end of last century one man had established a shipyard as well as other business interests on Matupi Island off New Britain. There were also a few dozen pioneers active in the New Guinea coastal areas and among islanders of the Bismarck Archipelago, purchasing copra and trading with natives. By about 1900 several had built up contact with the inland Sepik villages where they introduced trade goods and new things to the indigenes: steel, several kinds of fruit and vegetables, rice, firearms, and 'Chinese Pidgin'. These traders apparently encouraged the indigenes to leave their home villages to work for the Europeans and they also promoted coconut production by the islanders. The early Chinese pioneers seem to have come from South-East Asia, especially Singapore, whence also the later influx of Chinese migrants to New Guinea came.¹

The arrival of a large number of Chinese in New Guinea at the end of the last century was closely related to economic development there under the German colonial administration. The arrival of the first wave of Chinese was associated with the indentured labour system introduced by

the German colonists. During the period from 1889 to 1901 - when the German New Guinea Company on Kaiser Wilhelmsland (now the New Guinea mainland) was experimenting with coconut and tobacco plantations - hundreds of indentured Chinese labourers were brought in each year, first from Singapore and Sumatra, and later from Hong Kong and China, to work as plantation labourers in the present-day Madang and Finschhafen areas. Most labourers who survived the contracted period were repatriated, and less than 100 Chinese remained on the mainland in 1909.

A second wave of Chinese migration to New Guinea started at the turn of this century centred on New Britain, the administrative centre of the German South Sea colony. A large scale immigration of free Chinese tradesmen was initiated and promoted by the German colonial administration in New Guinea. These immigrants became the ancestors of the present Chinese population in Papua New Guinea. In 1903 a small number of Chinese were first recruited in Singapore. More came in succeeding years, and they were later joined in New Guinea by their brothers and cousins from villages in China. By 1907 a Chinatown had been built in Rabaul, while on the eve of the first World War in 1914, around 1,400 Chinese had settled in New Guinea, among them about 1,000 living in and around Rabaul.

Chinese immigration to New Guinea came to a halt following the take-over of New Guinea by the Australians. Despite all kinds of restrictions placed on them during the Australian Mandate, not only did the Chinese become indispensable in the Territory as artisans but also they built up the trade store business.

It was not until 1958, when the Chinese were granted the right to apply for Australian citizenship, that they were allowed to migrate to Papua. The ensuing 10-15 years saw the migration of Chinese from New Britain and New Ireland to Port Moresby and to the New Guinea Highlands and other ports to set up commercial enterprises. Owing to environmental as well as cultural factors the Chinese population in Papua New Guinea has changed from an artisan-dominated population to one that is characterised by the domination of traders and storekeepers.

The 1971 census listed 2,760 Chinese in Papua New Guinea; among them the majority lived in urban centres as follows:

Port Moresby	618
Lae	408
Rabaul	889
Wewak	100
Madang	129
Mount Hagen	46
Goroka	36
Kieta-Arawa-Panguna	55
<hr/> Total in towns	<hr/> 2,281

There were an additional 500 to 600 Chinese of mixed descent, born of a Chinese parent and an indigenous or a European parent.

7.6.3.2. DIVERSIFICATION OF CHINESE LANGUAGES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The Papua New Guinea Chinese came originally from the Kwangtung province in China. When I was conducting my anthropological fieldwork, the 'Tsu-Chi' or ancestral home town of the Chinese in Rabaul and Kavieng had been surveyed in 1971.² Among the 787 Chinese I surveyed 70.1% were See Yap Cantonese who came mainly from the first two districts of the four districts - K'aiping, T'aishan, Enping, and Shinhui. Other Cantonese who came from Wu Wan, or the five districts surrounding the Kwangchou city - Sanshui, Nanhai, Panyu, Shunteh and Tungwan, as well as those who came from Hainan Island formed 12.8% of the sampled population. The Hakka people who predominantly came from the Huiyang district accounted for 11.9% of the surveyed population. The other 5.2% were mainly recent arrivals from Hong Kong, Singapore, and elsewhere.

Four dialects therefore may be distinguished among the Chinese in Papua New Guinea, namely:

1. The See Yap Cantonese dialect - spoken by the See Yap people.
2. The Standard or Capital (Kwangchou) Cantonese dialect - spoken by the Wu Wan people.
3. The Hainan dialect - spoken by the Hainan Islanders.
4. The Hakka dialect - spoken by the Huiyang Hakka people.

Cantonese, Hainanese, and Hakka can be considered different languages as they cannot be mutually understood by their respective speakers. However, differences between See Yap Cantonese and Standard Cantonese pose a problem as to whether they are dialectical variations or language differences, for again it is sometimes found that the speaker of one of these has difficulty in communicating with a speaker of the other. Although both languages have basically the same grammatical

structure, as have the other Chinese dialects, the differences between them are phonological as well as lexical.

In Papua New Guinea today, regardless of their mother tongue, the Chinese speak either the See Yap dialect or Standard Cantonese, or both. All the Hakka and Hainanese speakers have been converted to the 'Cantonese language'. The See Yap dialect is the most popular because the See Yap people dominate in number, though Standard Cantonese has become the lingua franca within the Chinese community since it was used as a teaching medium in the Chinese schools before World War II and immediately after. Because of this, most of the middle-aged Chinese today can speak Standard Cantonese. Furthermore, it is necessary to speak it when they discuss business with the international businessmen who come from Hong Kong and Singapore, or when the Papua New Guinea Chinese visit Hong Kong for vacations. However the post-war generation, those below the age of 30, did not have the chance of learning Standard Cantonese in schools, and they therefore cannot speak it well.

Geographical isolation as well as the lack of contact with China are factors which have affected the Cantonese spoken by the Chinese in Papua New Guinea. This change or diversification of the Chinese language has been further reinforced by the fact that Chinese have had to speak Melanesian Pidgin with other people, and the Chinese children have received their education in English. Modifications in their spoken Cantonese, which sound most peculiar to a Cantonese-speaker in China, have occurred. The first modification is characterised by the use of borrowed words from Pidgin and English, especially among those young adults whose Chinese vocabulary is limited. The Pidgin words most frequently heard in a conversation between Chinese are *sank* ('*thank*'), *orai* ('*all right*'), *no gat* ('*no*'), *no gud* ('*bad, useless*'), *tru* ('*indeed*'), *pinis* ('*finished, accomplished*'), *na ting* ('*worthless*'), *dola* ('*dollar*'), *shiling* ('*shilling*'), *maski* ('*who cares*'), etc.

The second modification is a change in the meanings of Cantonese words. The following are examples in Standard Cantonese:

Lexicon	Original Meaning	Meaning in PNG Usage
/fo tson/	'warehouse'	'shops, stores'
/haŋ kai/	'going downtown, or window shopping'	'travel, vacation and holiday trips'
/si hau/	'time'	'political situation'

The third modification is the introduction of a mixture of some See Yap words in spoken Standard Cantonese. For instance: some people use *ei* for *pei* ('*to give*'); some say *t'ing* instead of *dang* ('*to wait*'); and *fong* for *hong* ('*red*').

The fourth modification is that the Chinese no longer use the language of courtesy, such as honorifics. Most of the Chinese appeared to be very rude to a well-educated Chinese from Hong Kong or Singapore, because they could not understand words of respect. I was told that the following conversation between a visiting Chinese and a Papua New Guinea Chinese had occurred:

- (Visitor) Q: 'May I have your honorable surname?' (Nie kwai siŋ?).
 A: 'Honorable is not my surname; my surname is so and so...' (ŋo mhai siŋ 'kwai' ga!).
 (Visitor) Q: 'Is your respectable elder (father) home?' (liŋ tsun hai ʔoʔ kei ma?).
 A: 'We don't have a respectable elder in our house (i.e. we don't have a father)'. (ŋo-te ʔoʔ kei mo liŋ tsun ga!)

One young Papua New Guinea Chinese who had returned from a trip to Hong Kong was said to have commented on the Hong Kong Chinese that 'they don't know how to speak proper Chinese', as the Hong Kong people said things to him he could not understand. After all, the Papua New Guinea Chinese themselves have gradually discovered these modifications, hence they self-consciously call their own Cantonese 'the New Guinea Chinese', and admit that 'We speak funny kind of Chinese'.

7.6.3.3. THE CHINESE LANGUAGE INFLUENCED BY ENGLISH, PIDGIN, AND INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

In Papua New Guinea every Chinese child learns to speak at least three languages at the same time; one or the other of the Chinese dialects, Pidgin, and English. Many children in fact master Pidgin first before they can speak either Chinese or English. This is mainly because many of the Chinese are engaged in trade store business and the adults, especially women, have more opportunity to speak Pidgin with their customers in their daily life. It is also because the Chinese hire indigenous girls or men as nurse-maids or housekeepers and they usually look after young children. Pidgin in many cases is most frequently spoken by Chinese children below school age. I have heard Chinese parents speak Pidgin with their children, and also parents speak Chinese to a child who replies in Pidgin.

When Chinese children begin to learn English at school they show strong evidence of being influenced by Pidgin. The amount of influence was more noticeable during the pre-war period, when Chinese school children spent only half their time learning English, and the other half

learning Chinese. The following composition entitled 'A Motor Car', written by a Chinese school boy, is an example:

The motor car it got four wheels. In front it got the steer inside he very nice. I speak to Mumma and Papa. 'Mumma and Papa I drive you to Kokopo'. I drive him fast up the hill the tyre he break. I say, 'Mumma and Papa I sorry wait I chonk on new tyre'. (Frederick 1930).

Owing to long-term contact and necessity imposed by business dealings many Chinese can also speak a little of the indigenous language of their locality. Chinese storekeepers, many of them women, can at least say numerical words in the indigenous language. This is especially so in the Rabaul area where the Chinese speak some Tolai, and on New Ireland where the Chinese speak some of the local languages. Mixed marriages between Chinese and indigenes also account for the fact that the children of these marriages speak both a Chinese dialect and an indigenous language. What interested me most was the phenomenon that several mixed-descent Chinese spoke better Standard Cantonese than many of the 'pure' Chinese born in Papua New Guinea. I discovered that many of the mixed-blood Chinese were sent back to China to receive their education and thus have been given the opportunity to master perfect Standard Cantonese.

7.6.3.4. CHINESE LANGUAGE INFLUENCE ON THE LOCAL SCENE

Although 'Chinese Pidgin' has been known in New Guinea since the 1880s, the influence of the Chinese language itself on the local language is limited. Interviews with old Chinese immigrants who arrived in New Guinea at the turn of this century revealed that many pioneers were assigned by the Germans to teach the newly recruited New Guinean plantation labourers to speak 'Pidgin'. It is assumed that the Pidgin initially taught by the Chinese was 'Chinese Pidgin' which, according to those interviewed, the Germans were unable to master. Many Chinese words have been adopted by speakers of indigenous languages or regional Pidgin, over and above those words picked up by indigenous employees of the Chinese who work in their homes or trade stores. One day in a Rabaul street I was surprised to hear an indigenous newspaper pedlar asking me in Standard Cantonese: 'Mr, do you want a newspaper?' (Sin san, mai po-chi ma?).

The most frequently heard Chinese words are names of vegetables on sale at the Rabaul market. The indigenous people, in Rabaul predominantly Tolai, either use the Chinese names to refer to them, or have adopted Chinese names in Pidgin. The following is a list of these vegetables whose Chinese or Pidgin names are known to the local people in New Britain and New Ireland:³

Chinese Names	Pidgin Names	English Names
Choi Sum	Toi Tum	'Chinese cabbage'
Kai Choi	Kai Toi	'Chinese mustard'
Kai Lum	Kai Lun	'Chinese broccoli'
Lau Pak	Lau Pak	'Turnip'
Ong Choi	Kangkung (Kango)	'Chinese watercress'
Pak Choi	Pak Toi	'Chinese cabbage'
Sung Choi	Sala, Lesis	'Lettuce'
... Tao	Tao	'Beans of several kinds'
See Kua	Sika	'A kind of squash'
Tung Kua	Tung Ka	'"Winter" melon'
Wu Tau	Taro bilong Saina	'Taro'
Yin Sai	Min Tai	'Chinese celery'

I found that many Tolai, although they grow Chinese vegetables and sell them in the market, do not know how to keep seeds. They have to go to certain Chinese stores in Rabaul to buy seeds, which are imported from Hong Kong. Seeds are referred to in Pidgin as *pikinini bilong sayu* or *pur pur* (Pidgin as well as Tolai). The Tolai vegetable-growers are familiar with the Chinese names, and when they purchase seeds in Chinese stores they ask for specific seeds; for instance, they may ask for *pikinini bilong lau pak* = 'turnip seeds'. These Chinese vegetable names have been incorporated into the Tolai as well as Pidgin languages.

D.Y.H. WU

N O T E S

1. In this chapter I provide only a summary of the history of Chinese migration to New Guinea. A detailed discussion of this subject can be found in an article of mine (1970) and in my dissertation (1974).
2. The fieldwork was sponsored by the Australian National University and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
3. I am grateful to Mr Francis P. Cheung for his assistance in collecting these names of vegetables of Chinese origin.

7.6.3. INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH: CHINESE

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PART 7.7.

TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION

7.7.1. TRANSLATION PROBLEMS

E.W. Deibler, Jr and A.J. Taylor

7.7.1.1. INTRODUCTION

A general coverage is given here of the problems of translating into the languages of Papua New Guinea.¹ These problems are divided into two broad categories, grammatical and semantic.

The first translations were of religious literature, especially parts of the Bible, and material for schools. Over the years a wide range of material in such fields as religion, education, health, agriculture, and politics has been translated. Most of the translation has been done from English, with some done from other European languages. Not many Bible translators, however, have worked directly from Greek or Hebrew. While much of the translation, especially in recent years, has been into Pidgin, with some in Hiri Motu, work has also been done in something over 170 vernaculars and the number is increasing.

Most of the illustrations given are drawn from Bible translation. This is the field best known to the present writers, and they have been able to draw on the extensive records which have been compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics of specific problems encountered by Bible translators.² Also, Biblical literature contains a wide range of discourse types, and its translation requires the use of nearly all of the resources of a language.³

It should be noted that in the writers' view a good translation is one which conveys as clearly and accurately as possible, using the natural forms of the receptor language, the meaning of the original message. It is the problems involved in this kind of translation that will be discussed.

7.7.1.2. PROBLEMS RELATED TO GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

7.7.1.2.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

There are a number of problems of translating into Papua New Guinea languages that can be subsumed under the general category of 'grammatical'. That is, they arise because of the incompatibility of the structures of Papua New Guinea languages and English or other Indo-European languages. These problems will be discussed one by one, making reference in each instance to that feature common to many Papua New Guinea languages to which the problem can be traced.

7.7.1.2.2. RARITY OF VERBAL NOUNS

One of the first problems that strikes translators in most languages in the area is the rarity of verbal nouns. Concepts which are semantically events must be rendered as verbs, not nouns. A patrol officer asked a linguistic team to translate the Eight-Point Improvement Plan for Papua New Guinea (Papua New Guinea: Central Planning Office 1973). One of the points reads, 'Decentralization of economic activity, planning and government spending, with emphasis on agricultural development, village industry, better internal trade, and more spending channeled through local and area bodies.' Such sentences are nightmares for translators in the area. Words such as 'decentralisation', 'activity', 'planning', 'spending', 'emphasis', 'development', and 'trade' would have to be rendered by verbs in most languages. This of course requires that grammatical subjects and sometimes objects be added. If the concepts exist in the culture, this is not difficult; but when the concepts themselves (such as industry) are foreign to the culture, the translation problem is compounded. A translatable version of the above point taken from the Improvement Plan might be: 'The government wants to decrease the work it does for businesses and what it plans and the money it spends in Port Moresby, and wants to increase what people and groups in local areas do to help farmers and small businesses whose owners live in villages, and help people in this country buy and sell things made in this country, and to help local groups spend the government's money.' It might be noted that this version expands the original from 27 to 69 words.

Even scripts prepared in rather simple English, perhaps with a view to translation in local vernaculars, often contain scores of verbal nouns that require changing to verbs in the actual translation process. Here are some samples from *Matias Talks About Government* (Hoffman 1969) which has been translated into a number of vernaculars. The literal English equivalents of the translation in Gahuku follows the English in these examples:

hum of an engine = the thing that hummed put its sound
 the long wait = that he kept waiting a long time
 happy meeting = they met and were happy
 decisions = we will say-cut (decide)
 keep a diary of appointments = you will burn a carving about
 people saying, 'we want to see the Administrator man'
 many requests = the people are continually requesting

Here are a few samples of how verbal nouns have had to be rendered in various languages in translating scripture:⁴

'So faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the preaching of Christ' (Romans 10:17) = 'They will preach the talk about Christ, then some will listen and believe' (Muyuw)

'grace and truth' (John 1:14) = 'He gave free big help and true talk' (Fasu)

'For the grace of God has appeared for the salvation of all men' (Titus 2:11) = 'God saying like this, "I desire to save without reward all people", sent Christ' (Wahgi)

'saw their faith' (Mark 2:5) = 'knew then that they believed in him' (Halia)

'grace be with you' (2 Timothy 4:22) = 'I want God to help all of you freely' (Iatmul)

It should be noted that whereas in the highlands it is often impossible to render verbal nouns literally, it is possible to do so in the Austronesian type languages. But here again it has been found that changing them to verbs in translation greatly increases the intelligibility of the translation.

One of the concomitant difficulties arising from the necessity to render verbal nouns as verbs in Papua New Guinea is that a decision must be made as to how the resultant clause relates to the context; i.e. exactly what logical or temporal relationship to use as a connector. Often the translator succeeds in removing the noun and substituting a verb, only to use the wrong conjunction to relate the clause to the rest of the sentence.

7.7.1.2.3. LACK OF PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Another grammatical difficulty related to verbs is the lack of passive construction in the great majority of Papua New Guinea languages. This demands that in translation an active construction replace each passive, with appropriate subjects supplied. In some cases it is possible to

give as the subject a third person pronoun, and not further specify the agent of the action, perhaps using a tense which emphasises more the completed state of the action than the performer. This then comes closest to a formal equivalent of the passive.

Since the translator must use active constructions, he usually does so automatically. It is not difficult to render 'Jesus came to be baptised by John' (Matthew 3:13) as 'Jesus came so that John would baptise him.' But translators sometimes supply the wrong implied agent. The subject of *call* in 'that we should be called the children of God' (1 John 3:1) was first rendered as 'the outside people' and later revised to 'God' in Sinasina. The agent of 'thoughts may be revealed' (Luke 2:35) was changed from 'they' (people in general) to 'he' (God) in Enga. The agent of 'blessed be' (Luke 6:20) was first given as 'you pl.' and later changed to 'God' in Ke'yagana. The agent of 'the Son of Man will be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes' (Mark 10:33) was first rendered as 'God' and later rendered as 'a man' in Wahgi.

7.7.1.2.4. ORDER OF ELEMENTS

7.7.1.2.4.1. Word Order

Another grammatical translation problem existing throughout Papua New Guinea in general deals with order. Obviously within words and phrases this is a universal problem, but the difficulties exist on every level in this area. In the great majority of languages in Papua New Guinea there are postpositionals instead of prepositions, often of an enclitic form. The order of elements within a clause is usually subject-object-verb. Numerals usually come at the end of a noun phrase. Such adjustments are not hard to make in translation. Even if there are major adjustments of order across two clauses, these are usually made easily. In the following example from Upper Asaro, the morpheme-by-morpheme translation is given below the vernacular forms:

beleti	ma	meni	hiz-el-ove	lo	tauni-u'	v-ol-ove.
bread	some	payment	stake-will-I	saying	town-into	go-will-I

This is the Asaro equivalent of 'I will go to town in order that I may buy some bread.' The exactly 100% reversal of morphemes between the two languages is typical in Papua New Guinea highlands languages, but still causes little difficulty.

But other adjustments in order require one to be more observant of lexical arrangement. For example, in a good many Papua New Guinea languages, one says 'mother and father' and never 'father and mother', and

'night and day' instead of the reverse order. Similarly the pattern is often 'Zebedee's sons James and John', not 'James and John, the sons of Zebedee'. Vocatives come at the beginning of a clause, not in the middle; thus 'Jesus, son of the most High God, what do you want with me?' (Mark 5:7) instead of the reverse order as in the original. Two successive clauses with similarity of lexical content, one containing a negative concept or a negative morpheme, are arranged in many languages with the negative clause preceding. Thus in Daga in John 11:50 it was necessary to reverse the clause order of the original and say 'it is bad that all should die, it is sufficient that one man die on behalf of people.' Likewise in Yamalele in Mark 2:27 it was necessary to reverse clause order and say 'God did not put (=make) men for the reason of the rest day; he put the rest day to help men.'

7.7.1.2.4.2. Order of Clauses in Sentences

There are two other problems with respect to order which cause difficulty in Papua New Guinea. The first is that, in the non-Austronesian languages especially, a dependent clause occurs before the one it is subordinate to. Thus clauses expressing such relationships as reason, condition, purpose, prior or simultaneous event, normally precede the independent clause. Since the tendency in English is just the opposite, the proper order of clauses in Papua New Guinea languages is often just the reverse (Deibler 1973:99ff.), or nearly so, from English. The same difficulty of course exists in translating vernacular materials back into English. The problem is so acute that the majority of translators in non-Austronesian languages find it almost impossible to render back into English on the spot material they themselves have translated into non-Austronesian languages. In our opinion, knowing in which order to translate the clauses in complex sentences is the most difficult problem facing translators in non-Austronesian languages. It is fortunate that the three languages used for simultaneous translation of the proceedings of the House of Assembly in Port Moresby have similar order of clauses within sentences; otherwise the task would be hopeless.

7.7.1.2.4.3. Chronological Order

A related problem is that of chronological order. All the languages have a strong tendency to prefer maintaining strict chronological sequence. The classic Biblical passage requiring reordering is Mark 6:14-20 (Deibler 1968), describing the events leading up to the death of John the Baptist. Since Papua New Guinea languages do not have a past perfect tense to indicate flashbacks (events which occurred prior

to those in the sequence being narrated), translation of this passage requires major reordering to restore the chronological order. In Urii it was necessary to change the order of events in Luke 8:26-30 as follows:

- 27b There was a demon-possessed man there, who wore no clothes, etc.
- 29b People seized him and kept him a prisoner, etc.
- 27a Jesus met him
- 29a Jesus commanded the evil spirit to depart
- 28 The man cried out in a loud voice
- 30 Jesus asked him his name

There are scores of similar instances where sections have had to be reordered chronologically to fit the language pattern. In Mark 12:20 'he died without having children' was changed to 'not having any children, he died' in Wahgi; in Luke 10:34 'bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine' was changed to 'poured on oil and wine, then tied up the wounds' in Duna; Acts 8:1-2 were reversed in Manambu because the burial of Stephen (vs.2) occurred before the persecution resulting from his death took place (vs.1).

Related to the need for retaining chronological order in most Papua New Guinea languages is the difficulty in handling flashbacks where they cannot be removed by reordering the sequence of events. In these cases one must be careful to introduce the flashback by whatever words are necessary to indicate 'previously' or 'before that event occurred'. In some languages the flashback is further set off by repeating the clause which preceded the flashback.

Another chronological order problem prevalent especially in non-Austronesian languages is that events which are implied in a chronological sequence in English need to be inserted in the translation. Acts 10:48 states, 'he commanded them to be baptised ... then they asked him to remain for some days;' in Wahgi the additional actions 'so they baptised them' and 'so Peter stayed with them' had to be added so the readers would know both actions actually occurred. In Acts 1:4-5 Jesus says, 'Do not leave Jerusalem, but wait ...'; in Gadsup the words 'and then go' must be added at the end, otherwise the readers will think the injunction was never to leave. In Luke 2:7, after describing the birth of Jesus and his being laid in a manger, the text says, 'because there was no room for them in the inn;' in Enga the events were placed in chronological order and the words 'she entered the cattle place and' inserted before mentioning the birth, to account for Mary getting from the inn to the place of Jesus's birth. In Genesis 11 where the text says, 'so-and-so lived ... so many years and had other sons and

daughters,' at the end of each occurrence the Timbe translation adds, 'and he died' to complete the chronological sequence.

7.7.1.2.5. SETTING THE STAGE FOR NARRATIVE SEQUENCES

Another problem connected with narrative sequences faces translators in many Papua New Guinea languages. Typically it is necessary to 'set the stage' listing participants, locations, and any background information before describing a sequence of events which follows. In Mark 1:16-17 the original text has 'Jesus was walking ... he saw Simon and his brother ... they were casting nets ... they were fishermen.' The most natural translation would say 'there were two brothers ... they were fishermen ... they were casting nets ... as Jesus walked along he saw them.' In Acts 19 there is mentioned in verse 13 the first part of an incident of attempted exorcism. The identification of these men is in verse 14. So in Kewa the order is reversed. Similarly in Duna, in the translation of the story of the rich man and Lazarus from Luke 16:19-31, the fact that the rich man had five brothers (which is not stated in the original until verse 28) needs to be mentioned at the beginning of the story.

7.7.1.2.6. RECAPITULATION OF THE VERB IN SUCCESSIVE SENTENCES

One final point regarding translation of sequences in narrative or procedural discourse deserves mention. It is typical in the non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea to express a series of chronologically successive events by a long succession of clauses, all but the last of which occur with verbs in a dependent temporal form whose morphology is quite different from that of the verb in the final clause. In translating narrative passages into these languages, then, one does not necessarily make sentence breaks as frequently as they occur in the source text. When there is a sentence break, however (following a sentence-final independent clause), the succeeding sentence typically begins with a recapitulation of the same verb in a dependent temporal form. Thus in the Gahuku translation of *The Farmer* (Havenhand 1963), in one paragraph one sentence ends with 'he plants it' and the following sentence begins with 'As he plants it...'. Further on in the same paragraph one sentence ends with 'he spreads on medicine' (insecticide) and the following sentence begins with 'After he has spread on medicine ...'. It should also be mentioned that in most highland languages of Papua New Guinea a translator cannot give the clause expressing 'after he has spread on the medicine' until he has made a decision on whether the agent of the succeeding clause will be the same as or

different from the one who does the spreading, because the morphology of the verb in the temporal clause (and often other clause types as well) differs according to whether its subject is the same as or different from that of the following clause.

7.7.1.2.7. QUOTATIONS

Also in the general area of discourse structure are translation problems regarding the use of quotations. Very few Papua New Guinea languages have both direct and indirect speech forms to express quotations. Direct speech is used almost exclusively. This requires adjustment of pronouns to conform to patterns of direct speech when translating indirect speech forms. In quite a few languages there is, under certain pronominal circumstances, a curious mixture of direct and indirect pronominal forms within quoted speech (Deibler 1971). Thus in Gahuku, when translating either of the sentences 'He said that he would give it to me' and 'He said, "I will give it to you"' the result comes out literally as 'He said I will give it to me.' The first person subject pronoun of the verb *give* refers to the original speaker of the utterance, and the first person indirect object pronoun refers to the one citing the quote.

It should also be noted that in many Papua New Guinea languages it is customary to mark the end of a quotation by words indicating the speaker. Similar quotation-citing forms often precede the quote as well.

7.7.1.2.8. PROBLEMS WITH PRONOUNS

There are a number of pronominal problems in connection with translating into Papua New Guinea languages. Some Sepik and Bougainville area languages distinguish gender but very few other languages do. In translation this means that sometimes a noun phrase must replace a third singular pronoun to remove ambiguities. In Mark 1:30-31 after removing the gender distinctions, the passage would read thus (representing the ambiguous third singular pronoun by the Pidgin *em*): 'Em was told about em. Em took em by the hand and helped em up. The fever left em and em began to wait on them.' The result is obviously very hazy as to who did what to whom.

On the other hand, many Papua New Guinea languages make distinctions which Indo-European languages do not. This requires the translator to make a choice where the source language requires none - often the choice being an educated guess. Many languages distinguish dual versus plural. In such cases Acts 4:7 has to be translated 'they (pl.) made the

apostles (du.) stand before them (pl.) and asked them (du.), "How did you (du.) do this?".' Many Austronesian languages distinguish inclusive and exclusive. This requires the translator in Mark 4:38 to decide whether the disciples thought Jesus would die in the storm too when they woke him up in the boat and asked him, 'Don't you care that we are about to die?'

The other pronominal problems in translation in Papua New Guinea languages centre about non-literal use of pronouns, which phenomenon is much more limited than in Indo-European languages. The 'editorial we' does not seem to exist. Thus a literal translation of 'we write to you' (1 John 1:1) is bound to cause confusion about authorship. Likewise referring to oneself in the third person singular, as has been common in speech-making and book-writing in English, is virtually unknown. As a result nearly all the gospel passages in which Christ refers to himself as the Son of Man, the Son of God, or the Son, need to have a first person singular pronoun added.

Although the problems on non-literal usage of pronouns often cause the same problems in translation elsewhere as in Papua New Guinea, there are two of these which deserve mention because of their widespread occurrence in Papua New Guinea and their frequency in Biblical passages. One is that if one uses a non-first person pronoun, he excludes himself from those being referred to. Thus in Gahuku in the translation of Romans chapter 9, when the apostle Paul speaks of the heritage of the Jews, he says, 'they are God's chosen people; he made them his sons ...' etc. This meant to the hearers that Paul was not a Jew; so the whole passage had to be recast using the first plural pronouns instead of the third plural. Another widespread problem is in expressing the generic sense intended by such expressions as 'he who', 'whoever', 'if anyone'. A literal translation of these in many Papua New Guinea languages conveys the idea that one specific unnamed individual is being discussed. Thus in John 5:24 'he who hears my word and believes in him who sent me has eternal life' meant in Daga that there was one fortunate individual to whom it applied; and almost every one of these generic pronouns in the New Testament had to be changed to the plural.

7.7.1.2.9. ABSENCE OF COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE FORMS

Another grammatical translation problem which exists in all Papua New Guinea languages to our knowledge is that there is no simple comparative (or superlative) construction such as the *-er than/more than* in English. There are usually two avenues open to the translator: either he uses a verb meaning 'surpass' and says, 'A surpasses B', with

the quality such as length, height, size, age, etc. being left to be understood from context; or he uses two clauses, one of which contains a negative, an antonym, or a morpheme meaning 'very' or 'not quite so'. Thus in Sinasina 'I have no greater joy' (3 John 4) is expressed as 'this happiness of mine surpasses all other happiness.' In Selepet the expression 'there is more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine respectable people ...' (Luke 15:7) was finally rendered as 'God is not greatly happy with ninety-nine ... God is very happy with one sinner ...' Sometimes, of course, one must use the antonym throughout the comparison to make sense in translation. Thus in Wahgi the passage 'it is easier for a camel ... than a rich man ...' (Mark 10:25) had to be finally rendered 'it is heavy for a camel ... it is very heavy for a rich man ...' Likewise in Muyuw the statement 'It shall be more tolerable on that day for Sodom than for that town' was effectively rendered 'Sodom village will encounter bad payment ... that village, they will encounter very bad payment' (Matthew 11:24).

7.7.1.2.10. PROBLEMS WITH ELLIPSES

Most ellipses that are possible in English are not possible in Papua New Guinea languages. Verbal ellipses especially must be filled in. In most languages one cannot say 'are you going or not?' but must make the second clause 'or are you not going?'. The capitalised words in the following rendering of John 15:4 are ones which are omitted in the original but required in translations in Papua New Guinea: 'Dwell in me, as I DWELL in you. Just as the branch cannot bear fruit by itself unless it remain in the vine, so you cannot BEAR FRUIT unless you remain in me.' In Mark 11:32 the elliptical main clause in the sentence, 'But if we say it was from men ...' must be filled in with something like 'the people will mob us.'

7.7.1.3. PROBLEMS RELATED TO SEMANTICS

7.7.1.3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the area of semantics many problems of translation seem to be either very general or very specific. Studies have shown similarities among the grammatical structures of groups of languages in Papua New Guinea, but there has not yet been much in the way of studies to show similarities in semantic structures between groups of languages. And perhaps the area of semantics will not reveal so much according to groupings of languages, though Laycock (1970) refers to some widespread similarities in the area of meaning of certain lexical items in Papua New Guinea.

7.7.1.3.2. ITEMS NOT KNOWN IN A CULTURE AND WITH NO TERM IN A LANGUAGE

7.7.1.3.2.1. Objects

One very obvious problem is how to deal with items that are not known in the culture and for which there is no term in the language. These include, e.g. natural phenomena, such as 'the sea' for some people living in the highlands, flora and fauna, things connected with Western science and institutions, and various parts of Biblical culture. Some translators have simply borrowed words from the language they are translating from, with the hope that the readers will eventually come to know the meaning of the words through receiving teaching and through noting the various contexts in which the words occur.⁵ When a word is borrowed, its spelling is usually changed to fit the orthography of the Papua New Guinea language. However, there have been quite a number of languages in which translators have kept the English spelling of borrowed words. Thus, e.g. for '*donkey*' one finds forms like *donki* and *doniki*, but also *donkey*, and where the plural is needed sometimes one even finds *donkeys*, where the English plural suffix is used instead of the appropriate vernacular form, which in Papua New Guinea is often zero. Some translators have felt the strangeness of including words in English spelling and so they have such words printed in italics. This helps to alert the reader to the fact that a strange word is there, but it still leaves him with a pronunciation problem.

In Bible translation some borrowings have come from Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. In London Missionary Society translations on the south coast of Papua, for example, *evanelia* from Greek *evangelion* was commonly used for '*gospel*' and *satauro* from Greek *stauros* for '*cross*'.

In time the meaning of such borrowings may become generally known, and the words themselves become part of the language. This has happened with *evanelia* and *satauro*. But in the meantime the meaning of borrowed words is missed by many people; and if there are quite a few borrowings in a translation, then intelligibility suffers and reader interest drops. And if a translator regularly adopts the 'borrowing' solution he can soon find he has many unintelligible passages.

Sometimes the context may give the reader enough idea of what a borrowed term means. However, if it does not do so, then the necessary information ought to be supplied; perhaps not at every occurrence of the word but in sufficient places to ensure intelligibility for each discourse the word occurs in. One way of dealing with the problem is to use the borrowed word together with a word or phrase which gives the needed information. For example, in the Au language a translator put a word meaning '*domestic animal*' with the word *tonkii* '*donkey*'. In the

issue of *Nius Bilong Yumi* of 15 September 1973, '*prospectus*' is translated *liklik buk ol i kolim prospectus* '*a small book called a prospectus*'. Often proper names require this approach too; for example, it is advisable in Acts 13:4 to say 'Cyprus island' rather than just have 'Cyprus' (which is all the Greek has), otherwise it is not clear to the Papua New Guinean reader just who or what 'Cyprus' refers to.

However, if too long an explanation is attempted it may obscure the main point of the discourse. If the translator wishes to give more information he can use footnotes or a glossary. This is done in a number of Bible translations, especially to give information of historical or cultural background. Illustrations can also help in some situations.

The use of a borrowed word can be avoided in a number of ways. A descriptive phrase may be used. So, for example, 'prophet' is often translated by a phrase meaning 'one who speaks out God's message', and 'phylactery' by a phrase meaning 'a small box containing verses of Scripture'. For items which occur frequently, translators generally try to develop a shortened version of the phrase after a while.

If an item is unknown, it may be that a more general word will do. In Mark 2:23 there is a reference to 'grainfields' and 'eating grain'. In Fore and Faiwol translators have used the generic 'food gardens' and 'food', which is the point of the story, and avoided the problem of a specific word for 'grain'. Also in Faiwol, 'basket' has been translated 'container'. However, a more generic term is not always available. Laycock (1970), for example, notes that not everywhere in Papua New Guinea are there generic terms for 'snake' or 'fish', and it seems no language has a generic term 'animal'. In this situation, the translator chooses the name of the most appropriate species, perhaps adding a qualifying word or phrase. Thus in many translations 'donkey' is translated 'donkey pig', since 'pig' is the generic term for domestic animal. In Karam (Kalam), while there are many terms for specific colours, there is no general term 'colour' (Bulmer 1968). This is so in many languages, and the English word is often borrowed by the speakers themselves, whether directly or through Pidgin.

Then there is the possibility of using a cultural substitute, some item in the culture which has a function equivalent to that of the term one wishes to translate. So, if one is translating a story in which 'sheep' are mentioned simply as a farm animal that may be eaten, one might translate it 'pig' or 'cattle'. In Guhu-Samane biiri '*festival longhouse*' has been used for temple; and for 'priest' an expression meaning 'knife man', a term used of a man who made sacrifices in a Guhu-Samane cult (Richert 1965a). There are many occasions where cultural

substitutes might be used. However, just how much use one makes of them depends on the type of translation one is doing. Bible translators generally feel that they must keep the historical integrity and cultural setting of the original text. Thus in Faiwol at Mark 6:43 putting 'string bags' for 'baskets' was considered, but this was decided against as it was not what was really used, and so they chose to use the generic term 'containers'. Greater use is made of cultural equivalents in teaching discourses, though most people want to avoid having a translation that expresses the culture of Papua New Guinea in the teaching and Palestinian culture in the historical parts. But it is hard to draw a line on just what is best at this point, and it is a topic much debated by Bible translators. Though not a translation, Atkin 1970 gives an idea of what a completely cultural translation would be like. In it 'the good Samaritan' becomes 'the good Chimbu', and the journey between Jerusalem and Jericho becomes one between two places in Port Moresby.

A cultural substitute may be introduced more acceptably in some situations by the use of a simile. In Biangai in Genesis 8:7 for 'raven' the translator put 'a bird like an akomek'.

7.7.1.3.2.2. Customs

So far only objects have been referred to. A similar range of problems and solutions is found with customs. A custom may be unknown, and while the action associated with it can be translated, its function might not be understood. An example is the washing of someone else's feet as a sign of humility. In Muyuw, for John 13:14 a translator put 'serve one another like washing one another's feet' to make the meaning clear. The Jewish idea of not being worthy of even removing the sandals of an important person is foreign to Papua New Guinea, and so in an Awa translation this was translated 'because he is an important one, when he speaks I will be silent' (Mark 1:7).

The same item or custom may be found in two cultures but the function or significance may be quite different, with the result that a literal translation leads to misunderstanding. For the Jews the left side could mean the bad side as against the right side, which was the good side; but it could also just mean the slightly less important of the two sides, as in Mark 10:37, where James and John ask to sit on the right and left side of Jesus. However, in many Papua New Guinea languages the left side is only the place of dishonour. In a Sepik language one translator tried using the more general 'white, i.e. light-coloured, bird' for 'dove' in a passage referring to the Holy Spirit. However, to the people the white bird was taken to refer to the white cockatoo, a noisy

quarrelsome bird, which was inappropriate, so a different solution had to be found. In Siane a translator was going to put the word for 'twin' in to describe a man (John 20:24). However, it was found that the word had a bad connotation for the Siane, as twins are despised in that area. It was thus better to omit the reference to 'twin', as it was not important for the understanding of the story.

Probably in all cultures the names of certain groups carry particular connotations, good or bad, but these connotations may not be understood by outsiders. In Papua New Guinea just to say a man is 'a Samaritan' is not enough in translating a passage where the connotation of 'foreign, despised' is important, as in the story of the good Samaritan. The tax-collectors in the time of Christ were generally considered dishonest, so that the term could be used in the sense of 'wicked people'. While tax-collectors may not be liked in Papua New Guinea, the term does not have the same connotation as it had in Palestine in New Testament times, and in translation this connotation must often be made explicit.

7.7.1.4. DIFFERING SEMANTIC DOMAINS

We turn to another major problem in translation, that of differing semantic domains. For example, words from different languages may have part of the area of meaning they cover in common, but there may also be some differences in their area of meaning which can be important for translation. Davis (n.d.b) discusses this problem with the word for 'shame' in Wantoat. He says that in English 'shame' means 'to feel badly because someone has said bad things about me which I consider deserved; or to feel badly because I think my actions towards another have been improper or disappointing to him', while the Wantoat word means 'to feel badly because someone has said bad things which I consider undeserved, or to feel badly because another's actions towards me have been improper or disappointing to me'. So while in Luke 9:26 one uses 'shame' in English, 'whoever is ashamed of me ... of him will the Son of Man be ashamed', one cannot use the word for shame in Wantoat. Rather one has to translate it by a word meaning 'reject'.

While Papua New Guinea languages have a word for 'heart', the heart is not the seat of the emotions as it is in English. In many languages the stomach is the seat of the emotions, as is *bel* in Pidgin: *bel i hat* 'to be angry', *bel i gut* 'to be happy'. In other languages it is the liver, as in Gahuku where 'Martha was upset' is expressed as 'it entered Martha's liver'. The translator must, of course, follow the usage of the language he is translating into.

One word may be used to cover the area of meaning that another language has two words for. Laycock (1970:1168) points out, for example, that it is common in Papua New Guinea languages to find one word meaning both 'tree' and 'wood', and one word meaning 'man' and 'husband'. In ordinary communication the context generally makes the meaning clear, but in a translation this may not be so and some adjustment may be required. In Witu, as in some other languages, there is one word for both 'shadow' and 'spirit'; and so in Acts 5:15, which talks of people hoping for healing even if only Peter's shadow fell on them, it is necessary to say explicitly 'sun-shadow'. Another problem for Bible translators is that often the same word is used for a man's spirit, the spirits of the dead, who are often considered to be evil, and for the Holy Spirit. It is almost always necessary to make the particular meaning explicit by the use of a qualifier.

In many Papua New Guinea languages the area of meaning covered by the word 'sibling' is divided differently from English. English has a sex division, 'brother' and 'sister', whereas these languages may have three terms, 'older sibling of the same sex', 'younger sibling of the same sex', and 'sibling of the opposite sex'. The translator has to know if a sibling of the same sex is older or younger. But this information does not have to be specified in English, so the translator has to do some research before he can translate, for example, Matthew 4:18-21 in which two sets of brothers are mentioned.

There are some other interesting points about kinship terms. Many Papua New Guinea languages have some reciprocal kinship terms. For example, they may have the same word for 'grandparent' and 'grandchild', for 'uncle' and 'nephew', and for 'father-in-law' and 'son-in-law'. The translator must decide in each case whether it is necessary to be any more specific, and if so then he may need to add a qualifier or a longer expression, such as 'daughter's husband' for 'son-in-law'.

In Biblical Hebrew the terms for 'son' and 'daughter' could be used of all descendants, but this is often not so in Papua New Guinea. So for example, the expression 'daughter of Abraham' where it does not refer to a real daughter, must be translated 'a woman of Abraham's clan' or the like. Also, in Biblical usage 'brother' and 'sister' can be used of friends or fellow-Christians. In many languages this extension of meaning is not found, so one has to use another term such as 'friend'. In Iai 'brother' can be used of someone from the same area, but 'friend' for others, and so the translator has to decide whether the person is from the same area or not. In Motu a very wide relationship term meaning 'relatives' is used.

Earlier the problem of how to deal with items that are not known in the culture and for which a language has no term was discussed, considering the items by themselves. However, in many cases the best solution can only be found after considering a number of terms in the language which cover the area of meaning involved. For example, most Papua New Guinea languages have terms for only a few musical instruments. In Daniel 3:5 there is a list of five, probably six, musical instruments, some stringed and some wind. The translator has to see how they match the instruments for which there are terms in the language. Some then choose just to use those terms, feeling that they cover the area of meaning adequately; others add a phrase such as 'and others like them'; and others make up descriptive phrases for the instruments they do not already have terms for. Another example is the area of meaning involving rulers - governor, king, emperor, lord, etc. Many Papua New Guinea languages do not have a range of terms comparable to the English ones, but the terms a language does have and their area of meaning must be considered before the translator makes a decision, whether it is to just use the terms available, or add qualifiers, or try to construct a descriptive phrase, or whatever. The areas of weights and measures also involve similar problems. In pre-contact times, while a few languages had some units of measure, very few if any had any units of weight, but today a number of terms, such as 'pound' and 'mile', have been borrowed from English. However, not all English terms have been borrowed and also, in some contexts, exact quantities are not meaningful. So translators on occasions use, for example, bags of rice or drums of flour as units of weight, rather than give an exact number of pounds weight.

7.7.1.5. PROBLEMS IN TRANSLATING NUMERALS

There are problems in translating numerals in many Papua New Guinea languages. Some languages have ordinal numbers and some do not. Those which do not, often borrow the Pidgin expression *namba* followed by the cardinal numeral to express ordinals. An even more basic problem is that in many areas the counting systems are very cumbersome. For instance, the expression for 'eight' in Gahuku is *ligizani lugaloka asu' oake lugaloka losive makole oli'o molago*, which means '*after the fingers on one side were finished, two (and) another jumped over (from) the other side*'. Obviously a system which uses nine words to express the number eight is not very satisfactory for translation purposes. In most areas the younger generation rapidly adopts Pidgin or English numerals, but these have to be re-translated for the older generation. Trying to get across concepts of basic arithmetic in the vernacular is very difficult,

because the people are not used to dealing in abstract terms and have had very little use for anything numerical except elementary counting. One book-keeper in the Wahgi area was recording amounts collected in offerings. The sum of \$68 was recorded as \$60.53. This was quite logical: 60 was recorded as \$60 and eight was recorded (following the vernacular counting system) as 5+3. Terms such as 'add' and 'subtract' can usually be extended from idiomatic expressions such as 'join on' and 'cut off and get rid of'. But terms such as 'times' or 'multiplied by', 'goes into' or 'divided by', 'equals' or 'is the same as', are foreign to the culture. Fractions and percentages are still more difficult to try to translate. A translator trying to express in Kamano the concept that 'it took me longer to travel from A to B yesterday than it did today' received the native reaction that the road was longer yesterday.

7.7.1.6. DIFFERENCES IN PERMITTED COLLOCATIONS

Differences in permitted collocations exist between all languages, and the wider the linguistic and cultural difference the more likely the differences are to cause translation problems. In some cases difference in collocation forbids certain lexemes being used in conjunction. For example, in translating John 12 in non-Austronesian languages one cannot usually speak of trees as dead but as dried up. But in Kalam one cannot speak of being healed of hemorrhaging (Mark 5:28) but one must say instead it was dried up. In Gahuku a leper is not made clean (Mark 1:42) nor healed but 'made to shed his skin'. Many languages will not permit a translator to speak of being 'baptised with the Holy Spirit' (Mark 1:8) but require a different verb to be used. Most of the languages forbid using the verb *come* with anything but a human agent; thus one cannot speak of a voice coming (Mark 1:11), faith coming (Galatians 3:23), or a kingdom coming (Matthew 6:10).

7.7.1.7. DIFFERING DISTINCTIONS IN LEXEMES

Likewise Papua New Guinea languages have distinctions that are required in certain lexemes, which are not a feature of Indo-European languages. The majority of Papua New Guinea languages have obligatory possession of a great many terms expressing body parts. So in such languages one must change 'the eye cannot say to the hand' (1 Corinthians 12:21) to 'a man's eye cannot say to his hand', or 'our eyes cannot say to our hands', etc. A great many of the languages require kinship terms to be possessed. Thus 'the father loves the son' (John 5:20) must be rendered 'my father loves me, his son'.

7.7.1.8. OBLIGATORY DISTINCTIONS IN SOME LANGUAGES

Many Papua New Guinea languages have obligatory directional distinctions. In Gahuku there are five expressions for 'go' depending on the relative amount of ascent or descent involved; Mountain Arapesh requires a decision to be made on whether an object is nearer the speaker or the hearer in stating a term for 'this' or 'that'. Muyuw requires a distinction be made on whether a motion is toward the speaker, away from the speaker, or away from both, and whether things are possessed intimately, distantly or intermediately. Many languages make obligatory distinctions between actions that are real or unreal, and between those that are seen or just reported. For example, in Angal Heneng there are three different forms of the verb depending on involvement of speaker and hearer in the action, and all three are illustrated in Luke 18:18-19. When Jesus says, 'I saw Satan fall', it is assumed that the speaker saw the action and the hearers didn't, and the form of the verb indicates such. When Jesus continues and says 'I have given you power', the form used indicates that both speaker and hearers were together when the action occurred. But on the verb of the clause expressing 'Jesus said to them', a third form is used which indicates that neither the writer (Luke) nor the addressee (Theophilus) were there at the time the incident occurred.

7.7.1.9. FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

Figurative language presents problems. It is probable that most languages use most of the various types of figures of speech and draw figures from many areas of culture. However, it does not always happen that the same figure with the same meaning occurs in two languages, even when the languages concerned are closely related, so that a literal translation will be confusing or meaningless. The main approaches are (i) to retain the original figure but to give the meaning as well, (ii) to omit the figure and give only the meaning, or (iii) to use a figurative expression from the language into which the translation is being done which has the same meaning as the original figure.

Similes contain a word which signals that one is dealing with a figure, and so it is more often possible to retain the original figure than it is with most other types of figurative language. But if necessary changes can be made, as in the following examples. In an Iatmul translation of 'I send you out as lambs in the midst of wolves' (Luke 10:3) the word 'weak' was added to make clear the point that the lambs are defenceless. A translator of 'be wise as serpents and innocent as doves' (Matthew 10:16) in Komba found it necessary to take out the

picture as it was too strange, and just the meaning was given, 'live without falsity and with wisdom and straightness'. In Duna for the picture that a doubter is 'like a wave of the sea that is driven and tossed by the wind' (James 1:6), a translator used a natural local figure 'like the wind moving the leaves of the tree backwards and forwards'. The equivalent of a Biblical figure indicating a large number, 'like the sand of the sea', is 'like the hairs on a dog' in the Angal Heneng language.

Metaphors contain no word that identifies them, and so it is easier for them to be misunderstood and taken literally. For example, Davis (n.d.a) found that the metaphorical use of adultery in the Bible in the sense of being unfaithful to God was not correctly understood by speakers from a number of languages in Papua New Guinea. As well as the approaches already mentioned for handling figurative expressions, metaphors may be turned into similes, specifying the meaning if necessary. So for 'made shipwreck of their faith' (I Timothy 1:19) one Pidgin translation has bilip bilong ol i bagarap olsem sip i bruk long rip *'their faith has been ruined like a ship wrecked on a reef'*.

The translation of expressions involving metonymy generally involves a change of form. Thus, for example, when a place name is used to refer to the inhabitants, translators in a wide range of languages have found it necessary to refer specifically to the inhabitants. So for example, 'Jerusalem' becomes 'the inhabitants of Jerusalem', and 'the world' becomes 'the people of the world'. Even if a language does have this use of metonymy, it may not be so readily understood if the name involved is a strange one. A thing may be used for the custom it is associated with and it may be necessary to refer specifically to the custom. In Gahuku a translator found he had to change 'let the marriage bed be undefiled' (Hebrews 13:4) to 'do not spoil the marriage'. Also, a thing may be used for an event associated with it. In Acts 5:28 'blood' is used to refer to death, and translators in both Motu and Pidgin have given the meaning 'killing' or 'death' to make the meaning clear.

Another type of figurative expression is synecdoche. It too generally requires the meaning to be made explicit. For example, 'flesh and blood' (Galatians 1:16) and 'tongue' (Philippians 2:11) are often translated as 'person'.

As a result of the translation processes just outlined, it usually happens that the translation will have fewer figurative expressions than the original, unless the translator makes a conscious attempt to compensate by translating some non-figurative expressions by figurative ones. This aspect is extremely important when translating into those

languages of Papua New Guinea which make great use of figurative language. Such languages are found particularly in the highlands. Brennan (1970) says that there are two vocabulary levels in the Enga language, one which is that of neutral or everyday speech and another which makes great use of symbols. The latter is used in contexts of dignity and importance, such as the telling of traditional stories and making public speeches. Brennan points out that a good translator will make appropriate use of the symbolic language. Young (1968) notes the use of 'hidden talk' among the Bena Bena when serious matters are being discussed, and suggests that in some types of material the translator should not make everything quite clear.

7.7.1.10. EUPHEMISMS

All languages have euphemisms for certain things, for example the areas of sex, death, and the supernatural; but languages differ as to just what things they have euphemisms for, the circumstances in which they use them, and the form of the euphemisms. The translation problems are rather similar to those for dealing with figurative language already mentioned. It is not often possible to translate a euphemism literally. A euphemism may be translated by a euphemism with the same meaning. In the Hebrew of the Old Testament various euphemisms such as 'know' and 'lie with' are used to refer to sexual intercourse. Most translations also use euphemisms, such as the Hiri Motu *mahuta hebou* and Pidgin *slip wantaim* which both mean literally '*sleep with*'. A problem for Bible translators is the translation of 'circumcise', where the custom is in many areas not known but where it is felt a euphemism should be used to refer to it. Both Hiri Motu and Pidgin translations generally use expressions meaning 'to cut the skin'. However, this is not at all clear; so in a few places in one Pidgin translation of Genesis the meaning is made explicit in the text, while in one Hiri Motu translation of Genesis the meaning is given in a glossary entry. The Jews also avoided mention of the name of God and sometimes also of the term 'God' itself. Thus in the New Testament 'heaven' is often used for 'God'. Many translators have not felt a euphemism necessary and so have simply translated it by the word for God. A plain expression may need to be translated by a euphemism. The need may depend on who the audience is to be. Bible translation will often be read aloud to a mixed audience, so translators have to be particularly careful. In Gahuku one does not normally mention blood in connection with menstruation, so the translator uses the usual euphemism, 'the moon struck her'. In Mangga Buang for 'your daughter is dead' a translator found it preferable to use the euphemism 'your daughter's eyes are closed'.

7.7.1.11. RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Considerable space could be devoted to problems of translating rhetorical questions in Papua New Guinea languages. The problem is general, however, and not confined to Papua New Guinea. It is enough to say that the forms and semantic functions of rhetorical questions used in Papua New Guinea languages do not fully correspond with those of Indo-European languages. They are very commonly used in Papua New Guinea to express various kinds of negative evaluation, such as disapproval, rebuke, or the impossibility of some action. Thus 'Is it possible to do God's work and also want a lot of money?' is a good translation of a sentence which is indicative in the original (Matthew 6:24), and 'Why weren't you able to stay awake?' is a good way to indicate rebuke by adding the word 'why' to the question in the original (Mark 14:37). But rhetorical questions to introduce a new subject or express uncertainty or amazement or personal belittlement, such as occur in Biblical materials, are foreign to Papua New Guinea languages. One translation helper, during 35 years of previous pastoral experience, could never understand why Jesus said 'Who are my mother and my brothers?'

N O T E S

1. The languages and cultures of the people of Irian Jaya are very similar to those of Papua New Guinea and one finds similar translation problems there (Dr M. Bromley and Rev. J. Ellenberger, personal communications).
2. We express appreciation to the Summer Institute of Linguistics for allowing us to draw on these records.
3. Problems in some other fields, e.g. government and law, are discussed in chapters 7.7.2.-5. of this volume, which deal with Interpretation Problems.
4. Quotations from the English Bible are taken from the Revised Standard Version with some variations for clarity.
5. Of course, many words have been borrowed from English by languages of Papua New Guinea, as the people have had increasing contact with Western culture. These words come into use when the objects they refer to become known, so there is not a problem of learning the meaning. It is borrowing words for items that people are unlikely to learn about in their everyday life that is the real problem.

7.7.1. TRANSLATION PROBLEMS

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7.7.2. TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF ORAL INTERPRETATION¹

Ranier Lang

7.7.2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter has two purposes: (a) to detail to some degree the components which are considered relevant in the interpretation process, and (b) to provide some descriptive data on the way the interpretation process has been operant in Papua New Guinea.² In my characterisation of the components I rely on what is being taught in the professional interpreter training courses in Europe, on what has been written about interpreting and on my conversations with and observations of professional interpreters. In the second part of the chapter I describe the Papua New Guinea situation and I generally try to relate the Papua New Guinea practices to what is internationally considered proper interpreting behaviour.³

7.7.2.2. THE FIELD OF INTERPRETING

Interpreters are people who are at least bilingual and act as middlemen between monolinguals whose languages they speak. Thus there are at least three participants to every interpreting situation, a speaker S speaking language x, a listener L speaking language y, and an interpreter I speaking languages x and y. While it is desirable that S and L be familiar with the art, skills and problems of interpreting, this is all the more so for the interpreter and the knowledge of two languages is hardly sufficient in itself to qualify a given individual as an interpreter. Knowledge of two languages is certainly a prerequisite, but there are certain qualifications which an interpreter must fulfil which range from such 'trivialities' as a sure manner to a quick mind associated with a vast body of general and specific knowledge. I will comment on this in more detail below.

There are essentially two kinds of interpreting:

(1) Simultaneous interpreting

(2) Consecutive interpreting

(1) without doubt appears to be the most demanding as far as concentration, quickness of mind, and stamina is concerned. It manifests itself in two different environments, once in a technologically sophisticated environment with interpreters' booths, microphones, and headsets, where the interpreter and his clients may never come face-to-face, and secondly in a person-to-person environment where the interpreter whispers a simultaneous interpretation into his client's ear; the latter is referred to as chuchotage. (2) can be distinguished from (1) primarily on the basis of the element of consecutiveness, as here the interpreter will wait until the speaker has stopped so that his words can be interpreted, while in the case of (1) the interpreter tries to keep up with the speaker and even anticipate him.⁴ As in chuchotage, the interpreter is an overt participant to the social situation, while in the technologically sophisticated variety of (1) the interpreter is closed away in his cabin, so that it is only his words of which the listener becomes aware, but not his physical presence.

Like (1), (2) also manifests itself in two different environments, once in the conference halls of international meetings, and secondly at informal meetings between various groups; the former is the domain of consecutive conference interpreters, the latter of liaison interpreters⁵ - the difference between the former and the latter lies in the fact that in the case of the former the hearer hardly ever turns into a speaker, while in the case of the latter the positions of hearer and speaker alternate continuously. There are further, although minor, differences between a consecutive conference and a liaison interpreter, the most noticeable being the fact that the consecutive conference interpreter makes a written record, while the liaison interpreter works from memory. The written record consists of notes which the interpreter jots down during the speech. They contain the structure of the speech in schematic form, and difficult to remember things such as names and numbers. In other words, they concentrate on the bare essentials of the speech and they demand special note-taking techniques. Consecutive conference interpreters, furthermore, should have a higher degree of oratorical skill and analytical acumen, but these are not considered drawbacks for a liaison interpreter, even though he has a lesser need of such skills.

7.7.2.3. ON THE QUALIFICATIONS OF AN INTERPRETER

The basic requirement for an interpreter must be a nearly perfect command of at least two languages. This entails that he be also bicultural. But being both bilingual and bicultural does not automatically make an interpreter. How is the interpreter then to be distinguished from the ordinary bilingual and bicultural individual? First and foremost, through his ability to immediately render entire spoken thought processes from one language into the other. This skill consists of a number of related techniques and abilities. These involve:

- (1) a larger than average active vocabulary, which does not exist by itself in each language but which he has established as a ready set of equivalences;
- (2) a completely established set of equivalent idioms and phrases which the interpreter has at the tip of his tongue;
- (3) an awareness of the syntactic patterns of the two languages; their main similarities and differences, such that if the interpreter has to interpret from a subject-object-verb (SOV) language into a verb-subject-object (VSO) language or vice versa, he is fully aware automatically of other differences which are implied by the basic orders SOV and VSO. For example, he would know that in the VSO language there is likely to be fronting of the WH (who, what etc.) constituent in questions, that the order of adjectives and relative clauses is reversed in the two languages, that comparatives differ in certain systematic ways, etc. This knowledge will enable him to (a) anticipate, and (b) prevent false starts which would turn out to be ungrammatical if finished, etc.;
- (4) a set of techniques which enable the interpreter to deal with 'emergencies', such as temporary inability to remember a certain equivalent in the target language or parts of the original, temporary inability to remember entire sections of the original or the correct relation between sections, clients that are unintelligible either acoustically or logically, attempts by the client to make the interpreter an intermediary due to inexperience in dealing with interpreters, or in furtherance of their own aims (and to use the interpreter as more than a tool for better communication), etc.⁶

7.7.2.4. ON THE FACTORS MAKING FOR THE QUALIFICATIONS OF AN INTERPRETER

There are firstly certain physiological prerequisites:

- (a) memory
- (b) no speech defects

- (c) (possibly) having learnt the languages/cultures before puberty and having kept them
- (d) quick reactions
- (e) having the ability to feel oneself into a variety of other people's psyches.

These presumably are the characteristics which people feel cannot be taught, and which a potential interpreter must bring with him. Secondly, there are the professional qualifications which strictly concern the process of interpreting as a technique; these I have talked about in the previous section.

Thirdly, there are certain external features which add to the performance of an interpreter and give him his 'style'. Some of these we value in any person, and they often are the decisive factor whether we come away with a positive or negative impression. Among these are:

- (a) tone of voice
- (b) bearing
- (c) looks
- (d) stylistic fluency in the language, i.e. a sure touch for just the right phrase in the right situation.

(a-c) can probably be taught most easily, but (d) may be more difficult since it may be intimately related to point (c) of the physiological prerequisites.

7.7.2.5. THE TASK OF THE INTERPRETER

The supreme task of the interpreter is to get across the content of the speaker's message to his listener. This implies a number of things, depending on whether we are dealing with simultaneous or consecutive interpreting. In the case of simultaneous interpretation it is often claimed that the interpreter works as if in a trance and that he will be unable afterwards to recall what the content of the speeches was. There may be some truth in this, since there is a minimum of time for the interpreter to think over parts of the speech if he is not to fall behind. There is evidence now to suggest that the simultaneous interpreter does operate with meaningful units and knows, at least on a short-term basis, what he is talking about.⁷ In the case of consecutive interpretation greater demands are made on the long-term memory and the interpreter, therefore, must listen and analyse out the salient features before transposing them into the target language. There is little scientific evidence on how the analysing out and transposing is done. Studies of individual interpreters' note-taking techniques are few and

the results are inconclusive.⁸ Depending on who one has as a teacher at an interpreter school, one is advised to take one's notes in one's mother tongue, or to take them in the target language, or to take them in some abstract metalanguage, and in actual practice most interpreters use a mixture of all three. One thing the studies of interpreters' note-taking techniques make abundantly clear is the fact that the interpreters do indeed rely most heavily on purely semantic criteria in their organisation and processing of texts.⁹

They concentrate heavily on the relations between sentences or parts of sentences, and in so doing lump them into classes, such that roughly synonymous relators or expressions equivalent to relators are marked by one that is representative of all of them as in

'Should it turn out that ...'

'If ...'

'In case of ...'

etc.

where the group would be represented by 'if' in the note-taking (but not necessarily in the interpretation). They furthermore concentrate heavily on key words which appear to be nouns in most instances, and this means that the verbs are filled in in the interpretation. Verbs are also classed into semantic classes so that 'say' may stand for a range of verbs like 'utter', 'talk', 'pronounce', etc.¹⁰ However, this process of being able to analyse has to be matched by an ability to synthesise when delivering into the target language.

In the interpreter training schools of Europe, the task of analysing out the main points, the content, is stressed again and again. In no case is the interpreter to produce literally what he's heard. The listening itself has to be completely passive, i.e., the interpreter is to keep a tight rein over his emotions. He is to produce only that which he has heard, although he has to learn to distinguish between conscious utterances of the speaker, and slips. This means that he will also have to be able to imagine himself in the speaker's situation, which includes paying attention to his gestures as they are an integral part of his performance; the interpreter should, therefore, manage to keep an eye on the speaker.

7.7.2.6. INTERPRETERS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Interpreters have been employed on a permanent or semi-permanent basis by the Government in Papua New Guinea since 1884. Like their Continental counterparts of that time they received no special training, but unlike their Continental counterparts who have been receiving

professional training ever since the end of World War I, the Papua New Guinea interpreters have had to do their job without such training. This was due to the fact that Australia as the main colonial administrative power did not deem it necessary herself to train professional interpreters for her dealings with the countries of the world. The Australian administrators held two common misconceptions about interpreters, (a) that written translation and oral interpretation did not differ significantly from each other,¹¹ and (b) that all that was necessary for someone to be able to interpret (or translate) was a command of the two languages in question.

We are, therefore, in the unique position in Papua New Guinea of being able to see interpreting being done in the 'raw', as it were, and to compare it to a recently evolved sophisticated counterpart. This should afford us the opportunity to examine in detail to what extent the Papua New Guinea interpreter has evolved certain techniques which parallel those of his trained European counterpart, what the chief distinguishing criteria are between the two interpreting styles, and how adequate the Papua New Guinea interpreter's performance is in comparison to his European counterpart.

Certain superficial differences suggest themselves immediately:

- 1) the trained European interpreter has his leaving certificate as a minimum educational background and in most cases he has either been trained as a doctor, lawyer, engineer, etc. or he has had four years of post-matriculation specialised translator and interpreter training, as against the Papua New Guinea interpreter who through most of the history of interpretation services in Papua New Guinea has been illiterate or barely literate (although he was often quite experienced in a general way);
- 2) especially since the end of World War II, the European interpreter has had extensive professional interpretation training as a rule. He has had access to sophisticated training equipment, especially in the case of simultaneous interpretation; such equipment was not present in Papua New Guinea until the establishment of the House of Assembly in 1964.

Lack of education and especially a high degree of illiteracy ruled out automatically the evolution of a class of sophisticated consecutive conference interpreters, since it also ruled out the use of note-taking techniques. Lack of equipment (and in most cases a lack of electricity) ruled out the use of simultaneous interpretation. Chuchotage was ruled out by a lack of sophistication on the part of all parties to the interpretation process, i.e. interpreters and clients alike, but also because

it would have been impractical in most contexts in Papua New Guinea. This then allowed only for the use of liaison interpreting in Papua New Guinea. But since it could not always be avoided that speeches were given and had to be interpreted, the Papua New Guinea interpreter had to develop into a kind of conference interpreter minus the note-taking component.

The qualifications of the Papua New Guinea interpreter usually included a knowledge of one of the trade languages, i.e. Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu, Kâte, etc. and one or more local languages. They had as a rule seen more of the world, in this case that of the expatriates, by having worked as domestics or plantation labourers, etc. Generally they were alert and ready to absorb new knowledge, and often they had an ability to ingratiate themselves to their employers. Since the interpreting situation in Papua New Guinea was unique, in the sense that most of the time the parties to an interpreting situation were not social equals, and since the interpreter was usually in the employ of the more powerful partner whose main task it was to establish law and order and to some extent to bring about change, the Papua New Guinea interpreter through his wider knowledge of the more powerful partner's intentions, developed into an intermediary as well. This then precluded the emergence of a profession of interpreters as interpreters only and complicated the process of interpretation in a good many instances. I will describe in detail the nature of the complications and their consequences. Other factors which complicated the situation further were differences in the ethnography of communication, such as different modes of eliciting information and answering questions, different modes of procedural rules in meetings, etc. The cultural gap itself was such that an immediate understanding of the partners' respective viewpoints was often impossible and this too imposed an additional burden on the interpreter.¹²

Traditionally an interpreter's main job was to interpret between an expatriate and a local person. The expatriate was most often an administration field officer, but interpreters were also used by medical, agricultural, and mission personnel. They might be called upon to interpret in court cases, political education work, technical explanations, in the communication of a patient's symptoms or the doctor's instructions to the patient, and they have also helped to interpret sermons in church or catechetical instructions; lately they have been used to help during political campaigns when electoral boundaries reach across language boundaries. Each of these situations demanded some kind of technical expertise aside from purely interpretational expertise; some degree of familiarity with legal procedures, with medicine, with the nature of

government, with the nature of Christianity, etc. But due to the educational standard of most interpreters, this background knowledge and basic familiarity was not always present. However, since their expatriate employers relied on them as a rule as both interpreter and intermediary, they were given wide latitude in the way they chose to interpret or communicate his ideas to the people and they were given a similar latitude in communicating the peoples' wishes to the expatriate.

In analysing Papua New Guinean interpreters' performances I have concentrated on three aspects of their performances. They are matters covering the interpreter's interaction with his clients, kinds of misinterpretation, and technical aspects. These are not always mutually exclusive, but they do cover aspects of the interpretation process which are more nearly independent of each other. My data derive from a collection of taperecordings which I made between 1967 and 1969 in the Enga Province. Thus, a few problems are likely to be specific to the problems of interpreting from Enga to Tok Pisin and vice versa.¹³ I do believe, however, that on the whole they have applicability throughout Papua New Guinea, wherever interpreters have been employed.

7.7.2.7. THE INTERPRETER AND HIS CLIENT

Given the fact that the interpreter is indeed trying to interpret, rather than present in broad outline what someone else has said and given also the nature of the task of the Papua New Guinea interpreter, which as I have pointed out above includes the role of intermediary, how is he to set off utterances of his which are interpretations in the true sense from utterances of his which express his private opinion? If he were not an intermediary and did not have any private opinions, he could interpret every utterance as it was without specially marking it as a quotation. Every Enga interpreter resorted to this device on occasion but the total number of these occasions was negligible indicating that the interpreters were well aware that their double role (of interpreter in the strict sense of the word and intermediary) did not allow the use of interpretations free of any markings.

This forced them into using a number of quotative devices. In essence, this involved one or the other of two basic quotative devices: (a) direct quotation, and (b) indirect quotation. Thus they could use either

He says: '...' or

He says that ...

When interpreting from Tok Pisin to Enga, the interpreters had recourse to a special device available to Enga and closely related languages in which the speaker can indicate morphologically the mood in which he wishes to communicate, i.e. whether he believes the evidence for that which he is about to say to be based on solid empirical evidence, on a vague hunch of his, on something which both interpreter and client have witnessed, etc. Thus in Enga he could be saying

I know he says: '...' (or its indirect equivalent) or

I sense he says: '...' (or its indirect equivalent) or

He said as you yourself witnessed: '...', etc.

Government interpreters on the whole preferred to interpret in the sensed mode, while medical interpreters were more confident of their skills and preferred the declarative mode; this is a crucial difference and I will remark on its significance below - for example, a government interpreter interpreting in court used the declarative marker once out of a possible 120 times (Lang 1976), while a medical interpreter used the sensed mode once out of a possible 219 interpretations (Lang 1973).

In an ideal interpreting situation, the partners to a conversation will talk to each other directly without having to address themselves to the interpreter. Since the interpreter-as-intermediary made impossible this direct way of communication, his clients also had to resort to various markers to indicate whether they wanted the interpreter to interpret or whether they wanted to rely on him as intermediary. This usually was done in the form of a command or question such as

Tell him/Ask him: '...'

or as an indirect command

Tell him that/Ask him whether ...

The clients were not entirely consistent in so marking their utterances, and on a number of occasions the interpreter answered to a question of theirs when they wanted him to interpret, etc. The interpreter's government client tended to address the local people directly, while the doctor tended to address the interpreter directly. His Papua New Guinea clients tended to address themselves more directly to the interpreter, and in a sense expected him to be their spokesman. The danger in this procedure of elevating the interpreter to the position of spokesman/intermediary lies in the fact that the interpreter's clients thereby give up all resemblance to direct fact-to-face interaction, something which the interpreter is supposed to facilitate in the first place. In other words, instead of there being a conversation group consisting of the two parties to the conversation there would be two conversation groups, one consisting of client A and the interpreter,

the other of client B and the interpreter. A consequence of this development was that there were long stretches of conversation between interpreter and client which went uninterpreted for the other client. This meant that in the court case one or the other of the parties to the session was left uninformed of what was going on a number of times or was only summarily informed at the end of a long exchange.

Except when they acted as consecutive conference interpreters, the interpreters initiated quite a number of exchanges between themselves and their clients and they were clearly contradicting internationally accepted standards of interpreting behaviour. They asked on their own, they offered explanations, they interrupted, etc. In most of this they felt justified, but most of it went in the direction interpreter to local client rather than interpreter to expatriate client. They acted on their own in order to facilitate the interpretation process by attempting to prevent misunderstandings or elicit satisfactory answers and generally to speed up the entire interpretation process. The government interpreters generally failed at this and created additional confusion, the medical interpreters generally succeeded in it and thus were able to justify their action. I will comment on this difference and the consequences below. But no matter how much individual interaction there is between an interpreter and only one of his clients, he sooner or later will have to give the other client an explanation or justification for the long exchange or he will have to give him a summary of the exchange. In most instances the exchange will have been an extended question-answer series. It was in the nature of the exchanges that I observed that it was the interpreter who initiated the exchanges by his questions and the client who responded to them with answers. If, therefore, the expatriate client asked a question k and this was interpreted, but the answer to k was not, and the interpreter instead began to question further on his own (irrespective of whatever his intentions may have been) the expatriate client, when the interpreter finally interpreted back to him, was inevitably confronted by a response which somehow did not quite make sense in the light of his question but which, if he had had access to the exchange between interpreter and local client, would have made (better) sense. The reason for this was that the interpreter did not necessarily interpret for his expatriate client his own questions to his local clients along with their answers to his questions. In other words, he presented a summary of their responses as a coherent body of statements which they were not in the original. What they were in the original was a by-and-large isolated set of responses to a coherent (and sometimes not so coherent) body of questions

by the interpreter. Without this body of coherent questions, however, the answers seemed to lack motivation and they appeared to be out-of-place contextually.

But even if the interpreter had attempted to present both his questions and their answers together, the extent to which he sometimes questioned would have made it well-nigh impossible for him physiologically to do the exchange justice, as it would have been beyond his processing capabilities as a human. Miller (1956) has shown the limits to our processing abilities; he has pointed out that our short-term memory seems to be able to process between five and nine points at any given moment. Most of the exchanges ranged over matters covering more than the upper limit of nine and the interpreters accordingly omitted various bits of information.¹⁴ This processing limitation also made itself felt when the interpreters were called upon to interpret a single longer stretch of speech. If the speech contained more than seven points, a number of them would be omitted from the interpretation or would be substituted by additional points not present in the original; the points remembered would not necessarily be the main points.¹⁵

There was a marked difference in the way administration field officers treated their interpreters and the way doctors treated theirs. Doctors tended to treat their interpreters more as equals. They would be less impatient with answers that didn't quite make sense and they generally left more leeway for their interpreters to get the information they (the doctors) wanted in a manner most appropriate to the local circumstances.

The interpreters generally acted somewhat patronisingly towards their local clients. When interpreting from local client to expatriate client they 'reduced' the content to its essentials, while when interpreting in the opposite direction they would often elaborate on the original: providing a rationale for a particular instruction given to the patient; or, anticipating possible complications in the Enga client's answer, delimiting the scope of the question; or sensing that, although the answer satisfied that which the question had tried to elicit, there was more to it which needed to be followed up immediately. In the latter case, they would then give an interpreted summary of the patient's responses to the expatriate client.

7.7.2.8. KINDS OF MISINTERPRETATION

On the strictest terms there can be only two types of misinterpretation from the point of view of match between original and its interpretation: addition and omission. Due to the nature of the interpreters'

dual role (of interpreter in the strict sense of the word and intermediary as well), it would not be very profitable to investigate instances of misinterpretation from the point of view of additions and omissions.¹⁶ Elsewhere (Lang 1973 and 1976), I have instead concentrated on the possible reasons for misinterpretation and I have adduced four: (a) carelessness, (b) auditory misperception, (c) perceptual misperception, and (d) wilful distortion. Misinterpretation due to carelessness made up the bulk of misinterpretations. Most of them were harmless in and of themselves, but when found following each other, could result in major distortion and unbelievable confusion.

By carelessness I mean instances where the interpreter could have interpreted directly what was said but where he chose to change things around slightly in the interpretation to omit parts or add some, where he shifted the emphasis, etc. as in the following examples:

Patient: I am dying because of pain in my arms and legs.

Orderly: All of his joints ache ...

Complainant: I would think they are at home.

Interpreter: They left them at home.

Kiap: Do you have a witness for this?

Interpreter: Did you come together with a witness?

Misinterpretation due to auditory misperception is difficult to distinguish from that resulting from perceptual misperception. There were very few instances generally of either of the two, but in a local court case one instance of an auditory misperception had rather severe consequences for the remainder of the court session; the interpreter had misheard 'one pound ten' as 'ten pounds' and a good portion of the proceedings was devoted to attempts at clearing up the misunderstandings resulting from this. Misinterpretation due to wilful distortion occurred when the interpreters considered a statement by one of their clients unacceptable to the other client, or when a statement was unacceptable to them (as when a client denounced them for not having interpreted properly, etc.), or when they felt a statement by one of the clients would be incomprehensible to the other client.¹⁷

7.7.2.9. TECHNICAL ASPECTS

To write about the technical aspects of the interpreters' interpretations is also to some extent to write about their shortcomings in using the techniques. None of the techniques used by interpreters anywhere are unique to their profession. What distinguishes them from ordinary discourse is a greater consciousness of the devices available to a speaker to make himself understood and to understand better himself, and also a greater reliance on some of these devices.

One of these devices is paraphrase, and in some sense the entire process of interpretation is nothing but a process of paraphrase. Interpreters and clients alike relied on it; they used it to make themselves understood immediately and they used it after they had been misunderstood; they used it narrowly and they used it loosely. I have distinguished two categories of paraphrase on a general level, well-motivated paraphrases (mostly idioms) where there is no ready one-to-one correspondence as in

Patient: It feels like a little piglet keeps coming and going ...

Interpreter: ... he's got some pain here on the side ...
and randomly occurring ones where the interpreter could be interpreting literally without fear of being misunderstood as in

Doctor: All right, turn over!

Interpreter: He says: 'Lie on your back!'

But the interpreters would not only paraphrase from Enga to Tok Pisin (and vice versa), they would also paraphrase within a language, sometimes by first faithfully rendering in the target language what had been said in the source language and then paraphrasing their interpretation. When doing this the paraphrases were used mostly as a device to build redundancy into the message, rather than as the result of an inability to interpret properly with subsequent attempts at guessing the correct meaning of the original. Most of the paraphrases were imperatives, but they also involved cases of lexical substitution. The interpreters had a definite tendency to render specifics deictically as in

Doctor: Lift it up!

Interpreter: He says: 'Do this!'

and they had a definite tendency to 'reduce' WH questions (i.e. questions involving interrogative pronouns and adverbs such as 'who', 'what', 'where', 'why', 'how', etc.) to yes-no or disjunctive questions as in

Kiap: Who is your guardian?

Interpreter: Is he [= the brother of the accused] your guardian?

Kiap: ... who is speaking the truth?

Interpreter: ... are you speaking the truth or is he?

Regarding these reductions, it was such that the interpreters knew that the Enga like to question obliquely and like to answer similarly. They knew that although the Enga operate with a notion of strict answerhood, they prefer not to make use of it except in very exceptional circumstances. They also knew that expatriates generally demanded adherence to the notion of 'strict answerhood', and that they would become very annoyed indeed if in their opinion someone was not answering to the question. Thus, the reductions served to elicit answers more

quickly and to allow fewer chances for the respondent to stray from the subject. If these reductions still did not produce the desired information the interpreters took recourse to a singularly effective technique. They would make explicit one or more defining features of questions, those aspects of questions which we take for granted but which linguists and logicians have been at great pains to ferret out and put into words for us. One interpreter after having received a number of unsatisfactory answers to a number of questions of his, all aiming at the same information, finally told his client what kind of an answer he should give assuming certain conditions happened to be true

Interpreter: No, it's got nothing to do with that. The way he's holding you, when he does that, say: 'It hurts' - if it should [hurt]!

Or another interpreter in interpreting a given question set out the precise conditions under which the client was to give one or the other answer

Kiap: ... is it true or not [that you took the money]?

Interpreter: ... did you take the money or didn't you? If you did, say: 'Yes, I took it'; if you didn't, say: 'I didn't take it.' Did you truly take it or didn't you take it?

The same interpreter on another occasion specified to his client whether the question was to be answered exclusively or not

Kiap: Would you prefer to be jailed for six months or pay a fine or receive five lashes?

Interpreter: If you would prefer to be jailed for six months say so; if you want neither to be jailed nor receive five lashes say you want to pay the fine!

7.7.2.10. PAPUA NEW GUINEA INTERPRETERS AS CONFERENCE INTERPRETERS

The findings reported on in this section are the results of ongoing research. They are, therefore, sketchy at times and of a preliminary nature. They are based on a partial analysis of an Assistant District Commissioner's visit to our village in preparation for the 1968 House of Assembly elections and the interpretation was almost exclusively from Tok Pisin to Enga (50 instances of conference-type interpretation of Tok Pisin to Enga versus two instances of Enga to Tok Pisin). I have arbitrarily considered interpretations which took up four or more lines (18.5 words or more on the average) of (handwritten) transcription as cases of conference-type interpretation and the others as instances of liaison interpretation.

The length of the Tok Pisin original varied greatly, ranging from 11 to 165 words, the average length being 50 words, and the median being 35 words. The length in words of the interpretation ranged from 16 to 207 words, the average length being 74 words, and the median being 55 words. The ratio of the number of words in the original versus those in the target language varied from .16 to 1.19, the average being .68, and the median being .70.¹⁸ In other words, the interpretation is nearly one third longer than the original, as far as the number of words is concerned. This is a significant addition which goes beyond that expected by the addition of interpretation markers such as those mentioned in 7.7.2.6. under quotative devices. The statistics for the interpretation markers are the following: the occurrence of interpretation markers per Tok Pisin-Enga interpretation ranged from 0 to 17, the average number per interpretation being 5.48, and the median being 4.66; the ratio interpretation markers per total number of words per Tok Pisin-Enga interpretation ranged from 0 to .22, the average and median number being .07. Thus even disregarding as genuine additions the percentage of interpretation markers per interpretation and taking into consideration only genuine additions, the interpretations are still 25% or more longer on the average than the original. However, there are a few features which should be noted in connection with the interpretation markers. There was only one instance with no interpretation marker at all; they were all of the sensed or witnessing variety (i.e. no interpretation was marked with the declarative marker *lelyamo* 'he says'), and some of the longest interpretations had the least number of interpretation markers. These were generally passages which were distinguished from others by two criteria: (1) the government official imparted information to the people rather than criticised them, (2) the information imparted constituted the main purpose of the patrol and had been given to other villages along the route of the patrol so that by now the interpreter was reasonably familiar with it; it was comparatively value-neutral and concerned matters relating to the election rather than to the relationship government official-villagers. As such, they were also free of oratorical bravura, but high in paraphrases within the interpretation, as the interpreter felt he had the licence to proceed on his own with explanations and instructions. In contrast to this were some interpreted passages where the percentage of interpretation markers was comparatively high, where almost every sentence closed with *lalumu* 'I sense he is saying'. These were generally passages where the government official was scolding the people for having been negligent in their work, for procrastinating and not doing enough to advance the area

economically. Here rhetorical devices such as rhetorical questions, negative sentences, short choppy sentences, etc. abounded, both in the original and the target language and the use of *lalumu* served to underline the general tenor of the government official's utterances.

As for the average increase in the number of words/interpretation over the original (over and above the added interpretation markers) there were very few *ad hoc* additions such that the interpreter would have introduced entirely new material. Most of it consisted of paraphrases (as mentioned above), but also of things made explicit which were only implicit in the original or were known by everybody as being relevant to the subject matter at hand, as in the example which follows below. The text on the left hand side represents the Tok Pisin original; it was delivered as a single passage. The text on the right hand side of the page represents the Enga interpretation which was delivered as a single passage following the Tok Pisin original. I have placed the two versions side by side in order to better illustrate the omissions, additions, paraphrases, etc., and I have for this purpose divided them up into roughly corresponding sections and subsections with appropriate headings.¹⁹

Tok Pisin	Enga
(1) INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT	
(i) I went on leave four months ago and	(i) I sense he is saying the following, I sense he is saying: 'When he was gone, when I was on leave I stayed for four months.'
(ii) I've come back now and looking at this place find that nobody has kept up the road.	(ii) I sense he is saying: 'During the four months I was gone no work worth mentioning was done.'
(2) TRANSITIONAL STATEMENT	
It is true you've finished the road, but having finished it you forgot about it.	I sense he is saying: 'While he was gone those four months you had most definitely finished the road ready for all of us to see by the time I returned.' I sense he is saying: 'You made the road, but

Tok Pisin

Enga

(3) DETAILS

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) Nobody is working on the soft patches, | (1) |
| (ii) trying to straighten the tracks the cars leave, | (ii) obviously you didn't fill in the holes made by the cars with gravel.' I sense he is saying: 'It is obvious you didn't repair the road with gravel.' |
| (iii) straighten where there has been a slippage, | (iii) |
| (iv) repairing the bridges, | (iv) |
| (v) repairing where the water has run all over the road, and | (v) I sense he is saying: 'It is obvious you haven't repaired where the bouncing water has been gushing down the road.' |
| (vi) pulling out the grass, | (vi) |
| (vii) nothing of the sort; | (vii) |
| (viii) everything is in a state of disrepair. | (viii) I sense he is saying: 'It is obvious you left everything just as it was.' |

SUMMARY PARAPHRASE OF (3)

- (i) I sense he is saying:
 'Surveying the scene and having turned your backs at the sight and having said let's leave it as it is you left it as it was and it is obvious that everything has been left undisturbed.'
- (ii) I sense he is saying: 'You didn't put gravel down, you didn't put the road into perfect condition by getting the stones from the riverbed and spread them out on it;

Tok Pisin

Enga

it is obvious that you didn't
do that and instead left
everything as it was with
that intention in mind.

(4) ASSIGNING THE BLAME

In four months there has
been nobody,

It is obvious that due to
the fact that you have

(i) no councillor who has talked
to everybody, or

(i) an incompetent councillor
and

(ii) a ward representative tel-
ling everybody to

(ii) ward representative

(a) watch out for things
that needed to be re-
paired,

(a)

(b) telling the people to
hurry up and repair
things

(b)

nothing of the sort.

everything has been neglec-
ted in this way.'

(5) SUMMARY AND CONSEQUENCES

(i) Everybody has been taking
it easy -

(i) I sense he is saying: 'It
is obvious that nobody is
doing his job properly.'

(ii) if something was broken
down they left it at that,
so that

(ii)

(iii) the bush can advance

(iii)

(iv) block the road, and

(iv)

(v) cover up the gardens:

(v)

(vi) the houses decay and

(vi)

(vii) nature is master again.

(vii)

Assuming now that the government officer wanted the interpreter to interpret what he had said rather than give a résumé in the spirit of his talk, one is left to wonder how he expected the interpreter to perform his task. Under the circumstances the interpreter performed admirably and the way he discharged his responsibilities is noteworthy.

For all points which I consider as major points in the original, there are corresponding sections in the interpretation; furthermore, the order in which they occur in the original is preserved in the interpretation. Within the major points, however, considerable variation has taken place. In (1) (1) specific reference to work on the road has been omitted and the government officer's remarks are generalised to apply to all work. Of the eight kinds of detail mentioned in (3), only (ii), (v), and (viii) are referred to, and (ii) only as a liberal paraphrase where reference to the tracks left by cars has been omitted by the interpreter and where he has added that this should have been fixed with gravel; the other points are omitted as specific points.

The omission of these points is compensated for in some degree by a summary statement on the causes of the current state of disrepair in which everything appears to have been left and by repetition by paraphrase of (3) (ii) and renewed reference to the apparent neglect which the people have shown in regard to maintaining the road in top condition. Reference to the specific qualities councillors and ward representatives should have is omitted in (4) and instead a summary statement as to their alleged competence substituted. This is a serious misinterpretation; it is brought about undoubtedly by a principle whereby the interpreter based himself on his client's presumed intentions rather than on what he (= the client) actually said.²⁰ When the interpreter came to (5), he had obviously reached his limit and was capable only of a brief summary statement; the following six specific points were entirely omitted. It is significant that these happened to be the last six points in the original.

In view of the above we may say that the interpreter's foremost concern was to render the speech in its main outline by seeing to it that none of the major sections was omitted. Within that context he felt at liberty to omit or add points which were not directly contradictory with what had been said in the original. Long lists of points he reduced to up to three points, compensating for the reduction both by stressing one or the other point specially and/or by concentrating on the general statement which the individual specific points were supposed to illustrate. However, his capacity to render even a few individual specific points declined in proportion to the total length of the passage he had to interpret such that he interpreted a few specific points at the beginning of the passage but omitted more and more as he went along. His attempts at paraphrasing were in the direction of recovering the intentions of the speaker and this was especially so where he could not remember at all what precisely had been said. Since a speaker's

intentions are very difficult to recover reliably, especially under a situation of stress such as the interpreter finds himself under when performing, this habit of the interpreter's of trying to recover the intentions is also very likely going to be a continuous source for more or less serious cases of misinterpretation.

7.7.2.11. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA INTERPRETERS

In 7.7.2.5. I briefly alluded to some of the factors affecting the performance of Papua New Guinea interpreters; however, they were the kind that are difficult to analyse. In this section I will try to deal with some of the factors which appear to me to be more amenable to analysis. I will do this by a comparison between a medical interpreter's performance and that of a government interpreter's in court.

The government interpreter's performance led to overall confusion and was more nearly an exercise in attempts at disentangling misunderstandings rather than smoothly flowing discourse. The medical interpreter's performance, on the other hand, was on the whole satisfactory and free of the frustrations felt by everyone in the court session. Yet from a technical point of view their skills were about equal, in that neither of them had ever been trained professionally as an interpreter, and both had evolved certain interpreting techniques which were roughly comparable in their overall effectiveness. Both were oriented more towards the needs of their expatriate clients who relied on them by giving them a comparatively free hand in eliciting the kinds of information they (the expatriate clients) were interested in.

A difference in the average length of each piece of discourse by the interpreters' clients was undoubtedly one of the reasons for the difference in performance. For example, the government interpreter had to cope with a greater number of comparatively long pieces of discourse, while the medical interpreter had to deal mostly with short exchanges.

However, there are two other reasons which must be assigned greater weight; (a) the medical interpreter was first and foremost an orderly; he had been trained professionally as a medical assistant and he was thus familiar with the subject matter, while the interpreter in court had never received any professional legal training and the little he had been able to assimilate while acting as interpreter in court cases was certainly not enough to qualify him as a legal assistant; and (b) the medical interpreter had to deal with 84 individuals each with a more or less specific complaint, while the court interpreter had to deal with only four, each with a complex story of his own which evolved along with

the proceedings. This was in a sense a causative factor for the longer stretches of speech the government interpreter had to deal with. Thus, he had to keep track of a multitude of facts and statements, all of which somehow were related and yet needed to be kept apart, while the orderly could start afresh after almost every exchange.

However, on the few occasions when the medical interpreter was confronted with a situation in which he had to interpret for more than two clients, doctor and patient, at a time, i.e. when he also had to interpret evidence from relatives of the patient, or opinions advanced by other orderlies, the interpretation process deteriorated and the number of misunderstandings between doctor, patient, and orderly increased rapidly to the point where one exchange finally took up 7.5% of the total length of the doctor's round and where the total percentage of interpretations increased to 14% of the total, i.e. 31 interpretations out of 219, as against 2.6 on the average. That this was not due to the fact that the doctor might have wanted to investigate more extensively can be seen from another exchange in which the doctor did examine the patient more thoroughly, with the result that the percentage of interpretations increased to 12% but where the percentage of time taken up by the exchange (in comparison to the total length of the round) amounted to only 2.7%, i.e. only slightly more than the average of 2.6 interpretations per exchange.

This suggests very strongly that although an interpreter versed in the subject matter of the conversation which he interprets is at a distinct advantage over the interpreter with only an imperfect knowledge of it, this is not enough for him to interpret as well as he should or as he could were he trained as a professional interpreter. Admittedly, the interpreter's clients can make his task a most difficult one, or even make it impossible for him at times, but it is nevertheless such, that the well-trained interpreter secure in his professional skills knows how to deal with difficult situations and he will be able to train his clients in the course of the conversation to converse in a manner suitable to interpretation.

7.7.2.12. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

It will be clearly impracticable to educate the entire population of Papua New Guinea within the time that interpreters will still be needed and to a point where they will come to appreciate some of the difficulties of the interpreter's job in order to make it easier for him. But it should be possible to make the interpreters themselves aware that certain practices of theirs are liable to lead them into difficulties

in some situations, and that there are generally accepted ways whereby interpreters behave both socially and technically. Similarly, it should be possible to instil some awareness of the possible difficulties faced by the interpreter into his employers, so that they at least will learn to avoid the most common mistakes that interpreters' clients generally make; this should ease the interpreters' burden considerably.

Short training courses for interpreters of even two days' duration would help them greatly; similarly, during their regular training, government officers who are likely to be posted outside the main urban centres and who are likely to be dependent on interpreters in at least some of their dealings with the population at large could receive some basic training in interpreting problems, especially in those areas which would affect their behaviour towards their interpreters. Foremost among these problems would be dangers inherent in the current practice of having the interpreters perform two roles at once, interpreter and intermediary.

7.7.2. TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF ORAL INTERPRETATION

N O T E S

1. This is a revised and expanded version of a paper read before the Seventh Annual Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea at Port Moresby in September 1973.

2. I will confine my remarks to the kinds of interpreting done on the government stations, on patrols, and in hospitals, since historically this is exclusively where interpreting was done in Papua New Guinea until 1964. In that year the First House of Assembly convened, and with it began a simultaneous interpreting service. Data on this aspect of interpreting in Papua New Guinea may be found in Hull 1968.

3. The data on Enga were collected from 1967 to 1969 while I was a research scholar at the Australian National University. I am indebted to the Administration of the (then) Territory of Papua and New Guinea as well as to the Catholic and Lutheran Missions working in the area for their help and co-operation, and to the people of Kopetesa in the Lalagam District for sharing their lives with us while my wife and I lived among them for 18 months. Tumu Popeoko and Ngangane Yaetusa of Alpusa, Wabag District, were of invaluable help during the transcription of the tape-recordings of natural conversation.

An Australian National University Postdoctoral Travelling Fellowship enabled me to study interpreter training methods in Germany and England. I have benefitted from discussions with Dr H. Kirchhoff and other members of the interpreter training section at Heidelberg University, Herr Muerlebach and his colleagues at Germersheim, and the interpreter training staff at the University of Saarbruecken. I am especially indebted to the director and his staff at the Sprachen-und

Dolmetscherinstitut Muenchen and to Mr A.T. Pilley of the Linguists' Club, London, for the kindness and interest shown in answering my many queries.

4. As Paneth 1957 has pointed out, when we talk about simultaneous interpretation we really talk about a situation where the interpreter lags between two and four seconds behind the speaker. Her statements have since been confirmed by Oléron and Nanpon 1965, Barik 1972, Amoser 1969, Goldman-Eisler 1972, and Strub 1970 (Strub's findings were available to me only through Kirchhoff 1971). Strub also appears to have relevant data on the question of anticipation and what she calls an optimum starting point. Amoser's data show that the distance at which the interpreter follows the original when it and the target language are closely related is less than that for more remotely related languages. It still needs to be investigated whether the distance at which the interpreter follows the original is also less for unrelated but typologically similar languages.

5. Liaison interpreters have also been referred to as conversational or *ad hoc* interpreters.

6. It is especially in regard to (4) that the Papua New Guinea interpreters fail most often.

7. cf. Barik 1972, Goldman-Eisler 1972, and Marslen-Wilson 1973.

8. cf. Paneth 1957, but especially Lampe-Gegenheimer 1972.

9. Lampe-Gegenheimer 1972.

10. Lampe-Gegenheimer 1972.

11. This was shown quite clearly again in a recent seminar on interpretation problems in Papua New Guinea when it was suggested by a lecturer in communication that for a possible interpreter training scheme for Papua New Guinea one of the world's leading translators should be hired. When questioned on his use of the word 'translator', he indicated that he meant someone versed in written translation.

12. For further discussion of some of these complications see the chapters 7.7.4. and 7.7.5. by Tomasetti and Minogue in this volume.

13. So far I have not investigated to what extent the structure of different languages influences the interpretation process in Papua New Guinea. Most Papuan (i.e. non-Austronesian) languages have SOV word order while most Austronesian languages have VSO or SVO order and these differences undoubtedly are noticed by the simultaneous interpreter. However, since this chapter addresses itself to the problems of the Papua New Guinea conference/liaison interpreter, the differences in structure between different languages can be safely disregarded for the moment.

14. Miller notes that absolute judgement is limited by the amount of information and immediate memory by the number of items. In our everyday lives we overcome the limits our immediate memory places on us by recoding 'bits' of information into 'chunks' of information which then become 'bits' themselves. It appears that this recoding of 'bits' into 'chunks' was not sufficiently utilised by the interpreters and that this lack in their technical skill was not always recognised by their clients.

15. So far I have not worked with a rigid definition of what I here call 'point'. I have been guided by what I have intuitively considered significant units of information; these most often turned out to be full propositions, but on occasion subject, direct object, indirect object, etc. were designated 'points'. This is an area which needs further work. Bruner's hypothesis is clearly relevant here, i.e. that perception in less complex societies is more likely to fill the magic seven slots with the particularities of a certain object or event than with a domain of the alternative events that might have occurred - cf. Bruner 1966:324.

16. For one such investigation for simultaneous interpretation cf. Barik 1971.

17. For detailed examples of the kinds of misinterpretation see Lang 1976 and 1973.

John Ballard has suggested that there may well be a cline whereby the interpreter moves from carelessness to wilful distortion, and there may well be borderline cases where it is difficult to decide whether the case at hand is one of carelessness or wilful distortion. However, for the majority of cases no such classificatory difficulties exist.

18. This ratio is in striking contrast to that found by Amoser 1969 for simultaneous interpretation. The ratio for German-Italian was 1.28, that for French-Italian 1.31, and that for French-German 1.25.

19. Below are the original Tok Pisin and Enga texts. The ratio in this example of the number of words in the original versus the number of words in the interpretation, $\frac{123}{103} = 1.20$, is atypical in that it is usually considerably less than 1. The following abbreviations are used in the interlinears: 1/2/3 = first/second/third person, AG = agentive, AUG = augment, BE = 'to be/have', COMP = completive, CONJ = conjunctive, CONT = continuative, DEC = declarative, DED = deductive, DET = definite determiner, DIR = directional, EMP = emphatic, FUT = future, HAB = habitual, IDET = indefinite determiner, IMP = imperative, INF = infinitive, INST = instrumental, LOC = locative, NEG = negation, NOM = nominaliser, O = complementiser, PL = plural, PRES = present, PUR = purpose, QUO = quotative, SEN = sensed mode, SG = singular, and TEM = temporal.

The hyphen indicates morpheme breaks, the equation sign unitary lexical entries in the Enga or Tok Pisin version which cannot be so rendered in English.

Klap: Mi go pinis long foa mun long spel na mi kam gen na mi
I go PAST for four months on leave and I come again and I
 lukim dispela hap hia ino gat wanpela man em iwok long stretim
see this place here NEG BE one man who work to repair
 rot. Tru, oli wokim pinis rot. Tasol wokim pinis lusim
road true you work PAST road but work PAST forget=about
 pinis. Ino gat man iwok long stretim graun malomalo, igirap
PAST NEG BE man work to repair pieces soft attempt
 stretim mak bilong wil bilong ka, stretim hap rot ibruk
repair track of wheel of car repair side road cracked
 ipol daun, stretim bris ibagarap. Stretim wata iran long
fall down repair bridge damaged repair water run over
 namel long rot, rausim gras, nogat. Bagarap pinis. Insait
centre of road pulling=out grass no damage PAST for
 long foa mun ino gat wanpela man, ino gat wanpela kaunsul
TEM four month NEG BE one man NEG BE one councillor
 itokim ol o wanpela komiti itokim ol lukim
talk all or one ward=representative talk all look
 samting ibagarap hia, yupela hariap na stretim, nogat. Oli
something damaged here you=PL hurry and repair no All
 isi isi, lukim samting ibagarap pinis bagarap pinis na ... bus
slowly see something damage PAST damage PAST so bush
 ikirap na daunim, pasim rot, kaperimapim gaden, haus sting,
advance and swallow block road cover=up garden house decay
 winim yupela.
conquer you=PL

Interpreter: Opa-na la-l-u-mu: Baa pu-pa-la pitu-a-me
 DET-QUO utter-PAST-3SG-SEN he go-COMP-INF sit-O-CONT
 koto nyo-o kata-p-u ongo kana kitumende kata-p-u-na
 leave take-O BE-PAST-1SG DET month four BE-PAST-1SG-QUO
 la-l-u-mu. Kitumende kata-p-u utupa-nya kalai
 utter-PAST-3SG-SEN four BE-PAST-1ST DET=PL-TEM work
 mende pi-pa-e yaka na-le-ly-ama-no-na
 IDET do-COMP-NOM enough NEG-utter-PRES-1PL-DEC-QUO
 la-l-u-mu. Baa kana kitumende utupa kata-p-u
 utter-PAST-2SG-SEN he month four DET=PL BE-PAST-1SG
 ongo dee kanda-ma ae pilyi-p-u-pa kaitini-mba
 DET again see-IMP=1PL here return-PAST-1SG-TEM road-EMP
 p-i-ami lyamo-ka-na la-l-u-mu. P-i-ami
 hit-PAST-2PL DED-EMP-QUO utter-PAST-3SG-SEN hit-PAST-2PL
 kaitini ongo-nya kato moko si-py-a ongo endaki kea
 road DET-LOC car wheel BE-PAST-3SG DET water gravel
 se-ta-o puu na-p-i-ami lyamo-na
 put-COMP-O fill=in NEG-do-PAST-2PL DED-QUO
 la-l-u-mu. Endaki kea tola-la na-y-ami
 utter-PAST-3SG-SEN water gravel straighten-INF NEG-PAST-2PL
 lyamo-na la-l-u-mu. Ipa lio-o kaitini-nya
 DED-QUO utter-PAST-3SG-SEN water bounce-O road-LOC
 pyakaya-py-a ongo tola-la na-y-ami lyamo-na
 gush-PAST-3SG DET straighten-INF NEG-PAST-2PL DED-QUO
 la-l-u-mu. Si-na ka-y-ami lyamo-na
 utter-PAST-3SG-SEN lie-3IMP leave-PAST-3PL DED-QUO
 la-l-u-mu. Lenge-me kanda-ta-o pitu-a-me mee
 utter-PAST-3SG-SEN eye-INST see-COMP-O sit-O-CONT merely
 kanda-nya yakina-ta-la ongo pi-pa-e sa-lapa-pe
 see-PUR leave-COMP-INF DET do-COMP-NOM leave-2PL=IMP-FUT
 la-ta-la ka-y-ami-no-pa ongo mee
 utter-COMP-INF leave-PAST-2PL-DEC-TEM DET merely
 si-ly-a-me lyamo-na la-l-u-mu. Endaki kea
 lie-PRES-3SG-DEC DED-QUO utter-PAST-3SG-SEN water gravel
 se-t-a-wa-pi auu pyo-o ipa nyo-o tola-o
 put-FUT-1SG-IMP-CONJ well do-O water get-O straighten-O
 kana se-ta-o kaita ongo-nya tola-la
 stone put-COMP-O road DET-LOC straighten-INF
 na-y-ami-no ongo-pa opa pe-ta-e mee so-o
 NEG-PAST-2PL-DEC DET-TEM thus do-COMP-NOM merely lie-O
 kate-na la-ta-la kae-ly-ami-ni lamo-na. Yaka
 BE-3IMP utter-COMP-INF BE-PRES-2PL-DEC DED-QUO okay
 la-o kanjolo na-kate-nge, kometii
 utter-O councillor NEG-BE-HAB ward-representative
 na-kate-nge jo-o omo-nya mee si-ly-a-me lamo-na
 NEG-BE-HAB become-O DIR-LOC merely lie-PRES-2SG-DEC DED-QUO
 la-l-u-mu. Opa pe-ta-e mende-me yaka la-o
 utter-PAST-3SG-SEN thus do-COMP-NOM IDET-AG okay utter-O
 kalai na-pi-ly-ami-ni lamo-na la-l-u-mu.
 work NEG-do-PRES-2PL-AUG DED-QUO utter-PAST-3SG-SEN

20. In fact, the government official did later on indicate in slightly different words that he considered the councillor incompetent, but this was not yet apparent at the stage where the interpreter introduced the notion and it must, therefore, be regarded as unjustified.

7.7.2. TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF ORAL INTERPRETATION

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7.7.3. INTERPRETATION PROBLEMS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A NEWSPAPER EDITOR

Francis Mihalic

7.7.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Until the last decade Melanesian Pidgin was virtually only a spoken language. The only 'literature' in it were some primers, hymnals, catechisms, story-books, prayer-books, and biographies published by the various missions. Occasionally the Administration would put out a short directive or piece of information in Pidgin.

This entire compendium of written Pidgin came from the pens of expatriates. So did the largest opus yet to appear on the Pidgin market, the 862 page *Nupela Testamen*.

It is only recently that local Papua New Guineans have come into the field of written translation. Even today such work would be confined to the National Broadcasting Commission's central and regional news rooms and to the publications section of the Department of Information and Extension Services.*

In the newspaper field only the trilingual organ of the United Party called *Poroman* and the national and independent *Wantok* depend to a great extent on translation of news items from English. We shall confine our remarks to the translation and interpretation problems of *Wantok*.

Wantok is a fortnightly newspaper - or more exactly a news magazine - which appears only in Melanesian Pidgin. It has a circulation of over 7,000 and can vouch for more than 50,000 readers throughout the country, including Papua, which is sometimes taken for granted as being non-Pidgin-speaking. The paper has been in existence since 1970 and, except for the editor, its staff is entirely localised.

Most of the material that appears in *Wantok* is a translation of news releases arriving almost daily from the Department of Information and

* Now the Office of Information.

Extension Services in Port Moresby. These arrive in typical news journalese, a fact which can create a problem for us right from the start.

7.7.3.2. INTERPRETATION PROBLEMS

Our interpretation problems are basically those inherent in all written translation. It is much easier for a speaker to translate something he has just heard. He automatically concentrates on the main ideas expressed and only secondarily on the words used. The biggest pitfall in translating from text to text, we find, is that the translator tends to bog down in a morass of words and may completely miss the main idea intended. He tends to transliterate words and phrases in the exact order in which they appear in the English original. The result can be ridiculous and unintelligible non-Pidgin.

It takes us months of training with news releases to get our staff to be able to reduce paragraphs or sentences to their basic kernel idea. Only then can they expand them into Pidgin correctly.

In newspaper writing this expansion is quite controlled, for articles are often tailored to fit a certain amount of column space. This requires tight writing - to which Melanesian Pidgin lends itself badly even in normal circumstances. Pidgin is basically a rambling, loquacious, descriptive, poetic language. It is very anemic in abstract terms at this time; though words like self-government, independence, motion, and profit have been accepted unchanged into the vocabulary.

7.7.3.3. DIFFICULTIES WITH TRANSLATORS

Two kinds of translators cause us problems. The one who is not proficient enough in standard English, and the other who is constantly using only English in daily speech and has consequently forgotten true Pidgin. A Form 3 graduate can get the general gist of a news release such as we receive, but he will often miss the true meaning of key words and expressions. He fears to lose face by asking for help. Consulting a dictionary can also give him a bad steer. More often than not he will venture a guess and the resultant translation has a 50/50 chance of being completely wrong.

On the other hand the newsman or journalist who is involved with nothing but English all day long tends to write 'Pidgin English', or, if you prefer, 'English Pidgin'. He passes off as Pidgin such terms as: Unitori o Federal Gavman sistem, Baikemerel o Yunikemerel sistem, Edministretas Eksekativ Kaunsil. These expressions have been lifted directly

out of the English version of the Constitutional Planning Committee's instruction sheet. They are a good example of what also happens in newspapers. And of course, then they communicate nothing.

The local newspaperman over-exposed to English tends consciously or unconsciously to use: hospital for haus sik, mekim for '*to make something*', tumbuna stori for stori bilong tumbuna, profit for winmani, krosim rot for kalapim rot, infomesen for tok save, pilai graun for ples pilai. These are rank anglicisms today.

Mr Paul Freyberg quoted a typical sample of over-anglicised Pidgin at a recent lecture at the University of Papua New Guinea's symposium on Pidgin. It reads in part:

Mi diplorim tru dispela tendensi long moa na moa englishaisesen bilong dispela tok bilong Papua Niugini. Wanpela man husat i save tok Inglis pinis tasol inap andastanim mining bilong dispela kain tok. Tasol husat husat i no gat Inglis edukesen na bikpela Inglis vokabyulari bai no andastan And so on...

7.7.3.4. WRITING ADVERTISING COPY GEARED TO A PAPUA NEW GUINEAN PUBLIC

Writing advertising copy for newspapers geared to a Papua New Guinean public presents special problems. A trade name normally sells nothing here. What are Glossmasta or Penta-vite or Prolac but foreign words? These must be described in the advertisement. The only exception would be S.P. (beer).

There are also times when a name can be troublesome. Take the case of Lintas Advertising Company wishing to insert an advertisement about a powdered soap called Omo. Suppose that your copy writer wanted to say: 'This is the best powdered soap you can buy'. It so happens that over the years another powdered soap called Rinso has become a byword; in fact rinso has become a Pidgin word meaning '*powdered soap*' - much the same as Roneo or Mimeograph have for duplicator, and Victrola or Gramophone for the talking machine, as it was originally called. It would be entirely possible for a Pidgin translation to come out like this: 'Omo is the best Rinso you can buy'. Understandably the Lintas people would be happy.

At this stage of Pidgin's development and expansion it is often a trump card to sell advertisers on the idea that if they keep their product before the public in a Pidgin medium, it can well become a standard term in that language.

Papua New Guineans like the human approach in advertising, the use of some incident out of daily life. For example, in selling aspirin

the message gets across immediately if we picture a boy with a string tied around his forehead. This means he has a headache and is trying to relieve it. Then just say that an aspirin does this better and faster.

Sometimes there are subtle overtones that a foreign advertiser does not appreciate. Recently we refused to advertise a drug that surely would have found a large market in Papua New Guinea: something to clear away the cobwebs after a night of drinking. We could find no way of saying this without equivalently encouraging people to drink all they wanted - so long as they took product X afterwards. We preferred to drop the subject and the product.

An advertiser's pictorial copy might also have to be adapted to local culture. Some approaches offend. Recently Gillette sent us advertising copy that showed a European couple nude from the waist up, presumably in the bathroom where she is admiringly caressing his smoothly shaven face. The nude bit would not help Papua New Guinea sales at all. Sex appeal here is not that overt. Just a man enjoying his shave and his long-lasting blade would make a more practical approach. Shaving does not interest women here.

7.7.3.5. COMIC STRIPS

7.7.3.5.1. TRANSLATION OF COMIC STRIPS FROM OVERSEAS

The translation of comic strips from overseas has its own problems. *Wantok* used to run a one line series of Walt Disney's lovable dog Scamp. The fact that Scamp talked was taken in stride; after all, animals and trees and stones also do in the ancestral legends of Papua New Guinea. Too often the problem was the situation in the first cartoon. Scamp's take-offs were mostly on European situations that were unintelligible to Papua New Guineans.

In a comic or cartoon strip like Scamp, the reader must be able to project himself into the situation skillfully hinted at in the first frame. Unless he can do this, the rest of the comic is lost on him. With just a few little hints like a curved line, a starfish, a sailboat in the distance, you know that the opening scene is a seashore. But every one of those items is meaningless to a New Guinea Highlander. And so, therefore, will be the plot that builds around it.

It is for that reason that we were forced to have a running commentary underneath each illustration telling the reader just what was happening so as to prepare him for the punch line - which would also have to be explained in a way that would make him appreciate the humour of it.

In the Appendix are a few examples. We left the original English text where it was. At the moment we are having better luck with an entire page of 'Phantom', mainly because the entire topic centres around something close to Papua New Guineans: sorcery. Here the entire text is in Pidgin.

In Western culture the newspaper caricature or cartoon is worth many thousand words and is one of the ultimates of sophisticated humour. A good cartoon takes technique, wit, imagination, learning. But this can be completely lost on the Papua New Guinea reader. He goes strictly on overall first impressions; the details pass him by. He may never even notice the explanatory caption, which more often than not packs the wallop.

For example *Wantok* wanted to do the United Party a favour and bolster its morale after it had failed in its first attempt at forming a government. So we pictured two soccer teams, clearly distinguishable by their names on their guernseys as Pangu and United Party. Pangu has just kicked a goal and the whole team is exultant. United and its goalie hang their heads in shame. The scoreboard gives the score as 1 - 0. But it is only the first quarter of the game, you subtly notice from the scoreboard. In order that they may also notice this, we have an explanatory paragraph of encouragement to the United players that runs like this: 'Don't worry, United. The game is still young. You still have many chances to make many goals. Courage.' But the United Party members who saw the cartoon never even noticed the caption. They took a hasty look at the cartoon and accused us of making fun of their misery. (See Appendix.)

7.7.3.5.2. CARTOONS MUST IDENTIFY WITH THE CULTURE

Cartoons carry the message well if they identify well with the culture. Self-government and independence are still empty words to many Papua New Guineans. We had two ways of explaining them visually. The first went like this: A woman (Australia) is pregnant - that is your colonial status ... completely dependent. The next scene shows a young mother going about her work, with her baby coming along in the net bag The idea is: the baby is now born; it breathes, eats, moves freely ... but it still needs the mother for many things. This represents self-government. The third drawing shows a young man and woman at a marriage ceremony ... he is paying for the bride-to-be. Now he is independent, he is grown up, has his own house and garden. This message went over well.

Another way of saying the same thing was with a car. This series of illustrations was made by an amateur local artist, as one can readily

see by the incorrect perspective. But local readers did not notice that detail at all. The main impact was right on their wavelength.

The first picture shows a European driving a car; a local sits beside him, asking when he can learn to drive. This represents former days of White domination.

The second illustration has the local at the wheel and the European giving him instructions on how to drive. This is self-government ... not quite complete control; Australia still nearby to help if needed.

Complete independence is shown in the third drawing where the local is driving all by himself. Actually part of this picture was left out on government advice. The complete illustration (see Appendix) shows two Whites standing alongside as he drives off. Actually they are saying: 'He knows how to drive now and has a licence Fine, I hope he always drives well.' The government was afraid people would get the idea that the local had taken the car away from the Europeans. There was a bit of this idea in many heads at the time and the fear was that such a cartoon would only bolster it.

7.7.3.6. ILLUSTRATION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA NEWSPAPERS

Illustration in Papua New Guinea newspapers also has rules of its own. A survey conducted half a dozen years ago by Kristen Pres of Madang has been of constant help to us in newspaper editing. They took half a dozen subjects and made a series of illustrations of these all the way from 'stick men' illustrations to half tone photographs. The survey over a large area showed that Papua New Guineans did not want stick men or line drawings or shaded drawings; they wanted photographs. In general there, too, they prefer a group shot to an individual portrait. One final word on illustration: go easy on the caricature. It is very easily misunderstood and taken for ridicule.

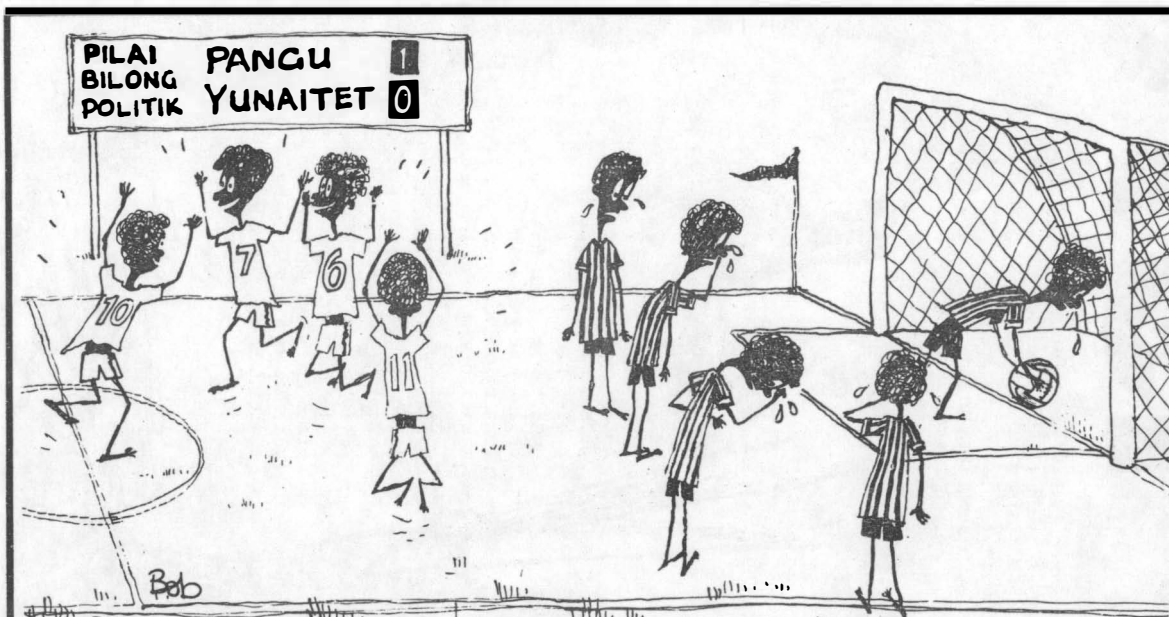
7.7.3.7. CONCLUSION

Learning to tailor the style of a newspaper to a people which has never ever had one, has its own peculiar problems. Granted that people can be educated beyond their prejudices, this takes time. The first problem is to get them to read. There is virtually no reading habit in Papua New Guinea. At this stage we try to get the paper into as many hands as possible. So we choose topics and angles and pictures and a style that gives information as pleasantly as possible. And yet it must be exact and correct. Our readers tend to take as Gospel truth

whatever is printed. We can never afford to let them down. That alone makes us strain every effort to present our message as best we can.

APPENDIX
Cartoons from Wantok





STORI BILONG DISPELA PILAI i go olsem:

Man i droim dispela piksa i laik soim tupela tim i pilai kikkal. Tim i win i hepi tru. Tasol wara i kapsait long ai bilong tim i lus.

Dispela piksa i makim tupela bikpela politikal pati: Pangu na Yunaitet. Pangu i bin win; Yunaitet i bin lus. Tasol, sori, Yunaitet i no ken kraik, i no ken bel hevi, i no ken kros. Pasin bilong politik i olsem pasin bilong pilai: wan-

pela tim tasol i save win. /

Pangu tu i no win oltaim. Long las Haus Asembli planti Yunaitet memba i minista. Pangu nogat.

Yunaitet Pati, bel bilong yupela i no ken sol na i no ken kaskas. Yupela taitim bun tasol. I gat taim yet; i gat moa pilai yet.

Tupela tim i pilai strong moa em i mekim gutpela pilai tru, gutpela gem tru. Mipela laikim olsem tasol - bai kantri i strong.

BIKPELA YIA BILONG YUMI

1973



Yumi lukim mama long lephan i gat bel. Em i gat pikinini, tasol yumi no lukim em. Pikinini i hait i stap. Em i olsem kalabus insait long mama.

Dispela em i olsem piksa bilong Papua Nu Gini nau. Yumi stap insait long bel bilong Australia yet. Em i no karim yumi yet. Bai em i karim yumi long dispela yia yet.



Long raithan yumi lukim wampela yang-pela man i bilas i laik baim meri bilong em. Boi hia em i man pinis nau; em inap marit.

Baim meri pinis, orait nau em i go sindaun long haus bilong em stret. Em i lusim papamama. Em i mekim wok bilong em stret. Papamama i no moa bosim em.

Em i kisim independens pinis.

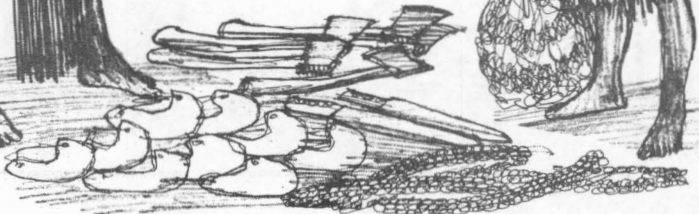
Long Papua Nu Gini yumi no save yet bai independens i kamap long wanem taim.

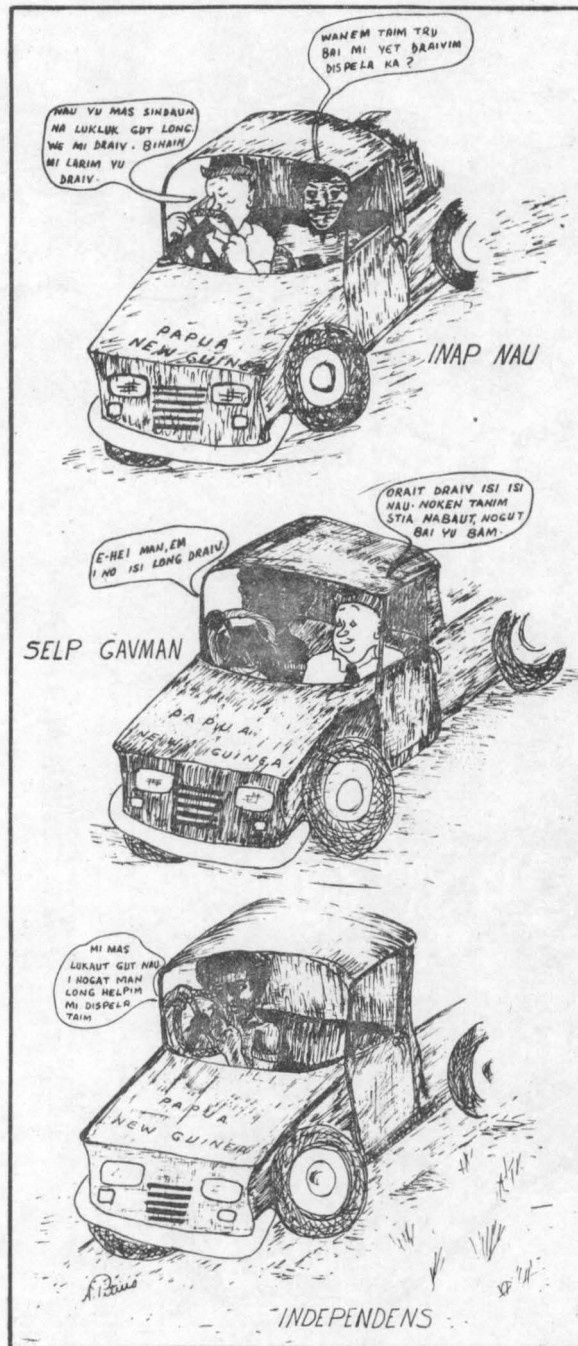


Antap yumi ken lukim wan pela mama i karim pikinini pinis. Pikinini i stap ausait long mama nau. Ta sol mama i karkarim nabaut long bilum yet; olgeta de mama i givim susu long em.

Em i piksa bilong selp-gavman. Pikinini i no moa kalabus; nogat. Em inap kaikai na wokabaut.

Tasol i gat planti samting em i mas lainim yet. Olsem em i mas skul planti yet. Na em i save papamama i oltaim sambai long em.





7.7.4. INTERPRETATION PROBLEMS IN DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

W.E. Tomasetti

Editor's Note: This chapter is predominantly a historical study and discussion, and it has therefore been decided to leave references to 'districts' and 'sub-districts' unchanged in their previous meanings and not to alter them to bring them in line with the present nomenclature.

7.7.4.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This chapter initially attempts to show how the basic features of pre-colonial Papua New Guinea society and the methods of colonial administration raised the need for interpretation services. It then describes the main features of the services that were created to meet this need. There follows an examination of the three salient features of the work of interpreters in district administration. The conclusion attempts to predict the future of these three features.

7.7.4.2. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION, AND OFFICIALS

In 1884 Papua New Guinea entered the phase of its history during which it was to be a colony of western powers.¹ The colonial powers adopted a system of district administration through which to govern the 180,000-odd square miles of territory for which they had assumed responsibility. Progressively the territory was divided into a number of districts, each of which was subdivided into sub-districts. As government intensified its functions, districts and sub-districts increased in number, and, *pari passu*, reduced in size. Each district included a head station, and each sub-district its station. Administration and departmental officials lived and worked at these stations. They thus were foci of government activities, and points of continuous contact between officials (immigrant) and the public (largely indigenous).

Papua New Guinea society had no formalised institutions of government covering large aggregations of people through which the colonial powers could govern indirectly. All types of government activities thus required direct dealings between expatriate officials and an indigenous public. A village officialdom was created to facilitate these dealings. In the other fields of Western activity that rapidly appeared - that is Christian evangelisation, commerce, and primary industry - similar direct dealings characterised interpersonal relationships between indigenes and expatriates.

Papua New Guinea's complex distribution of frequently mutually unintelligible languages adjacent to each other, with each used by a comparatively small number of speakers, is well known. In any one sub-district therefore the government personnel posted there would be working with a public speaking any one of up to 20 languages. How, then, did government personnel and members of the public talk to each other? On the one hand European languages were used by the dominant immigrants. Apart from German in German New Guinea between 1884 and 1914, English was used. On the other hand were the 700-odd indigenous languages. Rapidly developing from 1884, and coming into use in the linguistic middle ground, were the two *lingue franche*, Pidgin and Hiri Motu.

Few Papua New Guineans learned English until 1945 when a national primary education programme commenced. By 1966 no more than perhaps 10% of the indigenous population could claim literacy in English,² and the great majority of this percentage was concentrated in towns. Few immigrant 'Europeans' learnt any of the indigenous languages.³ For those government personnel who could overcome the daunting problems of learning without materials or tuition what were most likely to be highly difficult languages, the further problems of choice of language had to be faced. In ten years a government official may have served on five or six stations dealing with a population among whom 50 perhaps radically different languages were spoken. Clearly whilst government personnel could pick up a smattering of one or two languages, they could not be expected to learn indigenous languages to use in their dealings with the public.

What was probably the only official attempt to organise courses teaching indigenous languages to government personnel as a career training element was made in the late 1950s. This attempt has had no currently recognisable effect on the Public Service.

The emergence of Pidgin and Hiri Motu met the need for a language common to indigenes and immigrants. Large numbers of Papua New Guineans learnt one or both of them as part of their adjustment to the national

culture, emerging in competition with discrete village or tribal cultures.⁴ At the other end of the language spectrum a significant fraction of expatriates whose work involved day to day dealings with Papua New Guineans also learnt one (or both) of the *lingue franche*.

7.7.4.3. INTERPRETERS

However, there have been and still are innumerable day to day situations in which government business has to be transacted between an official and a member (or members) of the public who have no common language. These situations raise the need for interpreters. Sometimes, of course, one of the public on the spot interprets on an *ad hoc* basis. But there has always been a need for a body of specialist interpreters to work in districts.

Two types of interpreters are used - village interpreters (or *tultuls*), and station interpreters. The office of *tultul* originated in the Territory of New Guinea, and with few exceptions, *tultuls* were appointed only in New Guinea. *Tultuls* achieved their honorary office by appointment made under the Native Administration Ordinance. Each lives in his own village and is on call to visiting government personnel. However, in New Guinea districts the number of *tultuls* has been steadily reduced since the early 1950s, until at the time of writing in late 1973 it is only about 250. This resulted from a government policy of abolishing the office in all villages incorporated into local government councils. Thus in those sections of New Guinea in which station interpreters have not been appointed, the commencement of local government has meant the termination of official interpretation services.

Station interpreters have been appointed in Papua since 1884. They are salaried members of the Public Service employed full-time at government establishments. The statutory basis for their employment has varied from time to time.⁵ Conditions of engagement have steadily improved and most station interpreters are now career public servants.⁶ However some are employed on a temporary basis. In 1973 the Division of District Administration (the organisation within the government responsible for district administration) employed approximately 170 station interpreters. These were posted throughout the country in twos and threes in all the Papuan districts and in some districts of New Guinea. There were historical reasons for this extension of a Papuan practice into New Guinea.

Since 1945, as government expanded into areas hitherto unadministered, the Papuan policy for provision of station interpreters was adopted in the four New Guinea highlands districts and also in the newly

administered sub-districts of some other districts such as West Sepik and Morobe. However, in many instances, tultuls were also appointed in villages in these areas.

In summary therefore there were in late 1973, about 170 station interpreters and 250 tultuls working.⁷ Whilst the bases of their service differed, and the methods and criteria by which they were selected also differed, many of the features of their work were similar.

Because few station or village interpreters had had any formal schooling and had not otherwise learnt English, their interpretations were in most cases from a vernacular into one of the *lingue franche* known by the official for whom they were interpreting. Many taught themselves a wide selection of English words which were useful in interpretation.

7.7.4.4. THREE FEATURES CHARACTERISING THE WORK OF INTERPRETERS

Three features characterise the work of interpreters in district administration in Papua New Guinea. The first of these is of a basic culture/linguistic nature. The second concerns the verification of skills in interpreters. And the third deals with the genesis of professional ethics.

7.7.4.4.1. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PAPUA NEW GUINEAN AND WESTERN CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC SET-UPS

The first feature about interpretation is of a basic culture/linguistic nature. It is a truism that there are vast differences between Papua New Guinea 'culture' (if such a broad generalisation has any validity) and Western culture. These differences are reflected in the scale of the differences between these languages. This does not refer only to differences in syntax and morphology, phonology, and vocabulary which are all real enough. Rather it refers to the differences between each culture (and language) in: (a) their total stores of knowledge; (b) their sources of new knowledge and the value each puts on each of its sources; (c) the schemes by which each works out relationships between units of knowledge; and (d) the categories into which each divides its store of knowledge.

English serves an urban, technological, industrial, society with centralised and specialised institutions. In almost diametric opposition, Papua New Guinea languages serve micro-rural societies that are on the subsistence level in economics, preliterate and generally unspecialised.

In other words, the languages on both sides of the situation are each laden with ideas, concepts, values, and systems of relationships between things quite different to each other; which, in any case, could not always be adequately, economically, and elegantly translated to and from the other. Perhaps individuals with the capacity and leisure fully to understand each culture and language could perceive the intellectual and linguistic relationships necessary to find common ground. Most station and village interpreters are capable of achieving, and therefore wisely aspire to, lesser aims.

In practice, of course, experience did much to help interpreters find ways out of the general difficulties outlined above. Whilst they would be required to interpret over a wide range of matters, this range would include topics that tend to re-occur in broadly similar terms. This range of matters would have increased from the last decades of the 19th century to the 70s of the 20th century.

In its early phases government concentrated on exploration, pacification, and law and order. Any interpreter working, for example, on his ninth murder investigation would probably find many points of familiarity between it and earlier cases. But 80 years later the work of district administration has expanded to include involvement in fostering modernisation through political, economic and social change. This rapid enlargement of the stock of ideas, attitudes, and techniques in constant use in district administration in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh decades has strained the capacity of interpreters to interpret. Nevertheless in the same way as law and order administration dealt with repetitive issues, so could an interpreter build on his experience of repeated topics and situations in development administration.

7.7.4.4.2. COMPETENCE OF INTERPRETERS IN LANGUAGES

The second feature about station interpreters is the inability of the employing authority to be certain of the competence of the appointee in the languages which he is appointed to interpret. In all cases this would be one indigenous language and one (or two) of the *lingue franche*. Additionally, many station interpreters claimed competence in perhaps up to four or five indigenous languages, and were expected to interpret them from time to time. It is only in the last decade that there has been any substantial literature on Papua New Guinea languages and much of this is not necessarily readily available to officials concerned with appointments. In any case, a very large fraction of the languages remain unstudied. This general lack of documentation means it is impossible

scientifically to test an appointee in the languages in which he is required to be proficient, although of course in post-war years specific interpretation skills could have been tested.

Usually however, the recommending official sought the opinion of local persons, generally personnel serving on the station. Their opinions were not necessarily informed and objective, as it was unlikely that they would be proficient in the relevant languages.

Proven skills in the designated languages could not thus be expected of station interpreters. Apart from doubt about their competence in the relevant languages, the only training station interpreters received was on the job training from those with longer service than themselves. There were no formalised training courses arranged by those with the necessary specific skills. No doubt many of the interpreters had innate skills; but no doubt also learning on the job often resulted in technical sterility and general obsolescence of techniques.

This situation was perhaps often compounded by an absence of skill in using interpretation services among those government personnel and members of the public using them. But interpreters could be relied upon generally to exercise ingenuity sufficient to bridge gaps in their knowledge and if necessary conceal from their seniors any deficiencies in their work. But this is a serious drawback of the system.

In the case of tultuls, the office was generally perceived, in a de facto way, as being one of potential importance in village politics. The office of 'Luluai', senior in a village, generally went to the nominee of the prime faction: the office of tultul similarly went to the nominee of the second faction. Political interest rather than language ability could thus be expected to dominate the motives of those sponsoring a new appointee. There was usually a wide choice, as a tultul had only to speak his village language and Pidgin.

There are some practical checks on interpretation in situations in which settlement of an issue between two parties is sought. Each party at the settlement generally maintains a running check on the accuracy of the interpretation, and is free to dispute any inaccuracies that seem to jeopardise its interests. Resolution of such challenges, however, could seldom be on the basis of linguistic verities, rationally established.

7.7.4.4.3. RELATIONSHIP OF PUBLIC SERVANTS TO THE PUBLIC IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The third feature arises from the relationship of public servants to the public in Papua New Guinea. Expatriate public servants working

in Papua New Guinea operate on traditions of public service derived from those which took shape in Britain in the middle of the 19th century. These stress the obligation of a public servant to give honest, diligent and loyal service to his seniors and the service. These ideals have been rapidly embraced by nationals in the Public Service in Papua New Guinea as a national public service has developed.⁸ In the early years of the colonial regime loyalties of outstation personnel tended to focus on individual officials. The police force in particular developed strong loyalties and *esprit de corps*; this was helped by ordered daily routines, uniforms, direct and continuous contact with seniors. Commonly, members served away from their home area and therefore away from family and other primary social obligations.

Station interpreters also developed pride in their work, the very nature of which kept them involved at the centre of public affairs in their own community, and in a network of interpersonal obligations of many sorts to their kin and others. The need to reconcile these obligations, sometimes in conflict with their loyalty to government, must have been constant. Even so, station interpreters had more room for manoeuvre and compromise between pressures and loyalties than village interpreters would have had. A tultul's world was a village - a tight system of intimate obligations, the discharge of which were subject to public review. Interpretation was commonly done in the hearing of their neighbours whose interests may either be enhanced or diminished, depending on the outcome of the issue being determined, with the assistance of the tultul.

Interpreters' services are generally required when the even tenor of village life has been disturbed by some unlawful event. They are thus important in the process which initiates a restoration of harmony and balance in the village. It is thus not surprising that members of the public they serve expect them to go outside the simple role of interpretation, and act as *de facto* advocates who have the advantage of knowing the system and therefore have the attributed capacity to manipulate it. It would indeed be surprising if immediate parochial social obligations did not sometimes dominate an interpreter's work, in defiance of his emergent 'professional' standards. That the system works at all provides evidence of the calibre of the individuals and their appreciation of the societal value of the function they are performing.

The dilemma of interpreters is a simple one. The idea of loyalty to an organisation is one that they have to learn '*de novo*'. But they are products of, and remain embedded in, societies with traditions of absolute loyalty to family and clan.

7.7.4.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

These three factors that make difficult the function of interpretation in district administration have existed since the commencement of administration, and they are unlikely to disappear. The effect of the first factor will wane as more and more Papua New Guineans receive primary and secondary education and so achieve a sounder understanding of Western culture in general and in particular those aspects of it that are influential in modernising Papua New Guinea culture. But the spread of improvement that these new skills will make in interpretation in rural situations is unlikely to be dramatic.

Similarly, it is difficult to imagine the study of language in Papua New Guinea proceeding at a speed that will provide documented and scholarly studies of all languages in the next few decades. The scale of academic resources necessary for such an advance are unlikely to be available. Whilst various universities maintain scholars in the field and the Summer Institute of Linguistics has commenced a wide range of studies, a significant number of languages in Papua New Guinea remains unstudied. The situation in which an applicant for an interpreter's position can be properly tested in the languages he is required to speak is not yet in sight.

It is in the third factor that some improvement can be expected. A national public service is emerging rapidly in Papua New Guinea in response to the tempo of national constitutional development and a growing public interest in and concern with national political affairs. Improvement in the *esprit de corps*, an enhanced awareness of public service standards, and a growth in loyalty to the new nation state among the corps of interpreters may well result from specific training courses and the consolidation of the national public service.

7.7.4. INTERPRETATION PROBLEMS IN DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

N O T E S

1. Great Britain, Germany and Australia were variously involved as Metropolitan power. Japan conquered and administered parts of Papua New Guinea between 1942 and 1945.
2. Bureau of Statistics, Population Census 1966, Preliminary Bulletin No.20.
3. Most of the exceptions were missionaries.
4. Pidgin has well over 1,000,000 speakers, and Hiri Motu up to 230,000.
5. Relevant statutes are listed hereunder:
 - (a) From 1905 to 1947: Native Crown Servants Ordinance (Papua)
 - (b) From 1947 to 1960: Native Labour Ordinance (Papua and New Guinea)
 - (c) From 1960 to 1964: Administration Servants Ordinance (Papua and New Guinea)
 - (d) From 1964 to date: Public Service Ordinance (Papua and New Guinea).
6. Currently (late 1973) the public service includes only one class of interpreter. Qualification for the position is simply the ability to 'translate' (sic), and the salary range is \$890-\$1,125. By comparison, the first four classes of Clerk (one to four) include among qualifications for the position possession of the School Certificate (satisfactory completion of Form 4). The class one salary range is \$930-\$1,255, and the class four range is \$1,905-\$2,115. After about ten years' service, a clerk may well achieve double the salary of an interpreter with 20 years' service.

7. Department of the Chief Minister and Development Administration records.

8. This process has only recently gathered momentum. Much remains to be achieved in this sensitive and vital field.

7.7.5. INTERPRETATION PROBLEMS IN THE COURTS

John Minogue

7.7.5.1. INTRODUCTION

In Papua New Guinea the National Court is invested with complete criminal and civil jurisdiction and has at some time or other to cope with all or most of the 700 indigenous languages spoken in this country. The language of the Court and of the judges at present comprising it being English it must rely heavily on such interpretation services as it can command. The difficulties in this field are enormous and time-consuming.

The practice of the law demands precision in the use of language and many are the cases in which in the civil field words are scanned with great care to ascertain the meaning intended to be ascribed to them in the context in which they are written or spoken - e.g. in contracts, in cases of defamation, in the interpretation of statutes - whilst in the criminal field it is oft-times necessary and difficult to ascertain from the words of a penal statute its precise scope and so whether a person charged is within that scope. All this applies where the English language alone is concerned. Where as in Papua New Guinea the law has to be applied in the case of people who for the most part have no or none but a rudimentary knowledge of its function and it has to be written or expounded in a language with which, again for the most part, the people are totally unfamiliar, the importance of the task of the interpreter will be readily appreciated.

7.7.5.2. INTERPRETERS AT COURT

In Port Moresby - the central seat of the Court - there were, at the time of writing in 1974, two permanent interpreters, one fluent in Hiri Motu and the second in both Hiri Motu and Pidgin. The latter had a

slightly better command of English than the former but of neither could it be said that they were good English-speakers. If interpretation into other languages was called for then an *ad hoc* search was made for an interpreter capable of interpreting from either Motu or Pidgin into that other language. Consideration had been given to the establishment of a central translating and interpreting service but because of the geographical spread of needs and the competing priorities for funds it had been decided that the formation of a centralised service would not be warranted at that time.

None of the *ad hoc* interpreters supplied to the Court could be described as trained. In the 50 or so other centres at which the Court sits it has to rely for the most part on the station interpreters referred to by W. Tomasetti in 7.7.4.3. This reliance frequently strains the resources of the station beyond its capacity in that it is undesirable that an interpreter who has taken part in the police investigation and who in the course thereof can be expected to have formed his own view of the facts should be used to interpret the evidence of witnesses at the subsequent trial. However, with the gradual spread of literacy there has been an increasing tendency in the case of the larger language groups (e.g. Enga, Medlpa, Kuman, Kuanua) to use interpreters able to interpret directly from those languages into English, and as W. Tomasetti has pointed out in 7.7.4.4.2., the parties in a case are themselves able to keep a reasonable running check on the accuracy of interpretation. This is an encouraging tendency because interpreters supplied are gradually obtaining a much better grasp of the nuances of the English language than is possessed by the station interpreters or tultuls.

7.7.5.3. INTERPRETATION AND THE CRIMINAL LAW

Nowhere in the life of the law are problems of interpretation of more importance than in the administration of the criminal law. Whilst my own experience has been confined to the National Court what I have to say has I think general validity in all courts. Offences against the criminal law of course range from the most minor (some would say trivial) to those of the highest concern to the State. But every offence may involve a defendant in risk to his property, reputation or liberty and in the most serious may involve deprivation of life itself. In every case the Court must be and is concerned to apply one of the great legal maxims - Not only must justice be done but it must be seen to be done.

It is in the application of this maxim in Papua New Guinea that problems of interpretation are most difficult of solution. Let me try

to explain by taking a comparatively straightforward murder case as an example. A person who unlawfully kills another intending to cause his death or the death of some other person is guilty of wilful murder. Where a person is charged with wilful murder it is essential that he knows precisely what the charge against him is so that he can make answer to that charge. It will be seen that the elements of the charge are the unlawful killing and the intention to cause the death of the person or of some other person. The unlawfulness of the killing involves that there be no lawful excuse or justification. Somehow all these matters have to be conveyed to the accused person. The presiding judge or magistrate while having these elements in his mind will in all probability rearrange the somewhat elliptical words of arraignment to fit in with the circumstances of the particular case. For example, his words of arraignment may run something like this:

Aima, the Government says that you were in the big fight at Kumbai, and that you ran after a man from the Tangi clan and hit him several times on the head and neck with your axe and you killed him. It says also that when you did this you meant that this man should die.

Where the accused man has no familiarity with either Pidgin or Hiri Motu this charge must first be translated into whichever is appropriate of these two lingue franche.

In Pidgin the proper translation of 'intent', i.e. 'meant that he should die' could cause difficulties. So can the word 'killed'. In the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain in a recent case a good deal of evidence and argument was directed to whether kilem would adequately convey the idea of death or whether it would mean to the listener merely striking or wounding and whether or not the proper interpretation should have been kilem em i dai pinis. The importance of this can be realised when the words occur in a confessional statement. Can the Court be satisfied that the accused person is admitting to murder or merely to striking? When this arraignment has to be interpreted into another language and as has been known on rare occasions into yet another then of course the Court has no idea or control of what is being conveyed. In such circumstances it normally solves the initial difficulty by entering a plea of not guilty, but this is only the beginning of the difficulties because it is the Court's task to listen to the evidence which in its turn may have to go through one, two or perhaps three interpreters, none of whom except perhaps the first will have had any education and all of whom as far as I can judge frequently are hard put to persuade the witness to separate direct evidence from hearsay (that is, evidence of what he has seen or heard himself from what he has been told by others).

Again it is quite common for the interpreter to have difficulty himself in separating the responses of the witnesses from what he himself may have learned of the case. Often an interpreter will assist a witness by filling in the details of that witness' testimony either from his own knowledge of the circumstances or from what he has learned from the interested parties who have come to the Court.

7.7.5.4. PROBLEMS OF CHAIN INTERPRETATION

I have said that justice must be seen to be done and this involves conveying principally to the person or persons charged but also to the villagers or townspeople who have a real interest in the outcome of a trial what is going on and what is being said. The problem becomes acute when different language groups are involved. It may be that a person from one area is accused of killing or doing some harm to a person from another area. Witnesses may be called both for the prosecution and the defence. Evidence for the prosecution may be given in a language not that of the accused. That evidence will have to be translated from the witness' language into, say, Pidgin and then into English for the Court and to the language of the accused so that he will know what is being said against him to enable him to assist in the conduct of his defence. Similarly if evidence is given by witnesses of yet another language group then one further step is added to the complication. When evidence is given for the defence that may also have to be translated into the lingua franca and English and also into the language of the victim's clan or tribe. One can readily appreciate the time that this procedure involves and the way in which proceedings of the Court are slowed.

When the case is concluded there is a salutary burden cast upon the judge in that he has, first having decided what his decision should be, to formulate his decision and the reasons for it in the simplest language possible for easy translation into the lingua franca.

7.7.5.5. DEFINITION OF 'REASONABLE DOUBT'

In the criminal law one of the basic principles of criminal justice is that it is for the prosecution to prove guilt and not for the person accused to prove his innocence. Further the tribunal must be satisfied beyond reasonable doubt before it can pronounce a person guilty. The words 'reasonable doubt' have occasioned some trouble in English courts although the High Court of Australia takes the view that it is a phrase incapable of definition and every juryman knows what it means. Notwithstanding this authoritative pronouncement some judges have attempted

at least to explain the phrase. It connotes a very high degree of persuasion to the mind. One does not treat it as a mathematical proposition. 'Reasonable doubt' betokens a degree of satisfaction something less than absolute certainty but something much more complete than acceptance as a matter of probability. Of course it involves a conception known for centuries to English law of the 'reasonable man'. For my part I do not think that the conception as known and applied in English law has entered into the thinking of the villager of Papua New Guinea and in any event what is reasonable to him may be entirely unreasonable to one trained in the common law. Be that as it may the judge or other tribunal has to try and explain that he must be satisfied beyond reasonable doubt and whether and why he is or is not so satisfied.

I recall a case some years ago when I had as an interpreter a young Madang girl who had been brought up in an Australian household and who throughout the trial of a case which I was conducting had interpreted as I thought impeccably into English and Pidgin. However, the phrase 'reasonable doubt' was beyond her. There is no exact equivalent for either word in Pidgin and I had to essay the task in a circumlocutory fashion of trying to do what some Australian judges have been criticised for doing, that is attempt to explain the meaning of the phrase in a fashion which I thought could be satisfactorily rendered to suit the comprehension of the accused person and of the audience in Court. From memory the solution I adopted was to try to bring home the meaning of reasonable doubt by analysing the evidence with a view to showing the lack of conviction it brought to my mind and that it should have brought the same lack of conviction to the minds of those in court had they been discussing the events at a village meeting and were careful to disregard rumours heard and prejudices held, at the same time looking for an innocent explanation of the accused man's actions. I cannot say that I was completely satisfied with the result of my attempt but this may be an acknowledgement of the power of human prejudices rather than a confession of linguistic failure.

7.7.5.6. THE RECORD OF INTERVIEW

7.7.5.6.1. GENERAL REMARKS

In a great many cases proof of guilt of an offence depends upon admissions made by a person during police questioning. Of recent years there has grown up a technique known as the Record of Interview. This is a technique which subject to proper safeguards has acquired acceptance in the Australian courts and also in those of Papua New Guinea.

This is not the place to discuss the adequacy of the safeguards nor difficult questions of admissibility of evidence which may arise when a Record of Interview is tendered to the Court, but shortly stated the Record of Interview is the written record of a series of questions put by the interrogator and answers given by the person being questioned as to his knowledge of a criminal offence. It is of particular importance that the person suspected or being questioned understands the question and that the questioner understands and accurately records the answers. It will be readily appreciated that where an interpreter or interpreters have to be used the opportunities for error are legion. Most police officers and investigators are able to speak Pidgin and quite a few Hiri Motu but their degree of skill in the spoken language varies widely and skill in making a written record is even more varied.

Generally speaking the technique is to type or write the question first in English then ask it in Pidgin (or as the case may be Hiri Motu), listen to the answer in Pidgin and record the answer in English. If the person being questioned acknowledges the correctness of the Record then he is asked to sign or make his mark on the document and it is tendered to the Court. All this seems simple enough but the Court of course has not any idea of the actual words used by the interrogator or the person questioned and if guilt is denied and if there be a denial of admissions set out in the Record then the interrogator has to be examined as to the actual words in Pidgin which he used and as to the actual words spoken to him by the accused person. This leads to a most unsatisfactory situation because the police interrogator when he comes to give evidence days or even weeks or months later is most unlikely to remember the precise words used and indeed it is more than likely that during interrogation he has framed his questions in more than one way. What of course happens is that he has the Record (in English) before him and then attempts to reconstruct what he feels he must have said and likewise what he feels the answer must have been. It is not unknown in these circumstances for an independent interpreter to be in Court making a re-translation into English of what the witness has reconstructed in the witness box. In many cases no harm is done because by the time a serious criminal case reaches the Supreme Court defence counsel is fully aware of the accused person's story and is satisfied with the substantial accuracy of the admissions contained in the Record of Interview.

However in some cases, and this is a course favoured by the National Court, the Record of Interview is taken in Pidgin and a translation into English is supplied to the Court. The Court is able with the

assistance of experts to assess both the accuracy of the translation and the facility of the questioner in using and understanding the Pidgin language. I should interpolate to say that I am not aware of any Record of Interview having been recorded in Hiri Motu nor in any other of the languages of Papua New Guinea so of necessity I must confine myself to Pidgin.

7.7.5.6.2. A CASE STUDY OF PROBLEMS WITH THE RECORD OF INTERVIEW

In a comparatively recent lengthy trial conducted before me in Rabaul and in which there were a number of people charged with wilful murder the case against each one was made principally by his own confessional statement so recorded. A good deal of time was of necessity devoted to an analysis of what each accused man had actually said during questioning. I should explain that each accused came from the Kabaira area of the Gazelle some 20 miles from Rabaul where a local language is spoken which is incomprehensible to the Tolai people of Rabaul and of the other parts of the Gazelle. However, all the Kabaira people speak Kuanua (with a local pronunciation) which is a lingua franca of the Gazelle and a language with a literature of its own. A high proportion also speak Pidgin. The procedure generally adopted in police questioning in this case was that a European police officer would conduct an interview or interrogation in Pidgin and type the Record in that language. There existed quite marked differences in skill amongst the several officers engaged. It was initially sought by the prosecution to tender the interrogator's translation of these statements. Some of these translations were made at a considerable time after the actual interrogation and some were remarkable for their inaccuracy. The course eventually adopted was to have an expert accepted by the Court prepare an independent translation. Two significant features of these translations were, firstly, the inaccuracies of the police translations which I have noted, and, secondly, the number of significant alternative interpretations into English of the Pidgin used during interrogation - significant in the sense that they required the Court to carefully consider the whole context of the document to attempt to conclude what was really meant by the accused man. The whole of the evidence given in respect of the taking of these Records of Interview and the attack on their contents was interpreted directly into Kuanua for the benefit of the accused men by a Tolai primary school Principal, and I might add by one of the most skilled interpreters I have heard in my experience. It might occasion surprise that I am able to pronounce on the skill of an interpreter when I have no familiarity with the language into which he was interpreting. Before calling on him

to interpret I satisfied myself that he had a good comprehension of and fluency in English. His native tongue was Kuanua. It was clear from the outset that he appeared to have no difficulty in interpreting and from my observation of the accused men their interest in what he was saying was patent. At the end of his first day's interpretation I asked counsel to enquire of their clients as to their satisfaction with the interpreter and all expressed their ability to follow and understand all that he was saying. I should also say that counsel had available the services of interpreters who were able to keep a check on the court interpretation and, as far as I can recollect, there was no occasion on which his interpretation was queried at their instigation.

In the case of one person accused in this trial the Record of Interview was made in Pidgin although this language was not spoken or understood by the person being interrogated. Here the technique was to use the services of a police constable whose mother tongue was Kuanua and who was said to be (and appeared to me to be) reasonably fluent in Pidgin. The police officer interrogating asked the questions in Pidgin which were translated by the constable into Kuanua, answered by the person being questioned in Kuanua and those answers interpreted into Pidgin which was recorded by the police officer. The person accused placed his mark upon the written Record of Interview, allegedly acknowledging its correctness. I refused to admit the document, not being satisfied that the accused was able to acknowledge the Pidgin as being an accurate interpretation of what he had said in Kuanua nor indeed an accurate record of the Pidgin used in the interrogation as he was unable to read or understand the words on the document. The Kuanua constable was called to give evidence of the Kuanua words that he had used in interpreting the Pidgin. Understandably (the interview having taken place months previously) he was unable to recollect anything beyond the fact that he had acted as interpreter and the device adopted was to have the Pidgin question by question read to him and to ask him to translate or to interpret into Kuanua what he would have said to the accused. Eventually the Court was able to be satisfied that he had interpreted with substantial accuracy but it was a process which took an extremely long time. Indeed more than a Court sitting day was devoted to this task. I felt myself that as Kuanua has been a written language for many years it would have been preferable to have recorded the whole interview in that language.

I have spent some time on this technique because from the point of view of the Court it is important to have an adequate record made at the time which can be relied upon as being made while memories of events

are fresh. Properly used it provides a safeguard for the accused person in that it tends to prevent the addition of things which the interrogator thinks ought to have been said and with the passage of time is convinced have been said.

7.7.5.7. AN EXAMPLE OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN DEFINITION

Perhaps by way of light relief and to further highlight the difficulties which the courts may face I recall a civil case which I had to try some years ago in Rabaul. It was an action for defamation, the defamation allegedly being words spoken by one woman of another impugning her moral character. Both women bore names redolent of Irish ancestry but to my surprise on coming into court each was of distinctively Chinese appearance. I learned that one wanted to give her evidence in Cantonese whilst the other required a Pekinese interpreter. To finally confuse the matter the defamatory words were uttered in Pidgin and the word containing the core of the insult was capable of two interpretations, one being highly defamatory, the other being quite innocuous. After a veritable feast of language, most of which in its original oral form was completely incomprehensible to me, I felt compelled to find for the defendant.

7.7.5.8. CONCLUSION

I see no early nor easy solution to the problems of interpretation in the courts. It behoves judges and magistrates to acquire some expertise in the *lingue franche*. All of the judges of the National Court have been careful to acquire a good comprehension of Pidgin and with the eventual localisation of all tribunals this comprehension can be expected to become widespread. However, as I saw the situation in 1974 it appeared to me that for the foreseeable future it would be necessary for members at least of the then Supreme and now National Court to have a good comprehension of English and to have the assistance of as capable interpreters into the other languages of Papua New Guinea as can be obtained. The language in which the law is generally expressed, being English, it seems to me too that the same consideration will apply to the magistrates of the inferior courts except perhaps for the Village Court. It may be that I seem to be making out a case for the universalisation of Pidgin but I do not really think this will provide the answer to the problems I have sought to outline.

PART 7.8.

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND ENGINEERING

7.8.0. LANGUAGE PLANNING AND ENGINEERING IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

S.A. Wurm, P. Mühlhäusler, D.C. Laycock

7.8.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: TWO KINDS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING AND ENGINEERING

In spite of the exceedingly complex language situation in the New Guinea area in which approximately 1,000 indigenous languages, close to a dozen local, almost exclusively missionary, lingue franche, two major lingue franche in Papua New Guinea, four metropolitan languages (historically German and Dutch, at present English and Indonesian) and some other intrusive languages such as Japanese and Chinese have been playing a part, relatively little systematic language planning and language engineering has been carried out in the region.

In general terms, language planning and engineering can be carried out on two distinct levels, one sociolinguistic and relating to the guided use and functions of a particular language or languages in given situations in terms of a conceived language policy, and the other relating to the form and nature of the particular language or languages involved. It may perhaps be possible to restrict the use of the term 'language planning' to the former and 'language engineering' to the latter though there could be difficulties in establishing a clear-cut boundary between the two. It seems more appropriate to refer by 'language planning' to the acts of consideration and planning before a process of interference with language is actually initiated, and by 'language engineering' to the process of active interference itself, but here again it is very difficult to draw a line separating the two. In this chapter, the terms 'language planning and engineering' will be used on a more general level, and 'language engineering' on the level of direct interference with language structure.

7.8.2. SOCIOLINGUISTIC-LEVEL LANGUAGE PLANNING AND ENGINEERING IN THE NEW GUINEA AREA

Most of the acts of language planning and engineering in the New Guinea area belong to the first of these two categories:

Two major, and effective, acts of language planning and engineering on the general sociolinguistic level stand out in the history of concern with languages in Papua New Guinea: one is the successful elimination of Pidgin in Papua between World Wars I and II, in part as a by-product of the encouragement of the use of Police Motu as a lingua franca and its use by the Police Force and Administration Officers, and the other the exclusive official use of English in the education system in Papua New Guinea during the past 20 years. It seems very probable that Papua New Guinea will long be suffering badly from the successful carrying through of both these acts of language planning and engineering, both in terms of lingua franca and national language difficulties, and perhaps also politically as the artificially strengthened Police Motu, now called Hiri Motu, has been chosen as a rallying point for the current separatist movement in Papua - and in terms of serious problems confronting many of those who had their primary education in English and who are now in a kind of cultural and economic limbo. A third major, and totally unsuccessful, act of language planning and engineering was the almost universal condemnation of Pidgin by almost every language planner and authority concerned with language in the area including the United Nations (see 7.3.2.7. in this volume), and the efforts directed at its elimination in areas outside Papua. In spite of this, Pidgin had continued flourishing at an ever-accelerating pace, and could potentially be heading for a bright future.

Other significant acts of language planning and engineering on the sociolinguistic level are constituted by the adoption of certain local languages as regional lingue franche by various missions in Papua New Guinea. The languages involved, and the circumstances surrounding their adoption and introduction as lingue franche, have been discussed in the various chapters subsumed under 7.4.5. in this volume.

7.8.3. LANGUAGE-LEVEL LANGUAGE PLANNING AND ENGINEERING IN THE NEW GUINEA AREA

7.8.3.1. ALPHABETS AND ORTHOGRAPHIES

7.8.3.1.1. Local Languages and Lingue Franche

Turning to the second kind of language planning and engineering, i.e. acts relating to the form and nature of particular languages themselves,

it may be mentioned that acts of reducing hitherto unwritten languages to writing through the creation of alphabets and the standardisation of alphabets for local languages and *lingue franche* where several parallel alphabets have been in use, come loosely under the heading of language engineering. Matters relating to this sphere of problems have been discussed in chapter 7.2.1. in this volume and matters of vernacular literacy which directly arise from them, in 7.2.3. They have also been touched upon in several of the chapters subsumed under 7.4.5. with regard to missionary *lingue franche*.

7.8.3.1.2. Pidgin Orthography

As with local languages and missionary *lingue franche*, the attempts at creating, and introducing, a standardised alphabet and orthography for Pidgin (see also 7.4.1.4.6.3.1.) is within the orbit of language engineering. Their history and varied successes, or the lack of them, have been discussed in some detail in Wurm 1976. The following is a brief summary:

The recognition of the English origin of the great majority of the vocabulary of Pidgin has been an important factor influencing the spelling of Pidgin words right from the beginning of its reduction to written form and this is still so today in some ways: every one of the spelling systems so far created for the language, even those allowing for the special nature of Pidgin phonology, has shown a readiness on the part of its designer to make allowances for the English origin of the words and to imitate characteristics of the English spelling system even if they may be at variance with Pidgin phonology.

A good example of the imitation of English spelling principles is the fact that several Pidgin spelling systems, including the two most widely used ones, distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops, i.e. b and p, d and t, g and k, in many instances in accordance with the spelling of the English source words, rather than with the quite different principles of Pidgin phonology.

Another typical example is the presence of both l and r in all Pidgin spelling systems, with their appearance being determined by their use in the English source words. However, in many Pidgin varieties the sound rendered by both l and r in writing is only one sound, i.e. an alveolar, or sometimes retroflexed, flap.

In very early passages written in Pidgin, the words were spelled according to the spelling of the English source words, or of what was thought to be the English source words, and this usage continued in the

English-speaking orbit for quite some time in isolated cases, often mixed with other spelling principles.

At the same time, an important part of the early approaches to writing Pidgin took place before World War I in what was then German New Guinea, by German speakers whose attitudes towards spelling habits and language orientation differed from those of English speakers. Amongst these, missionaries occupied an important position and the Roman Catholic Society of the Divine Word (SVD) missionaries devised a Pidgin orthography which was used quite extensively both by the mission and also by the German administration (Hall 1966). It followed English with the usage determining the appearance of voiced and voiceless stops in the English source words, but the five vowel symbols a, e, i, o, u indicated vowel sounds in accordance with the German usage. At the same time, it was tried to approximate, in the spelling, the European (German) speakers', rather than the indigenous speakers', pronunciation with regard to the English-based words in Pidgin.

Missions of other denominations and even Catholic Missions in other parts of New Guinea devised orthographies of their own which differed from this spelling system to a greater or lesser extent.

Until well after World War II, Pidgin spelling systems multiplied, and by the mid-1950s, nine distinct major, and a large number of minor, systems were in use by various missions, different news media, in Pidgin grammars such as Murphy 1943, and by different government departments.

Attempts at standardising Pidgin orthography were undertaken by the Department of Education in the late 1940s and early 1950s, but were abandoned because of lack of co-operation from the various parties involved.

The basic principle influencing Pidgin spelling systems until 1955 was the idea that the decision concerning the nature of individual orthographies rested solely with European speakers of Pidgin. At the same time, practically no attempt at co-operation with a view to standardising Pidgin spelling was made by different agencies utilising distinct spelling systems, and moves aiming for such a standardisation failed for lack of co-operation, and unwillingness to compromise.

However, in 1955, the Department of Education of the Administration of the then Territory of Papua and New Guinea decided that strong official action aiming for the standardisation of Pidgin orthography was needed. R.A. Hall of Cornell University, who had for many years been concerned with the study of New Guinea Pidgin, had a little earlier made detailed orthographical suggestions (Hall 1955a) on the basis of the phonemic analysis of Pidgin carried out by him and his suggestions were adopted as the basis for the creation of a standard Pidgin orthography.

On this basis and the results of detailed work carried out by themselves, T. Dietz and L. Luzbetak devised a new orthography for Pidgin, which, though not quite phonemic, rested on objective evidence gathered from indigenous speakers, and reflected largely the northern coastal dialect of Pidgin, especially that of Madang. This orthography was approved by the Department of Education, the Administrator of Papua and New Guinea and the Minister for Territories in Canberra, and was laid down as the standard Pidgin orthography in an official publication issued by the Department of Education (Papua New Guinea: Department of Education 1956). With a few minor additions it was adopted in Mihalic's Pidgin grammar and dictionary (Mihalic 1957).

At first, resistance to this new orthography by various missions was quite strong, but gradually most of them adapted to it in view of the fact that it was backed by the Administration.

For the short span of two years, Pidgin orthography and spelling seemed to be moving towards general standardisation.

Ironically, the Administration itself was responsible for the downfall of the standardisation which it had itself introduced. While there had been quite some reluctance on the part of the various Administration departments and their European officials to accept the standard orthography, no attempt at all was made to direct the indigenes hired to do the official translating and writing in Pidgin to use it. The naive excuse was that since Pidgin was their own language, they ought to know how to spell it. The result was chaos, and the multiplicity and diversity of spelling systems, at least outside the missionary orbit, was greater than ever before.

At the same time, some missions which had accepted the standard orthography introduced some modifications into it, generally with a view to cancel out some concessions to English spelling which it contained and to approximate it more strongly to the pronunciation of Pidgin in the northern coastal, especially the Madang, dialect. The Lutheran Mission in particular proceeded in this manner and devised a modified standard Pidgin orthography which also contained some concessions to specific spelling suggestions by indigenes. This spelling was used in the Pidgin translation of the New Testament which was published in 1969 and has become the largest and most circulated book ever published in Pidgin: 40,000 copies of this 861-page book were sold in the first nine months after its appearance. This wide circulation, mostly amongst indigenes, has contributed to familiarising indigenous speakers of Pidgin with the specific modified standard orthography used in it.

As a result of this, the spelling of Pidgin by many indigenes who had had access to the New Testament began to become gradually adapted to the New Testament spelling. At the same time, most of the publishers of Pidgin literature and other printed materials, with the notable exception of the Government Printer and the Department of Information and Extension Services, had largely adopted the New Testament spelling in part even before the actual appearance of the book.

In view of these facts a new effort to standardise Pidgin spelling was made in November 1969. Several meetings of over 30 specialists were held with this purpose in mind and a Pidgin Orthography Committee set up under the joint chairmanship of F. Mihalic, the author of the standard orthography Pidgin grammar and dictionary (Mihalic 1957), and J. Sievert, one of the main translators and editors of the Pidgin New Testament. The aim of this committee was to regularise the spelling of Pidgin and to persuade all publishing institutions in the Territory to co-operate voluntarily in the effort. The spelling used in the New Testament was declared the norm to follow, and it was agreed to aim at the universal use of standardised Pidgin in writing. The dialect spoken along the north coast of mainland New Guinea from Lae to Vanimo was adopted as a standard.

However, it was thought unwise to resort to an official decree for the adoption of these proposals. The meeting felt that the various departments of the Administration and other agencies involved would see it to be in their own interest to co-operate voluntarily in this effort.

Subsequently, in 1970, the Orthography Committee made several approaches to government departments and other agencies urging the adoption of the proposed spelling system.

However, the response to these calls was quite disappointing, and a number of departments and agencies continued to use diverse spelling systems in the absence of an official directive.

At the same time, a new edition of Mihalic's Pidgin grammar and dictionary appeared in 1971 (Mihalic 1971). The New Testament spelling was used in it which made available to the public, especially Europeans, important reference materials in this spelling system. Also, other teaching and reference materials published in Papua New Guinea and also outside it (e.g. Dutton 1973) used this orthography which was also employed in the courses in Pidgin held at the Australian National University in Canberra.

As a result of this, a new generation of Europeans who studied Pidgin seriously as a foreign language, was becoming acquainted with Pidgin in this new standard orthography and accepted it without prejudice. Many

of these were persons who since have played an active role on the Papua New Guinea scene, which may well have contributed to the more general acceptance of the new standard orthography there.

At the same time, an entirely new development has taken place in recent years in the emergence of an indigenous Pidgin literature in the form of plays, poems, songs, narratives and stories written by indigenes of generally high, usually tertiary, educational level (see chapter 7.4.1.6.). Writers of such literature mostly employ their own varieties of Pidgin, and the spelling systems used by them reflect the local varieties of the writers and sometimes deviate strongly from the new standard orthography. This dialect literature is very popular amongst indigenes, and constitutes a factor counteracting to some extent the general adoption of the new standard orthography by them.

At the same time, the introduction of self-government in Papua New Guinea in late 1973, the rapid movement towards independence, and independence itself in 1975, has created an atmosphere in which attitudes towards Pidgin in general and its standardisation, and the standardisation of its orthography, could potentially become more and more favourable (see 7.4.1.4.6.1., 7.4.1.4.6.3.1., 7.4.1.5.3.). Its acceptance as one of the national languages of the Papua New Guinea nation still seems to be a distinct possibility, and there have been moves to make Pidgin one of the languages to be used in elementary education in Papua New Guinea - a development which can still be expected to take place at some time in the future in spite of recent official pronouncements not favouring it (see 7.3.2.6. and 7.3.2., Appendix). All this makes the full standardisation of Pidgin and its orthography in the foreseeable future a possible event, and in many ways very necessary. It seems, therefore, that at long last, a fully standardised Pidgin orthography may be expected to become a generally accepted reality to look forward to.

7.8.3.2. LANGUAGE STRUCTURE

7.8.3.2.1. General Remarks

Apart from the level of alphabets and orthographies, language-level language engineering has not been very much in evidence in the New Guinea area, with the exception of some planned or incidental acts coming under this heading with regard to Pidgin and Hiri Motu, and of a few instances involving local languages and *lingue franche* used by missions.

7.8.3.2.2. Local Languages

Apart from matters concerning alphabets and orthographies, one type of language engineering affecting local languages in most instances has been the conscious introduction of new words, often loanwords from English, Pidgin, Hiri Motu or a missionary lingua franca, by the expatriates concerned with the reduction of the local language to writing and its use - most of them missionaries or members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The non-directed adoption of loanwords, mostly from Pidgin and Hiri Motu, by the speakers of local language does not come under the heading of language planning and engineering, but under that of language change (see chapter 5.6.0. in this volume), and is the result of culture contact.

Another common act of language engineering involving local languages which have been reduced to writing is constituted by the choice of a particular dialect of the language for the purpose of writing and literacy, and the resulting elevation of this dialect to the standard form of the language which, in consequence, is to be looked upon by all speakers of the various dialects of that particular language as the norm. At the same time, lexical items, and also grammatical forms, from other dialects are sometimes introduced into the standard dialect for the purpose of minimising the difference between dialects and for extending the currency of the standard dialect over a wider region.

A special instance of usually unintentional language engineering resulting from the use of a local language by a missionary is incomplete mastery of the language by the latter, and its ungrammatical use by him in speaking and writing. Local speakers may adopt some of the phonemically, grammatically and lexically erroneous forms used by the missionary which may have a profound influence upon the form of the language used by those indigenes who are under missionary influence. Ray (1907) reports a particularly strong instance of this in bygone days with regard to the Miriam language spoken on the eastern islands in Torres Strait.

7.8.3.2.3. Missionary Lingue Franche

Acts of language engineering affecting local languages which have been adopted as missionary lingue franche for use in areas extending beyond the borders of their currency as local languages are essentially the same as those mentioned above with regard to local languages. However in addition to these, they tend to be subjected to a greater extent of dialect mixing. This is sometimes brought about as an unplanned

consequence of the use of a lingua franca by speakers of different dialects in their communications with outsiders, and sometimes it is fostered purposefully with the intention of unifying the dialects of a lingua franca and turning the latter into a single dialectal form so that it can occupy a stronger position *vis-à-vis* outside languages.

As a result of the use of *lingue franche* by speakers with different mother tongues, they tend to be simplified in some aspects of their structures, and some particularly complex and elaborate features of them tend to be replaced by simpler forms or to disappear altogether. In other words, a tendency towards pidginisation makes itself felt in them and a language adopted as a lingua franca may begin to split into a more elaborate mother-tongue form, and a simpler lingua franca form (see for instance 7.4.7.12.5.1.). As long as this process takes place by itself without purposeful action in this direction, it does not properly belong to the sphere of language engineering, though it is a direct result of it. However, if the lingua franca form is specially encouraged and used exclusively by expatriates even when dealing with speakers of the mother-tongue form, and the latter are encouraged to adopt the lingua franca form as the sole language form to be used by them, an act of language planning and engineering has been perpetrated.

7.8.3.2.4. Pidgin and Hiri Motu

7.8.3.2.4.1. *General Remarks*

Of all the languages of the New Guinea area, the two major *lingue franche* of Papua New Guinea, Pidgin and Hiri Motu, are potentially most subject to language engineering. Some of this has taken place with regard to their vocabulary: in response to strong pressure of need, numerous new lexical items have been introduced into them, mostly as English loanwords, in a number of areas of the use of these languages such as in the House of Assembly (now Parliament), vocational and other training centres etc. Many of these vocabulary items have been introduced at random by the speakers as uncontrolled loans - this does not come under the heading of language engineering. However, especially in the House of Assembly and under the auspices of vocational training centres, new lexical items have been purposefully coined and introduced into these languages. Seeing that most of these are direct loanwords from English, the question of their rendering in Pidgin and Hiri Motu, i.e. their spelling in them as lexical items belonging to them, looms high. In order to maintain the phonological nature of the languages, they ought to be spelt in accordance with Pidgin and Hiri Motu phonology - this in itself again constitutes an act of language engineering.

The introduction of these new lexical items into these two languages, mostly as English loans, has been completely unsystematic and haphazard, and is posing a serious threat to the continued existence of these languages in their present form. It is not only the overloading of these languages with English loanwords which tends to 'water down' their separate lexical identities, but this process is directly breaking down the structures of the languages themselves. The emergence of an inordinate number of homophonous lexical items in itself creates difficulties, but a danger much less generally recognised is constituted by the fact that indiscriminate introduction of English loanwords into these languages breaks down many of the existing regular patterns in their lexicons. The lexical inventories of Pidgin and Hiri Motu are organised in very economical ways, i.e. their relatively limited vocabularies are used with a high degree of efficiency to express a great variety of concepts. As will, for Pidgin, be discussed in detail in the sections below, especially in 7.8.3.2.4.6., extensive use is made of multifunctionality, compounding, reduplication and circumlocution, and a large number of rules exist in these languages determining creativity along regular lines. Indiscriminately introduced direct loanwords from English often violate these rules, destroy the basic structure of the language and lead to chaotic irregularity.

It is therefore essential that the existing, quite elaborate and potentially highly creative, rules of the Pidgin and Hiri Motu lexicon be utilised to their full extent in an act of direct language engineering to bring about the needed increase in the lexicon of Pidgin and Hiri Motu, and to reduce the intake of direct loans to an unavoidable minimum (see 7.4.1.4.6.4.). To some extent, all these proposals come under the heading of standardisation as well (Wurm 1975) (see chapter 7.4.1.4.6.) - itself a powerful act of language planning and engineering.

7.8.3.2.4.2. *The Creation of New Words in Pidgin*

The notion that Pidgin is not a language in its own right but merely a bastardised form of English has to a large degree to do with the lexical relatedness of the two systems. However, this relatedness is superficial; mere similarity of sound is often taken as an indication of similarity of meaning, yielding the assumption that any English word can become part of the Pidgin vocabulary once it has undergone certain phonological rules. This is not the case and this practice has led to a number of undesirable developments in this language. It is time that this simplistic conception gives way to a more realistic attitude towards language planning based on scientific methods.

The lexicon of a language is not an amorphous inventory but a system, albeit less tightly structured than its syntax. Since the organisation of the Pidgin lexicon differs fundamentally from that of the English lexicon, unrestricted interbreeding between the two systems may well lead to undesirable offspring.

Thus, before planned expansion of the lexicon can take place it is necessary to understand the nature of the Pidgin lexicon. Unfortunately the description of the Pidgin lexicon has been neglected because of the belief that a lexicon is a mere inventory. Mühlhäusler is at present doing research into the lexical patterns of Pidgin, especially those involving word formation (Mühlhäusler 1973, 1975); however, this research project is far from a complete statement on the topic.

7.8.3.2.4.3. *Remarks on Lexical Structures*

One can distinguish between two types of structuring in the lexicon, first the semantic structuring which is concerned with how the speakers perceive and organise reality and second the formal relations between lexical classes, i.e. the syntactic rather than semantic organisation.

The semantics of Pidgin is basically not English but Oceanic. The two words *ai* and *han* may serve as an illustration. To Europeans of today '*eye*' is above all an anatomical or biological concept - whenever we use this word in any other sense it is often under the impression that we have to do with a different word which happens to be formally the same (Holmer 1966).

On the other hand it is evident that the same word is used by 'primitive' peoples not only in the anatomical sense but also of the '*sun*' (or '*stars*'), '*flame of fire*', '*water hole*', etc. There is no reason to doubt, on the mere ground that these ideas now constitute fundamentally different notions among us, that they are, or have at one time been, felt to be identical concepts (Holmer 1966).

In New Guinea Pidgin, the word *ai* can be found in many senses and collocations that are totally un-English.

<i>ai bilong botol</i>	<i>'lid'</i>
<i>ai bilong haus</i>	<i>'gable'</i>
<i>ai bilong pensil</i>	<i>'pencil point'</i>
<i>ai bilong sua</i>	<i>'head of a sore'</i>
<i>ai bilong susu</i>	<i>'nipple'</i>

The same is true for *han* in relation to English '*hand*'. Its basic meaning in Pidgin is '*arm, hand, sleeve, branch, foreleg of an animal*'. This word can appear in a number of other phrases which have no correspondence in English. The point is that at least a large proportion of

the very general meaning of Pidgin words is due to Pidgin's being related to the semantic pattern of Oceanic languages rather than English.

There are various consequences arising from this. Firstly, any proposals to extend the meaning of a Pidgin word have to be carefully examined to determine whether they are in agreement with the semantic possibilities of Pidgin. Adding a new meaning to a word is more than just a convention.

Secondly, to replace some of the meanings of words like *han* and *ai* with loans or new creations will affect the semantic structure of Pidgin. The introduction of such words and phrases as *lid bilong botol*, *gebol bilong haus*, *poin bilong pensil* or *nipel* is completely uncalled for.

On the other hand, one cannot blindly assume that the semantic patterns of Pidgin are Oceanic only: Pidgin as a language is in an ambiguous position between a native and a European way of thinking. The culture associated with Pidgin is in many ways very far removed from traditional ways of life.

Although this point is of great importance for language planning we lack good semantic analyses of Pidgin and its substratum languages.

7.8.3.2.4.4. *Syntactic Patterns in the Pidgin Lexicon*

It is often difficult to make a clear-cut division between semantic and syntactic criteria in word formation. There are, however, a number of non-semantic rules which can be seen as output restrictions on words that are semantically perfectly straightforward. One of these is the rule that no Pidgin compound may consist of more than two morphemes (with hardly any exception). Therefore a compound such as **giamanstoritanimtok* ('*translator of novels*') proposed by Balint at the Conference on Pidgin in Port Moresby (Balint 1973) is an unacceptable neologism. The same is true of **mansavetanimtok* or **tokplesman* both proposed by the same person.

There are many other restrictions which are semantic and syntactic at the same time. For example, a noun containing the semantic element of '*talking*' must be rendered as a compound containing the element *tok*, e.g. *tok bilas* '*insult*', *tok giaman* '*lie*'.

Many of these rules are not well known at present. However, knowledge of them is essential before new words can be made up in Pidgin. Without these foundations, language engineering will lead to a situation where English loans are replaced by essentially un-Pidgin compounds.

7.8.3.2.4.5. *The Inadequacy of the Pidgin Lexicon*

Two features of the Pidgin lexicon are said to constitute its main inadequacies: the semantic vagueness of many terms, and the referential deficiencies.

As I have pointed out above the semantic vagueness must be seen as partly dependent on the basically un-English character of Pidgin semantics and is therefore a relative concept. In addition, terms are semantically vague mainly in those instances where they are considered out of context. However, it remains true that many finer semantic distinctions cannot be made in Pidgin. The necessity of introducing new distinctions has to be examined in each individual case. Laycock (1969) for example has pointed out that

in Pidgin ... there is no need to distinguish between 'to prosecute' for a criminal offence and 'to sue' for a civil wrong: the existing Pidgin word kotim 'to bring to trial' will serve both.

Healey (1975) feels that

for example, 'game', 'beef' and 'mutton' would be handy words to include in the Pidgin vocabulary as there really isn't a simple way now to distinguish varieties of meat and their source.

However, many advanced European languages can manage perfectly well without this distinction and a phrase such as *mit bilong sipsip* for 'mutton' seems perfectly adequate. The same applies to words such as 'horse', 'stallion', 'gelding', 'foal', 'filly', 'colt', which Pidgin can express by such phrases as *pikinini hos meri* ('filly'); but for most purposes (including the translations of legal documents such as the Pounds Ordinance) the simple generic term *hos* suffices.

The second claimed deficiency of Pidgin is its referential inadequacy. This means that there are no Pidgin expressions to handle certain fields of discourse. More often than not Pidgin is regarded as being referentially inadequate because a speaker does not know a word which already is part of the Pidgin vocabulary. Since Pidgin is not formally learnt by most of its users accidental gaps in the vocabulary of individual speakers are frequent. However, a look at Mihalic's (1971) dictionary will show that the referential adequacy of Pidgin is great - and this dictionary could certainly be supplemented with many new Pidgin words. The presumed referential inadequacy of the language prompted the translators of a book on carpentry *Buk bilong ol Kamda* (Summer Institute of Linguistics 1970), to introduce a number of new terms for which there were already perfectly good Pidgin expressions. Thus new words are unnecessarily introduced into Pidgin leaving behind a trail of homonyms. It is obvious that this leads to an overloading of the Pidgin lexicon

with unnecessary terms. Before new terms are introduced to overcome an alleged referential inadequacy extensive stocktaking must take place. Research into the regional varieties of Pidgin will certainly result in the discovery of a large number of unlisted Pidgin terms. It seems more desirable that terms that are already part of the vocabulary of Pidgin-speakers should be chosen in preference to new coinage.

Careless innovations resulting from a poor knowledge of Pidgin does not only increase the number of homonyms but also that of homophones. Take for example the case of *pasim* (from '*fasten*') '*to obstruct*'. In recent years a new word *pasim* from '*to pass*' has found its way into Pidgin. This led to the following situation:

Original Pidgin	Gloss	Innovation	Gloss
<i>pasim</i>	'to wear, put on (a garment), obstruct'		
<i>abrusim</i>	'to pass'	<i>pasim</i>	'to pass'
<i>go pas</i>	'to pass (< go first)'	<i>werim</i>	'to wear'
		<i>dres</i>	'to be dressed'

The difference between '*to dress*' and '*to wear*' is expressed in 'ordinary' Pidgin as *pasim* and *pasim pinis*, i.e. it is a matter of syntax rather than the lexicon. This will be dealt with below.

7.8.3.2.4.6. Coining New Expressions in Pidgin

There are five mechanisms in Pidgin which can be used by the language engineer to create new words. The fifth, using the grammar to take over certain functions of the lexicon, has not been mentioned previously in the literature on Pidgin. The five processes are:

- a) loans
- b) extension of meaning
- c) compounding including reduplication
- d) multifunctional use of bases
- e) using the syntax to express certain functions of the lexicon.

In many instances the grammar of Pidgin will force the language engineer to choose one of these mechanisms. In other instances he will have a choice between various mechanisms. Sociolinguistic considerations will be of importance in his decisions.

We exclude circumlocution because it is not strictly speaking a lexical process but an *ad hoc* way of dealing with referential inadequacy. Circumlocutions are unstable and are replaced by stable words if the new concept is to become an integral part of the field of discourse covered by Pidgin.

7.8.3.2.4.6.1. Loanwords in Pidgin

Because Pidgin is being used in an increasing number of fields of discourse the introduction of new loanwords from other languages cannot be avoided.

Since the withdrawal of the German administration new loans have come almost exclusively from English. It is not obvious why this should be so. In the past a number of words from local languages were added to the Pidgin vocabulary, especially words concerned with local institutions. It may become necessary to introduce more names for animals and plants (here Pidgin has an awkwardly small number of designations) and these could be readily borrowed from local languages. This has happened in creolised Pidgin on Manus Island, where names for animals and plants were taken from the languages surrounding Malabang village. Yet another word commonly in use in Manus Pidgin, *wusia* = '*landlubber*' would be a welcome addition to the Pidgin vocabulary.

Laycock (1975) discusses the merits of Malay/Indonesian, indigenous languages, and other *lingue franche* of Papua New Guinea, as possible sources of loans that would fit the phonological structure of Pidgin, and not overload the lexicon with English-derived words.

English may be the best language from which to draw loans in specialised fields of knowledge, such as engineering, which are foreign to New Guinean culture. It is also desirable that these loans are in agreement with international standards for technical vocabulary. However, where the loan refers to an institution which is to become a firm part of the country's everyday life, direct loans from English may be dangerous. The loan *konstitusenel plenning komiti*, for instance is a particularly unfortunate term. For the majority of Pidgin-speakers the meaning is totally unclear and their participation in constitutional planning severely restricted. Mühlhäusler proposed instead *komiti bilong kirapim bunlo bilong kantri* '*committee for developing frame-law of the country*'. The use of *bun* in the compound *bunlo* suggests not only a frame but also a foundation. The main objections against the loan are the suffixes *-el* and *-ing* which are completely foreign to Pidgin. If the participation of the ordinary people in political affairs is desired opaque and clumsy loans must be avoided.

A great problem is the number of loans which enter Pidgin in an uncontrolled manner. Words are freely taken over from English although the English meaning is only imperfectly understood. Pidgin-speakers may use the same word in completely different meanings. An example is the recent loan *jeles* for which Mühlhäusler recorded the following meanings

in various areas. The original Pidgin expression is given between brackets:

jeles (birua) 'to fight with' (Erima, Madang Province)

jeles (puspus) 'to have intercourse' (Goroka)

jeles (eramautim tok hait) 'to tell a secret' (Dudumia, Asaro District)

jeles (ai tudak) 'jealous' (Wewak and other places)

Indiscriminate borrowing from English may also lead, as Laycock (1969) pointed out, to a complete breaking-down of the structure of Pidgin, so that it becomes a form of 'broken English', necessarily unstable and doomed to extinction; Bickerton (1975) believes that it may already be the case that Pidgin and English cannot be kept apart. In deciding on new loanwords, language planners must bear in mind that new items may be difficult to assimilate phonologically (e.g. '*glimpse*'), may cause confusion with existing Pidgin lexemes (e.g. if '*charge*' is borrowed as *sas*, a form homophonous with *sas* '*judge*'), and may not form useful 'bases' on which to build new forms (e.g. Pidgin has taken over *administresin* '*administration*' and *administrait* '*administrate*', contrary to the usual relationships in Pidgin between noun and verb; '*administrate*' should perhaps be *administresinim*).

7.8.3.2.4.6.2. Extension of Meaning

Given the large semantic loads carried by many Pidgin words, this solution must be handled with great care. However, the extension of meaning can be used successfully in creating a more idiomatic and colourful Pidgin. This process can be observed and has been discussed in detail by Brash (1971). The semantic range of many words has not yet been exhaustively described and a large proportion of the work of a language planner will be to make the marginal meanings better known; in attempting to create new lexical items by extension of meaning in Pidgin on his own, the would-be language planner is likely to find himself behind the current state of the language rather than ahead of it. We mention a few interesting examples of extended meaning recorded in the field by Mühlhäusler. Pidgin mau '*ripe*' is used in the phrase *natnat i mau pinis* '*the mosquito is full of blood*'. The word *mama* '*mother*' is used to refer to something very big: *em i gat mama bilong smok* = '*he has a very long cigarette*'. *Memba* not only means '*member*' but also '*subscriber*'. It is also used as a verb: *mi memba long niuspepa* = '*I subscribe to a newspaper*'. Healey (1975) also provides a good example:

The word 'pasindia' I understand arose out of the custom of young Highland girls travelling along the Highlands Highway as passengers in vehicles without paying fare and thus the word 'pasindia' has now been extended to mean in Pidgin a free-loader or someone who doesn't pay his way, a lodger, a non-paying guest within the wantok system.

The word grile '*tinea, scales of a fish*' has come to mean '*not planed properly*' among carpenters: dispela plang i grile = '*this board is not yet smooth*'.

Sek from '*cheque*' is used for both '*cheque*' and '*bank account*'; moni i stap long sek means '*the money is in the bank account*'. A number of these extended meanings are regionally restricted but they could be promoted to gain general acceptance.

Another common occurrence in Pidgin is the extension of meaning resulting from the falling together in Pidgin of originally distinct words in the source language, with the result that the new meaning arrived at is a synthesis of the elements the original words may have had in common. Thus, English '*fence*' and '*bandage*' both yield Pidgin banis; the resulting verb banisim accordingly means something like '*to put inside or outside an enclosure*', combining the meanings '*to bandage*' and '*to fence*'. This would be a difficult mechanism for the language planner to manipulate, but the possibility of such meaning-shifts arising from new lexical items must always be borne in mind.

7.8.3.2.4.6.3. Compounding and Reduplication

In contrast to other pidgins (such as West African Pidgin English), New Guinea Pidgin has a well-developed system of word formation. The rules of compounding and reduplication could be used to generate a large number of new words. The obvious advantage of compounding is the resulting transparency of the compounds. Without introducing new morphemes the vocabulary can be supplemented considerably.

In areas where English is not known compounding is heavily used to provide new words. Many of these have not yet been recorded.

Pidgin compounding comprises two methods: in one case a large number of compounds follow a pattern which involves a simple underlying structure. The meaning of these compounds is readily accessible. Another group of compounds can be said to be derived from complex underlying structures. Their meaning is lexicalised and much less predictable for that reason.

Compounds containing the semantic elements '*house/building*', '*talk/utterance*' and '*man/person*' fall into the first group, a general rule of Pidgin requiring the presence of the overt morphemes haus, tok, and

man respectively; those cases are discussed by Mühlhäusler (1973). There is another group of compound nouns which has become productive in recent years. These involve the element *as* = '*origin, foundation*'. A number of compounds can be formed: *asples* '*place of birth*', *astok* '*premise*', *astingting* '*reason*'. Balint (1973) has proposed a compound *asris* for resources; this form seems to be perfectly acceptable in Pidgin. One can conceive that a number of new compounds will appear as the need for them arises. These could include *astrenim* '*basic training*', *asminim* '*original meaning*', *ashap* '*primary constituent*', *aspasin* '*fundamental property*', *aslo* '*fundamental law*' and others.

Compounds using the morpheme *bik* '*big*' in first position are used to distinguish words which are often fully lexicalised in English:

English	Pidgin
'door/gate'	dua/bikdua
'hill/mountain'	maunten/bikmaunten
'gun/cannon'	gan/bikgan
'road/highway'	rot/bikrot
'room/hall'	rum/bikrum
'wind/storm'	win/bikwin

Many new compounds can be generated using this paradigm. For example:

'small letter/capital letter'	leta/bikleta
'food/staple food'	kaikai/bikkaikai

The word *bikskul* for '*university*' is heard occasionally but it may not survive since the prestige of the English loan *universiti* is much higher. Many of these compounds have to compete with more prestigious loans.

An interesting category of compounds is that composed of an adjective and a noun to yield a more specific adjective. True adjectives are rare in Pidgin and this group helps to overcome this inadequacy of the language. All these adjectives arise from an underlying structure:

N bilong mi i Adj

where N normally is a part of the body; for example *ai bilong mi* 'I slip' becomes *mi aislip* '*I am sleepy*'. Further examples:

mi nekdrai	'I am thirsty'
mi winsot	'I am exhausted'
mi aiklia	'I am informed'
mi yaupas	'I am deaf'
mi hanbruk	'my hand is broken'
mi sikhet	'I am mentally disturbed'
mi waitgras	'I am old (and experienced)'
mi belkaskas	'I am angry'

Occasionally the noun in the underlying structure is not a part of the body: *rop bilong mi i lus* becomes *mi lusrop* '*I am unsuccessful at fishing*'; *taia bilong kar i slek* yields *kar i slektaia* '*the car has a puncture*'. This pattern could be used to create such forms as:

<i>mi hanpas</i>	<i>'I am stingy'</i>
<i>mi hanop</i>	<i>'I am generous'</i>
<i>mi kokkol</i>	<i>'I am impotent'</i>
<i>mi belkirap</i>	<i>'I am amazed'</i>

It would lead too far to discuss all the other patterns of compounding. A grammatical analysis is found in Hall 1943, and some further information in Laycock 1970a, 1970b. Laycock (1969) discusses the already occurring transforms such as *man i gat sik* '*the man is sick*' to *sikman* '*invalid*' and *man bilong stia* '*the man (responsible) for steering*' to *stiaman* '*helmsman*', and suggests that the same processes can ultimately give rise to such neologisms as *saveman laipstadi* '*biologist*' ('*the man who knows about the study of life*'). Further discussion on compounding is provided by Mühlhäusler (1973), who also documents the above-cited constraint that (with some exceptions) compounded lexical items are limited to two elements: a verb **busnaipim* cannot therefore be formed from the noun *busnaip* '*machete*'.

Reduplication is yet another mechanism of word formation. The system of reduplication in Pidgin has been discussed in detail by Mühlhäusler (1975). The main functions of reduplication are the expression of intensity, duration, iteration, and distribution. Reduplication is a very productive process in Pidgin. All the rules for reduplication cannot be given here (a more detailed discussion is given in Mühlhäusler 1976). Suffice it to say that one gets reduplication of either parts of a morpheme, a morpheme or a word. The various kinds of reduplication have different semantic functions. In English words distinguished only by such semantic elements as intensity are often phonologically totally unrelated (lexicalised). In Pidgin reduplication is used to distinguish such pairs as:

<i>'shout/yell'</i>	<i>krai/kra(i)krai</i>
<i>'dirty/squalid'</i>	<i>doti/dotidoti</i>
<i>'to press down/to crush'</i>	<i>krugutim/krugutim</i>
<i>'work/to drudge, slave'</i>	<i>wok/wokwok</i>
<i>'to give/to exchange'</i>	<i>givim/givim givim</i>

Reduplication is particularly valuable for creating new descriptive adjectives and because of the great productivity of this process, language engineering in this area will be hardly necessary. It would suffice to record instances of reduplication and formulate general rules.

Reduplication is used more in some parts of Papua New Guinea than in others; creolised Pidgin on Manus, for instance, exhibits a very high frequency of reduplication.

7.8.3.2.4.6.4. Multifunctional Use of Pidgin Bases

The use of base morphemes in more than one grammatical function is fundamental to the grammar of Pidgin. One can distinguish two kinds of multifunctionality, those cases that are purely syntactic alternatives with no change in meaning involved and those where the shift in grammatical function is associated with a change in meaning. One must further distinguish between those instances where the change in meaning is predictable and those where it is not.

Adjectives referring to properties can be used as nouns in Pidgin in a construction [subj] (i) gat [deadjectivised noun]. Thus, instead of *mi kleva* '*I am clever*' one can say *mi gat kleva*. The two constructions are in free variation in most instances, but one or the other may be used to reduce the complexity of constructions, especially in order to avoid embedding.

Thus adjectives loaned from English can freely become nouns in Pidgin even if they are morphologically marked in English:

mi gat tersti '*I am thirsty*'
mi gat hepi '*I am happy*'
mi gat sori '*I am sorry*'

This means that the categorical status of new loans should be determined by the rules of Pidgin rather than by those of English.

A very frequent change in Pidgin is that from an intransitive verb into a causative or transitive verb. This change is brought about by adding *-im* to the intransitive verb. Whether the resulting form is causative or transitive depends on the semantics of the base form.

bia i pairapim nek bilong mi '*the beer makes me belch*'
win i pundaunim diwai '*the wind uprooted the tree*'

In English the intransitive and the causative are often different words, for example, '*rise*' and '*raise*'. In Pidgin no such difference exists.

kirap long dai '*to rise from the dead*'
kirapim man indai pinis '*to raise someone from the dead*'

In English the 'morphological causatives' fall between the two extremes of 'lexicalisation' on the one hand and the use of the 'same' verb (Lyons 1968:360). In Pidgin this process is much more regular. It can be used to create new terms such as:

'enrich' risim
'enliven' laipim

However, many negative adjectives are formed in Pidgin by adding *no* to the adjective with positive meaning. These cannot be transformed directly into causative verbs; one does not get

'enfeeble' = *nostrongim, but mekim em i no strong

Although the introduction into Pidgin of such loans as *wik 'weak' or *fibel 'feeble' is possible and although *wikim or *fibelim could be derived, such loans destroy another system in Pidgin, namely that of the relation between words and their negation, which is normally not lexicalised in Pidgin.

Multifunctionality is a very important process in Pidgin grammar and a better understanding of its rules could help to decide whether new loans are necessary or whether a new term is already potentially existent in Pidgin.

7.8.3.2.4.6.5. The Interrelationship Between Syntax and Lexicon

In pidgin languages the syntax typically takes over part of the function of the lexicon of the target language. This is why the relatively limited vocabulary of a pidgin can be made to go a long way. This is equally true of New Guinea Pidgin. It would be wrong to assume that for every lexical item in English there should be a corresponding lexical item in Pidgin.

This can be illustrated with the use of aspect markers such as *pinis* (completion) and *nating* (frustrative).

painim/painim pinis	'to search/to find'
boilim/boilim pinis	'boil/sterilise'
rere/rere pinis	'to prepare/ready'
indai/indai pinis	'to be unconscious/to be dead'
bagarapim/bagarapim pinis	'to damage/to destroy'
hukim/hukim pinis	'allure/catch with a hook'
promis/promis pinis	'to promise/to keep a promise'

Nating can be found in a number of collocations. Its meaning is more difficult to recover and some contextual information is usually needed. Depending on the context, *pusi nating* can mean (*inter alia*) 'a desexed cat', 'a stray cat', 'a very weak cat', or 'a cat without a pedigree'. Other examples:

bun nating	'very thin, skinny'
kuk nating	'to cook vegetarian food (no meat)'
sik nating	'a minor disease'

kanaka nating *'a simple uneducated native'*
 marit nating *'just living together'*

One can conceive of many new uses for these two constructions, for instance:

traim/traim pinis *'to try/to succeed'*
 oraitim/oraitim pinis *'to treat (a disease)/to heal'*
 susu nating *'topless'*
 tabak nating *'non-aromatic tobacco'*
 dring nating *'non-alcoholic drink'*

7.8.3.2.4.7. Other Considerations

It has been pointed out in the above discussion that a good knowledge of the semantic and syntactic patterns is necessary before the creation of new expressions can be attempted. There are two more considerations, that of homophones and that of the social connotations of Pidgin words.

Languages can operate efficiently in spite of the presence of a large number of homophones. However, a satiation of the language may lead to a situation where disambiguation of homophones can only be attained with a large amount of contextual information. The danger of misinterpretation is greatest when the homophones concerned can appear in identical collocations. For example, in recent years the word *sem* 'same' has become frequently used in Pidgin, replacing the standard Pidgin word *wankain*. However, there already is a Pidgin word *sem* meaning 'ashamed'. The expression *sempela meri* could mean 'the same woman' or 'the woman who is ashamed'.

The addition of *sempela* 'same' to the Pidgin vocabulary is superfluous, since it does not help to overcome a referential inadequacy. Instead it makes the language even more dependent on contextual information.

More often than not new homophones get interpreted by Pidgin-speakers in a way that must seem highly undesirable to those that originally introduced the new term. An interesting example is *selek komiti* 'select committee', which was proposed disregarding the fact that *komiti* in Pidgin refers to a person (the second in charge of a village) and that *selek* has the meaning 'slack, inefficient'. No wonder that for some Pidgin-speakers the expression *selek komiti* has the overtones of inefficiency.

In the past undesirable homophones have become disambiguated by certain phonological adjustments. Both English 'cock' and 'cork' originally were *kok* in Pidgin. Today 'cork' for the majority of Pidgin speakers is *kor* which is dissimilar enough from *kok* 'penis'. Brus

'*breast*' from German *Brust* has become *bros* possibly to keep it distinct from *brus* '*native tobacco*'. Since there are no absolute phonological rules for the conversion of an English word into a Pidgin word such a solution may be considered by the language engineer.

There are also a number of instances where disambiguation is achieved by reduplicating one of the words concerned. This possibly accounts for such pairs as

sip/sipsip '*ship/sheep*'
pis/pispis '*fish/urinate*'

One can imagine new pairs such as

tret/trettret '*trade/thread*'

The social connotations of Pidgin words must also be taken into account. Pidgin words can become undesirable under certain conditions, especially expressions which reflect colonialistic or discriminatory attitudes. Some time ago the Administration urged the replacement of the word *boi* '*native man*' by *man*, and *meri* '*native woman*' by *gel* or *women*. The use of *misis* for European women is seen to be discriminatory by educated Papua New Guineans. Objections have been made against the term *mankimasta* '*domestic servant*' and *domestik* has been proposed instead.

Hall (1956:93) mentions the attempts by certain missions to 'purify' the language by exorcising some words which sound offensive to those who know English. Hall also mentions other words which are coming to be regarded as naive or childishly descriptive and are therefore replaced by loans.

Altogether the number of words which may be undesirable under the changed social conditions in Papua New Guinea is fairly small and their replacement by more suitable words should offer no difficulty.

The complex decisions that need to be made can be seen by listing, and commenting on, the various ways in which an English lexical item such as '*cash crop*' might appear in a Pidgin textbook on agriculture:

- 1) *cash crop*
- 2) '*cash crop*', *cash crop*
- 3) *keskrop*
- 4) *krop kes*
- 5) *krop mani*
- 6) *gaten mani*
- 7) *tanaman tunai*
- 8) *ol samting i kamap long graun bilong kisim pe longen*

Version 1) is the English word, with English spelling, a solution that gives great difficulties to semi-literate readers. The identifying

of the word as a foreign loanword, as in 2), is an improvement, but obviously only a temporary solution, for new lexical items that may be expected to have low frequency of occurrence. The third solution, respelling an English word as Pidgin, is one commonly adopted; but the lexical item still remains unintelligible until context, explanation, or frequency of occurrence establishes its meaning. Solution number 4) recasts the item into a Pidgin mould - and thereby introduces two new lexical items (sometimes an advantage, sometimes not), one of which is homophonous with the existing Pidgin word *kes* 'case'. The fifth solution translates part of the phrase, and leaves only one new lexical item to be explained. The sixth possibility involves a slight mistranslation ('*money garden*'), which can sometimes be quite adequate. Number 7) illustrates the use of borrowings from a language other than English (in this case Malay, and a new creation in that language; *tanaman* means '*planting*', and *tunai* '*cash*'); if the preservation of the meaning of the original language is not thought to be of importance, either *tanaman* or *tunai* (or, for that matter, any arbitrary form conforming to Pidgin phonology) could be used alone. Finally, number 8) gives the Pidgin explanation, which is not itself a lexical item, but which is virtually indispensable as an accompaniment to the first occurrences of any of the previous solutions (with the possible exception of number 6)).

7.8.3.2.4.8. Conclusion

It has been argued that successful language engineering in the Pidgin lexicon can only be achieved if both the inventory and the structure of the Pidgin lexicon are better known. The organisation of the lexicon of Pidgin differs fundamentally from that of English. If these differences are not taken into account the survival of Pidgin as an independent language is jeopardised.

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PART 7.9.

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY

7.9.1. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

S.A. Wurm

7.9.1.1. THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AND NEW GUINEA AREA LINGUISTICS IN GENERAL

Apart from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (see chapters 7.9.2. and 7.9.7.), the Australian National University has undoubtedly made the greatest contributions to the study of New Guinea area languages and linguistics, though the contributions of other institutions are by no means negligible (see the other chapters in Part 7.9.).

Linguistics at the Australian National University was first introduced in early 1957 with the appointment of S.A. Wurm to a senior linguistics research post in the then Department of Anthropology and Sociology in the Research School of Pacific Studies of the University. At that time, the Australian National University was solely concerned with research and teaching on the post-graduate, i.e. Ph.D., level and linguistics became established as a Ph.D. subject in it in 1959. D.C. Laycock was appointed the first post-graduate research scholar in 1959, and obtained his degree in 1962. Other research scholars followed in rapid succession and in increasing numbers, and in 1964, D.C. Laycock was appointed to a second linguistics research post in the Department. C.L. Voorhoeve was appointed to a third research post in 1965, and the Linguistics Section was separated from the Department of Anthropology and Sociology early in 1968 and set up as an independent Department of Linguistics, with S.A. Wurm appointed professor to the Chair of Linguistics in the new Department. T.E. Dutton was appointed to a fourth linguistics research post in 1969, and other appointments of no immediate consequence to New Guinea area linguistics, but to Pacific linguistics in general, followed later.

In 1960, the former Canberra University College, which had been associated with the University of Melbourne, was linked with the Australian National University as the School of General Studies which has been concerned with undergraduate and post-graduate teaching and with research, following the pattern of other Australian teaching universities. Linguistics was first introduced into that School in 1961 under the auspices of several departments, first in Oriental Studies and later in the Department of German, and three staff appointments were made over the years to follow. In 1970, an independent Department of Linguistics was established in the School of General Studies, and R.M.W. Dixon appointed professor to the Chair of Linguistics in it. Further staff appointments were made in the new Department after that date.

The research in New Guinea area languages and linguistics undertaken under the auspices of the Australian National University has been mostly carried out through the linguistics establishment in the School of Pacific Studies. The one in the School of General Studies, though taking some interest in New Guinea linguistics, has, in particular since the appointment of R.M.W. Dixon to the Chair of Linguistics, been mainly concerned with research in Australian linguistics.

The overall results of the Australian National University-sponsored research in New Guinea linguistics, and its impact on the emergence and gradual establishment of the New Guinea linguistic picture have been embodied and discussed in some detail in various divisions, parts, chapters and sections of these three volumes, in particular in (I) 1., (I) 2.2., (I) 2.3., (I) 2.4.1., (I) 2.5., (I) 2.6., (I) 2.7., (I) 2.8., (I) 2.9., (I) 2.10.2., (I) 2.11., (I) 2.12., (I) 2.13.1., (I) 2.14.1., (I) 2.14.3., (I) 2.15., (I) 2.16.1., (I) 2.16.2., (I) 3., (II) 4.2.2., (II) 4.2.3., (II) 4.2.5., (II) 4.2.6., (II) 4.2.8., (II) 4.4.1., (II) 4.4.3., (II) 4.4.7., (II) 4.4.8., (II) 4.5.2., (II) 4.5.3., 5.1.2., 5.2., 5.3., 5.4., 5.5.1., 5.5.2., 5.6., all chapters subsumed under 7.4.1., 7.4.2.9., 7.4.2.10., most of 7.4.3.1., 7.4.3.2., 7.4.5.7., 7.4.5.8., 7.6., 7.7.2., 7.8., 7.9.1., and 7.9.3.2. A number of other chapters and sections also touch upon Australian National University research to a varied extent. Part (I) 2.1. gives a detailed historical survey of research work in Papuan languages, and much of what has been said in (I) 2.1.1. in particular for the period after the late 1950s constitutes a review of research work carried out through the Australian National University.

To avoid extensive repetition, the present chapter will be kept brief and will essentially consist of a listing of research activities and results undertaken and achieved in New Guinea linguistics through the

Australian National University, without extensive comment and discussion. The presentation will be given under the heading of the names of the individual research workers.

7.9.1.2. INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

7.9.1.2.1. S.A. WURM

The first major activity of S. Wurm in New Guinea linguistics after his joining the staff of the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University in 1957, was an extensive survey of the languages and language distribution in the Highlands Districts of the then Territory of Papua and New Guinea in 1958-59. The resulting findings and the classification of the languages of the area which led to the establishment of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock and related languages, were published in a series of articles and other studies (e.g. Wurm 1960, 1961a, 1961b, 1962, 1964a, 1965, 1971a, 1971b, 1975a, 1975b - the last two are chapters (I) 2.4.1. and (I) 2.7.), and the initially obtained materials and information augmented by further fieldwork.

In 1966, he took up work again in languages and the language situation of the Trans-Fly area of the Western District of Papua New Guinea with which he had been concerned in years prior to joining the Australian National University (see chapter 7.9.6.), carried out further fieldwork there in 1970 and published some of his results, the most important of which was the establishment of the Trans-Fly Stock (Wurm 1971c, 1973a, 1975c). In 1965, he resumed his pre-Australian National University work in languages and the linguistic situation and problems of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands in the Eastern Outer Islands area of the Solomon Islands (see chapter 7.9.6.), and undertook further fieldwork there in 1970 and 1971. Some of his results were published (Wurm 1970a, 1970b, 1972a, 1972b), and the work has continued, mainly with the help of an indigenous field assistant, J. Mealue, stationed on Santa Cruz Island and in Honiara, and at the time of publication, studying at the University of Papua New Guinea.

As a result of his work in the languages of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands and studies in other Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands, the New Britain and New Ireland area and Rossel Island, Wurm established the East Papuan Phylum (first mentioned in Wurm 1972c) (Wurm 1975d, 1976a - the last two are chapters (I) 2.13.1. and (II) 4.5.3.).

Wurm devoted much of his work in New Guinea linguistics to questions of the establishment of large Papuan language groups and of language classification and comparison, as well as to problems of typology and

of historical linguistics. Much of his results were embodied in some of the publications referred to above, other relevant ones are Wurm 1964b, 1965, 1970c, 1972c, 1972d, 1974a, 1974b, 1975f (= (I) 1.), 1975g (= (I) 2.3.1.), 1975h (= (I) 2.3.3.), 1977a, 1978a, Wurm and Laycock 1962, Laycock and Wurm 1974, Wurm, Laycock and Voorhoeve 1975 (= (I) 2.3.2.), Wurm and McElhanon 1975 (= (I) 2.2.), and Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon 1975 (= (I) 2.5.).

As a direct result of his concern with the questions of large groups of Papuan languages and their comparison, Wurm studied the problems of Papuan linguistic prehistory and of past language migrations in the New Guinea area (Wurm 1966a, 1967, 1970b, 1971b, 1972c, 1972d, 1975e (= (I) 2.16.2.), 1975i, 1975j, Wurm, Laycock, Voorhoeve and Dutton 1975 (= (I) 3.).

Another field in which Wurm carried out extensive work has been that of sociolinguistic problems connected with the role, function and change of lingue franche (and of other languages) in the New Guinea area, especially that of such problems connected with Pidgin and Police Motu (now Hiri Motu) (Wurm 1964c, 1966b, 1966c, 1966d, 1969a, 1969b, 1970d, 1971b, 1971d, 1971e, 1971f, 1973b, 1975k, 1975l, 1976b, 1976c, 1977b, 1977c, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1978e, Wurm and Harris 1963, Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1977, 1978a, 1978b, Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Dutton 1978, Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1978, and chapters 5.6., 7.4.1.2., 7.4.1.4.1., 7.4.1.4.6., 7.4.5.8. and 7.8. in the present volume).

In addition to results included in some of the publications referred to above, Wurm contributed to the study of Austronesian languages in general (Wurm and Wilson 1975).

In addition to the activities referred to above, Wurm has edited six and co-edited two volumes concerned in part or entirely with New Guinea linguistics (Wurm, ed. 1975, 1976, the present volume, Wurm, ed. 1978a, 1978b, Wurm, ed., with Mühlhäusler, Laycock and Dutton 1978, Wurm and Laycock, eds 1970, Sebeok, ed. 1971 (Associate editors J.D. Bowen, I. Dyen, G.W. Grace and S.A. Wurm)). Wurm also has, in association with D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve, D.T. Tryon, T.E. Dutton, and others, been editing *Pacific Linguistics* (see 7.9.1.3.) since 1963.

7.9.1.2.2. D.C. LAYCOCK

D.C. Laycock's first activity in New Guinea linguistics as a Ph.D. research scholar in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University in 1959 was concerned with the languages and the language situation in the Middle Sepik area. After extensive fieldwork there in 1959-60, he worked out the nature and classification of the

languages in the area and established the existence of several large groups of interrelated languages (Laycock 1961, 1965a, 1965b, 1968) which were later recognised by him as members of the widespread Sepik-Ramu, and the Torricelli, Phyla as set up by him (Laycock 1973a, Laycock and Z'graggen 1975 (= (I) 2.11.), Laycock 1975a (= (I) 2.12.), on the basis of further extensive fieldwork in 1966-67 and 1970-71 which he carried out after joining the staff of the School of Pacific Studies in 1964. That second phase of his work resulted in the complete linguistic surveying of the Sepik Districts area and the clarification of the immensely complex linguistic situation in them. Further results of Laycock's work regarding Sepik languages which do not belong to the two large phyla mentioned above have been presented in Laycock 1975b (= (I) 2.14.1.) and in Laycock 1975c (= (I) 2.15.1.) and also in Laycock 1975d. He also worked in the Austronesian languages of the Sepik Districts (Laycock 1973a, 1973b, 1976a (= (II) 4.4.8.).

Outside the Sepik Districts area, he carried out a large amount of work in languages of southern Bougainville, especially in Buin (Laycock 1969a, 1969b, 1972a, 1975e, 1977a) carrying out extensive fieldwork there in 1966-67.

In the course of his studies, Laycock concerned himself with questions of language distribution and classification in the New Guinea area in general (Wurm and Laycock 1962, Laycock 1973a, Laycock and Wurm 1974) and with facets of Papuan linguistic prehistory and past language migrations in the New Guinea area (Laycock 1973a, 1975h and Wurm, Laycock, Voorhoeve and Dutton 1975 (= (I) 3.). He was also interested in the problems of the history of research in Papuan languages (Laycock 1972b, 1975i (= (I) 2.1.1.), see also chapter 5.5.2. in this volume, Laycock and Voorhoeve 1971), and in that of research in Austronesian languages of the Sepik Districts area (Laycock 1976b (= (II) 4.2.2.).

Other fields of interest of Laycock have been the sociolinguistic questions of bilingualism, special languages such as play languages, and language contact and change as well as language and thought (Laycock 1966, 1969a, 1970a, 1971, 1972c, 1973 (1976), 1978a, see also chapters 5.4., 5.6. and 7.6.1. in this volume). Laycock also carried out studies in the related questions of basic vocabulary and language eliciting (Laycock 1970b).

A field of study of particular concern to Laycock has been that of Pidgin and its role in Papua New Guinea, and he has published extensively in it (Laycock 1966, 1969c, 1970c, 1970d, 1970e, 1972d, 1975j, 1978a, 1978b, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1978b, 1978c, Laycock, Mühlhäusler and Wurm 1978, Laycock, Mühlhäusler, Wurm and Dutton 1978, Laycock and Wurm

1978, see also chapters 7.4.1.5., 7.4.1.6., 7.6.1. and 7.8. in this volume.

In addition to this work, Laycock co-edited a large volume devoted in part to New Guinea linguistics (Wurm and Laycock 1970) and has been serving as an associate editor of *Pacific Linguistics* (see 7.9.1.3.).

7.9.1.2.3. C.L. VOORHOEVE

After his joining the staff of the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University in 1965, C.L. Voorhoeve concerned himself with problems of the nature, distribution and classification of languages in the Western District (now Province) of Papua New Guinea which constituted a continuation of earlier linguistic work carried out by him in the adjacent parts of southern Irian Jaya. He carried out extensive fieldwork in various parts of the Western District in 1966-67 and again in subsequent years, and succeeded in clarifying the linguistic picture in that District (Voorhoeve 1968, 1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1975a (= (I) 2.6.2.), Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973).

Voorhoeve also continued his earlier work in Irian Jaya, first with particular emphasis on the languages and linguistic situation in the eastern and southern parts of it where he carried out fieldwork in 1971 (Voorhoeve 1971, 1975a (= (I) 2.6.2.)). This was followed by extensive work in the languages and linguistic situation in the northern and western parts of Irian Jaya (Voorhoeve 1975a (= (I) 2.6.2.), 1975b, 1975c (= (I) 2.10.2.)).

Much of Voorhoeve's work in Papuan linguistics has been devoted to the establishment of large groups and the study of the nature and degree of links and relationships existing between them and between geographically widely separated Papuan languages (Voorhoeve 1969, McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970). It was largely due to his (and McElhanon's) pioneering work that the existence of the very large Trans-New Guinea Phylum was recognised, and the Papuan linguistic climate becoming favourably disposed towards the acceptance of far-reaching interrelationships between Papuan languages and language groups (Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon 1975 (= (I) 2.5.)).

In the course of this work, Voorhoeve was concerned with the establishment of small unrelated groups and isolates in Irian Jaya (Voorhoeve 1971, 1975d (= (I) 2.14.3.), 1975e (= (I) 2.15.2.)), and with questions of Papuan linguistic prehistory and past language migrations (Wurm, Laycock, Voorhoeve and Dutton 1975 (= (I) 3.)).

Other interests pursued by Voorhoeve have been problems of language in culture (Voorhoeve 1969, see also chapter 5.1.2. in the present

volume), as well as those of Papuan linguistic typology (Wurm, Laycock and Voorhoeve 1975 (= (I) 2.3.2.)).

A special concern of Voorhoeve in his work in Papuan linguistics has been the field of the history of research in Papuan linguistics (Laycock and Voorhoeve 1971, Voorhoeve 1975f (= (I) 2.1.2.)).

Voorhoeve has also been actively engaged in work in *lingue franche* in Papua New Guinea, in particular Hiri Motu (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974) in which he conducted courses at the Australian National University in co-operation with T.E. Dutton.

In addition to the work outlined, Voorhoeve has been serving as an associate editor of *Pacific Linguistics* (see 7.9.1.3.).

7.9.1.2.4. T.E. DUTTON

After taking up work in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University in 1965 as a Ph.D. research scholar, T.E. Dutton engaged in work in the languages and linguistic situation in the south-eastern tail-portion of the New Guinea mainland, at first in the southern central part of it. He carried out extensive fieldwork in the area in 1966-67 and continued this work after his appointment to the staff of the Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies in 1969, carrying on his fieldwork activity in the area. He produced several grammar sketches and descriptions of languages of the area and established the existence of several distinct Papuan language families in it (Dutton 1969a, 1969b, 1970a, 1971a, 1973a, 1975a, 1975b), and it was found that they were interrelated and formed a large group (Dutton 1975c (= (I) 2.9.)), which was recognised as belonging to what became known as the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (Wurm 1971a, 1978a, Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon 1975 (= (I) 2.5.)).

In addition to his work in these Papuan languages, Dutton was also concerned with the Austronesian languages of the area (Dutton 1970a, 1971a, 1973a, 1976a (= (II) 4.4.3.), and with Austronesian and Papuan 'mixed' languages (Dutton 1971b, 1976b (= (II) 4.5.2.)).

Dutton devoted much of his interest to questions of Papuan linguistic prehistory and past language migrations (Dutton 1969b, 1969c, 1969d, Wurm, Laycock, Voorhoeve and Dutton 1975 (= (I) 3.)). In the course of this, he paid particular attention to the spread of cultural terms in parts of the New Guinea area (Dutton 1973b, see also chapter 5.2. in the present volume). He was also concerned with problems of the history of research in Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area (Dutton 1976c (= (II) 4.2.5.)).

A considerable portion of Dutton's work was directed towards the study of the major *lingue franche* of Papua New Guinea, i.e. Pidgin and Hiri Motu, and he produced and co-authored important textbooks in them (Dutton 1973c, Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974), along with other publications on Pidgin (Dutton 1972, 1976d, 1978, Dutton, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1978, see also chapters 7.4.2.9., 7.4.3.1. and 7.4.3.2. in the present volume) and also on Torres Strait English (Dutton 1970b). He also conducted ordinary and intensive courses in Pidgin and Hiri Motu at the Australian National University, the latter in co-operation with C.L. Voorhoeve.

As part of the work outlined above, Dutton edited a major volume on languages of the south-eastern portion of the New Guinea mainland (Dutton, ed. 1975). He has also been serving as an associate editor of *Pacific Linguistics* (see 7.9.1.3.).

7.9.1.2.5. D.T. TRYON

D.T. Tryon has been associated with the School of Pacific Studies from 1965, first as a Ph.D. research scholar and later as a member of the staff of the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies. He has been concerned in his work with linguistic problems of the Loyalty Islands, Australia and the New Hebrides on which he has been publishing extensively (e.g. Tryon 1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1970, 1976), but is now beginning to become at least marginally involved with linguistics in the New Guinea area through his planned survey work in parts of the Solomon Islands which is envisaged to begin in detail in late 1977. He expects to carry out work in the Eastern Outer Islands in which Papuan and Austronesian 'mixed' languages are located (Wurm 1976a (= (II) 4.5.3.)). A publication by him concerning the language situation in the Solomon Islands is in press (Tryon 1978). He has also been serving as an associate editor of *Pacific Linguistics* (see 7.9.1.3.).

7.9.1.2.6. K.A. McELHANON

During his work in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar from 1967 to 1970, McElhanon devoted his interest to the languages and the linguistic situation in the Huon Peninsula area in the Morobe District of Papua New Guinea, and in areas adjoining it in the west, especially in the Finisterre Range region, on the basis of extensive fieldwork in the region. He studied the Selepet language of the Western Huon Family of the Huon Stock in what was recognised as the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970), in detail (McElhanon 1967a, 1970a, 1970b,

1970c, 1970d, 1970e, 1972, McElhanon K. and Noreen A. 1970), worked on the Kâte language (McElhanon 1976a) and on a language isolate in the region (McElhanon 1975b, McElhanon and Sigkepe Sogum 1976). He also studied some anthropological problems in the Selepet area (McElhanon 1968, 1969a, 1969b) and also elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (McElhanon, ed. 1975a). Another important aspect of his work was the establishment of the nature and extent of the Papuan language groups of the areas mentioned above (McElhanon 1967b, 1970a, 1973, 1975a (= (I) 2.8.1.), Claassen and McElhanon 1970, Hooley and McElhanon 1970). In the course of this work, he was also concerned with the history of linguistic research in the area (McElhanon 1970f).

As a corollary of his work on the establishment of Papuan language groups in the Huon Peninsula and adjacent areas McElhanon devoted his attention to the special problems encountered in their classification and to those of the classification of Papuan languages in general (McElhanon 1970g, 1971, Wurm and McElhanon 1975 (= (I) 2.2.)).

Another field of study engaged in by McElhanon was that of the nature and degree of links and relationships between geographically widely separated Papuan languages and the establishment of large Papuan groups, in particular the Trans-New Guinea Phylum which he and Voorhoeve pioneered together (McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970, Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon 1975 (= (I) 2.5.)).

Another area of study with which McElhanon concerned himself was that of New Guinea Pidgin (McElhanon 1975c). He edited an important volume devoted to Pidgin studies (McElhanon, ed. 1975b) and carried out research into the sociolinguistic role of some mission lingue franche (McElhanon 1978b).

Since joining the staff of the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies in 1976, McElhanon has devoted his research interests to the question of idiom formation in Papuan languages (McElhanon 1976b, 1977a) and in Pidgin (McElhanon 1977b), to work on a checklist and field guide concerning the languages of the Morobe Province (McElhanon 1978a), the naming of birds by the Selepet-speakers (McElhanon 1977c, 1977d) and problems of linguistics and translation (Franklin and McElhanon 1978) and to editorial work on the planned series *Handbook of New Guinea Area Languages* which is to appear in a number of successive volumes within the Series C of *Pacific Linguistics*.

7.9.1.2.7. R.A. BLUST

R. Blust was working at the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Post-doctoral

Fellow from 1974 to 1976. In his research, he was concerned with Austronesian historical linguistics (e.g. Blust 1972 (1975), 1976a), Austronesian culture history (e.g. Blust 1976b), and linguistics of Borneo (e.g. Blust 1974 (1975)), but he undertook a survey of the linguistic situation on the Admiralty Islands, Papua New Guinea, in 1975.

7.9.1.2.8. A. HEALEY

During his work in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar from 1961 to 1964, A. Healey was concerned with the descriptive and comparative study of languages in the central hub area of the New Guinea mainland. He carried out extensive fieldwork there and established the Ok Family of languages (Healey, A. 1964a, 1964b, 1964c) which was later recognised as belonging to the Central and South New Guinea Stock (Voorhoeve 1968) in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970, Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon 1975 (= (I) 2.5.), and Voorhoeve 1975a (= (I) 2.6.2.)). A. Healey devoted much of his interest to reconstruction work (Healey, A. 1964b, 1970) and was one of the pioneers of Papuan comparative linguistics.

At the same time, he worked on linguistic aspects of the kinship terminology in Telefol, one of the languages of the Ok Family (Healey, A. 1962) and produced a guide-book for the handling of unsophisticated linguistic informants (Healey, A. 1964d). Together with P. Healey, he compiled a preliminary version of a dictionary of Telefol (Healey, A. and P. 1962) which, revised and enlarged by P. Healey, is now being published under her name (Healey, P. 1977).

7.9.1.2.9. PHYLLIS HEALEY

During her association with the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar from 1962 to 1965, Phyllis Healey worked on descriptive problems of Telefol, one of the languages of the Ok Family established by A. Healey (1964a) on the basis of extensive fieldwork and published several studies on it (Healey, P. 1964, 1965a, 1965b, 1965c, 1966). She worked with A. Healey on the compilation of a preliminary Telefol dictionary (Healey, A. and P. 1962) which she revised and enlarged for publication (Healey, P. 1977).

7.9.1.2.10. J.A. Z'GRAGGEN

J.A. Z'graggen was associated with the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University from 1966 to 1969 as a Ph.D. research scholar. During that time, he carried out extensive fieldwork in the western part of the Madang District, and established the nature of the language distribution in that linguistically exceedingly complex part of the New Guinea mainland in a preliminary form (Z'graggen 1968, 1970, 1971), thus laying the foundations for his further work in the linguistic situation of the area (Z'graggen 1975d, 1975b (= (I) 2.8.1.) and Laycock and Z'graggen 1975 (= (I) 2.11.)).

In the course of this work, he also paid considerable attention to the Austronesian languages of the area, and to the history of linguistic research in them and in the languages of the area as a whole (Z'graggen 1971, 1975a, 1976a (= (II) 4.4.1.) and 1976b (= (II) 4.2.3.)).

7.9.1.2.11. K.J. FRANKLIN

K.J. Franklin worked in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University from 1966 to 1969 as a Ph.D. research scholar. During that period, he undertook extensive fieldwork in the Southern Highlands District of Papua New Guinea, in particular in the Kewa language area, and carried out studies in Kewa and the dialect situation in the Kewa area (Franklin 1968a, 1970, 1971). At the same time, he took considerable interest in the language situation in the Gulf District area of Papua New Guinea, and carried out preliminary work in it (Franklin 1968b).

After leaving the Australian National University, Franklin was in charge of a Summer Institute of Linguistics-Australian National University co-operative research project aiming at the clarification and study of the complex linguistic situation in the Gulf District and adjacent areas which involved survey work by helicopter. In the course of this work, K. Franklin spent some time at the Australian National University as a visitor in 1971 and 1972, and edited the large volume resulting from the project (Franklin, ed. 1973). In it, he himself contributed materially to the linguistic picture as a whole (Franklin 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, Franklin and Voorhoeve 1973). Later he published further contributions to our knowledge of the linguistic situation of the area (Franklin 1975a (= (I) 2.14.2.), 1975b (= (I) 2.15.3.)). With Joice Franklin, he also produced a dictionary of the Kewa language (Franklin, K. and Joice 1978).

7.9.1.2.12. A.J. TAYLOR

A. Taylor was associated with the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar from 1967 to 1970. During that time, he worked on the Austronesian Motu language of the Port Moresby area on the basis of extensive fieldwork (Taylor 1970a, 1970b), as well as on adjacent Austronesian languages (Taylor 1976 (= (II) 4.2.6.)). He also devoted some attention to the study of sociolinguistic problems in Papua New Guinea (Taylor 1968).

7.9.1.2.13. R. LANG

R. Lang worked in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar from 1967 to 1970. During that time, he made a detailed study of the Enga language of the West-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum carrying out extensive fieldwork in the Enga area with A. Lang, and paid particular attention to some problems of it such as questions and answers (Lang, R. 1970).

7.9.1.2.14. ADRIANNE LANG

Adrianne Lang was a Ph.D. research scholar in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University from 1968 to 1971. During that period, she undertook extensive fieldwork in the Enga language area with R. Lang (see above, 7.9.1.2.13.) and focussed her attention on problems of lexicography in Enga and the New Guinea area in general (Lang, A. 1973, see also chapter 5.5.1. in the present volume), and on those of classificatory verbs in Enga and languages of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (Lang, A. 1971, 1975).

7.9.1.2.15. C.H. BEAUMONT

During his work in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar from 1970 to 1974, C. Beaumont worked in the Austronesian Tigak language of New Ireland on the basis of extensive fieldwork, and also devoted his attention to the problems of the linguistic situation in the New Ireland area as a whole including questions of the history of research in it (Beaumont 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976a (= (II) 4.4.7.), 1976b (= (II) 4.2.8.)).

7.9.1.2.16. P. MÜHLHÄUSLER

P. Mühlhäusler worked in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar and as a research assistant from 1972 to 1976. In his research he has been concerned with linguistic and sociolinguistic problems of Pidgin in Papua New Guinea including its history (Mühlhäusler 1973a, 1973b, 1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1975c, 1975d, 1976a, 1976b, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, 1978e, 1978f, 1978g, 1978h, 1978i, 1978j, 1978k, 1978l, 1978m, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, Mühlhäusler, Laycock and Wurm 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, Mühlhäusler, Laycock, Wurm and Dutton 1978, Mühlhäusler and Tryon 1978, Mühlhäusler and Wurm 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1978d, Dutton, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1978, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1978a, 1978b, Laycock, Mühlhäusler and Wurm 1978, Laycock, Mühlhäusler, Wurm and Dutton 1978, Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1977, 1978a, 1978b, Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Dutton 1978, Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1978, and chapters 7.4.1.1., 7.4.1.3., 7.4.1.4.2., 7.4.1.4.3., 7.4.1.4.4., 7.4.1.4.5. and 7.8. in the present volume). Mühlhäusler has contributed very significantly to the large *Handbook of New Guinea Pidgin* (Wurm, ed. with Mühlhäusler, Laycock and Dutton 1978). During his association with the Australian National University, he undertook extensive fieldwork in Papua New Guinea and also in Western Samoa. As a result of this, he was able to establish that New Guinea Pidgin had its direct origin in the Samoan plantation pidgin of around 1880. He also found surviving speakers of the old Papuan Pidgin English in the area of the former Territory of Papua and was able to carry out studies in that language.

Mühlhäusler left the Australian National University in late 1976 to take up an appointment at the University of Berlin.

7.9.1.2.17. G.K. SCOTT

G. Scott became a Ph.D. research scholar in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University in 1974. He has been working on a detailed description of the Fore language of the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum on the basis of his earlier studies in that language (e.g. Scott 1963, 1968, 1973), and of extensive fieldwork. He was also concerned with questions of orthography (Scott 1976) and of lexical expansion (Scott 1978).

7.9.1.2.18. R.L. JOHNSTON

R. Johnston joined the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar in 1975. He has been working on problems of the Austronesian Lakalai language of New Britain in which he carried out research before. He has also paid attention to the problems of devising a written style in an unwritten language (Johnston 1976), and to those of language engineering in local languages in Papua New Guinea (Johnston 1978).

7.9.1.2.19. A.T. WALKER

A. Walker joined the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar in 1975. His research interest has been in the study of the Austronesian Sawu language and neighbouring Austronesian languages on Timor which is marginally in the New Guinea area. He has undertaken fieldwork on Timor and has also worked on sociolinguistic problems (Walker 1978).

7.9.1.2.20. L.P. BRUCE

L. Bruce joined the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a Ph.D. research scholar in 1975. His research interests have been with languages of the western Sepik area, especially with Alamlak (Bruce 1975). He has undertaken extensive fieldwork in the area.

7.9.1.2.21. P.C. LINCOLN

P. Lincoln of the University of Hawaii (see chapter 7.9.4.) was briefly associated with the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a non-degree student in 1975 when he was preparing for his fieldwork activities in the Austronesian Banoni language area on Bougainville.

7.9.1.2.22. T.B. WILSON

B. Wilson worked as a research assistant in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University from 1972 to 1975. Much of his work was concerned with collaborating with S. Wurm in the compilation of a detailed finderlist of Austronesian reconstructions (Wurm and Wilson 1975) which impinges marginally on the New Guinea area.

7.9.1.2.23. LOIS CARRINGTON

Lois Carrington joined the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a research assistant in 1975. She was concerned with the format, copy-editing, bibliographical problems and the indexing of Wurm, ed. 1976, and the present volume, and also contributed chapter 7.4.2.10. to the latter.

7.9.1.2.24. G.W. GRACE

G. Grace, of the University of Hawaii, spent three months in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a visitor in 1970 during which time he completed the writing up of his study of the Austronesian languages of the Sarmi coast in northern Irian Jaya (Grace 1971).

7.9.1.2.25. B. JERNUDD

B. Jernudd, of Monash University, Melbourne, spent three months in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as a visitor in 1970. He carried out fieldwork in Papua New Guinea and studied the social role of Pidgin in Papua New Guinea today.

7.9.1.2.26. A. CAPELL

A. Capell, retired from the University of Sydney, joined the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as an honorary fellow for one year in 1973. In that capacity, he worked on problems of the West Papuan Phylum, of Austronesian and Papuan 'mixed' languages and of Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area (Capell 1975, 1976a (= (II) 4.5.1., 1976b (= (II) 4.1.), 1976c (= (II) 4.3.)).

7.9.1.2.27. G.L. RENCK

G. Renck, missionary linguist of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, was attached to the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University as an honorary fellow for six months in 1974. During that period, he worked on problems of the Yagaria language of the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (Renck 1975, 1977, see also chapter 7.5.3. in the present volume) and on questions of missionary lingue franche and Pidgin (see chapters 7.4.5.2., 7.4.5.3. and 7.4.2.4. in the present volume).

7.9.1.2.28. I. HOWARD

I. Howard, of the University of Hawaii, was attached to the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University for six months as a visiting fellow. During that period, he carried out work in the Polynesian language of Takuu Island in the Bougainville area. He spent most of the time on fieldwork on Takuu Island.

7.9.1.2.29. J.B. HARRIS

J.B. Harris, formerly a lecturer in the Department of Linguistics in the School of General Studies of the Australian National University, and now at the Canberra College of Advanced Education, collaborated with S. Wurm in the production of a textbook of Police Motu (Wurm and Harris 1973) and has been carrying out extensive fieldwork and studies in northern languages of the Kiwalian Family of the Trans-Fly Stock in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum since the mid-1960s (unpublished). He was co-editor of *Pacific Linguistics* in the beginning (see 7.9.1.3.).

7.9.1.2.30. H. BLUHME

H. Bluhme, formerly a senior lecturer in phonetics in the Department of Linguistics in the School of General Studies of the Australian National University and now with the University of Bielefeld, Germany, carried out some fieldwork and studies in the Austronesian Roro language of the Central District of Papua New Guinea (Bluhme 1970).

7.9.1.2.31. J.M. HAIMAN

J.M. Haiman, formerly a lecturer in the Department of Linguistics in the School of General Studies of the Australian National University, and now with the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, has been carrying out extensive fieldwork and studies in the Hua dialect of the Yagaria language of the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum since 1972 (Haiman 1972, 1975, 1978).

7.9.1.2.32. W.A. FOLEY

W. Foley joined the Department of Linguistics in the School of General Studies of the Australian National University in 1976 as a lecturer. He worked on the Nasioi language of Bougainville in 1976 and in 1977 is undertaking fieldwork in the Sepik area with a view to studying the Yimas language.

7.9.1.2.33. M.L. OLSON

M. Olson joined the Department of Linguistics in the School of General Studies of the Australian National University as a research scholar in 1976. He proceeded to the field in 1977 to carry out further work in the Barai language which he had studied before (Olson 1973, 1975). He is also working on sociolinguistic questions connected with possession marking (Olson 1978).

7.9.1.2.34. R.S. LAWTON

R.S. Lawton, a former M.A. research scholar in the Department of Linguistics in the School of General Studies of the Australian National University, has been working on problems of the Austronesian Kiriwina language of the Milne Bay Province since 1973 on the basis of extensive earlier fieldwork, and also devoted his interest to the Dobu language of the area as a missionary lingua franca (see chapter 7.4.5.9. in this volume).

7.9.1.3. PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Since 1963, the serial publication *Pacific Linguistics* (known until 1967 as *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications*) has been published under the auspices of the School of Pacific Studies (since 1968, under those of the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies). It is devoted to studies relating to Papuan, Austronesian, Australian, South-East Asian and Pidgin linguistics and related fields, and consists of four separate series, i.e. Series A: *Occasional Papers*, Series B: *Monographs*, Series C: *Books*, and Series D: *Special Publications*. Series A is sub-divided into *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics*, *Papers in Australian Linguistics*, *Papers in Borneo and Western Austronesian Linguistics*, *Papers in Philippine Linguistics*, *Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics*, and *Papers in Linguistics of Melanesia*, with further such sub-series envisaged as the need arises.

Until April 1977, 46 A numbers, 46 B numbers, 42 C numbers and 17 D numbers have been published, and manuscripts ready for publication are in hand for a total of 41 further numbers (5 A numbers, 10 B numbers, 15 C numbers and 11 D numbers), with a considerable number of additional manuscripts in preparation.

Of the numbers published until April 1977, 69 (i.e. 22 A numbers, 24 B numbers, 14 C numbers and 9 D numbers) are entirely or in part concerned with linguistics of the New Guinea area, and of the manuscripts in hand, 18 (i.e. 1 A number, 2 B numbers, 8 C numbers and 7 D numbers) have the same orientation.

S.A. Wurm has been editor of the series since its inception, at first together with J.B. Harris, and N.G. Malmqvist of the Department of Chinese in Oriental Studies, School of General Studies, Australian National University. D.C. Laycock joined these editors in 1965. N.G. Malmqvist relinquished his editorship in 1966 upon his departure from Canberra, and S. Wurm became chief editor, with J. Harris and D. Laycock as associate editors. J. Harris' place was taken over by C.L. Voorhoeve in 1967. D.T. Tryon and T.E. Dutton joined the associate editors in 1975. K.A. McElhanon is the serial editor of the series *Handbook of New Guinea Languages* within Series C, *Books*, and Nguyen Dang Liem the serial editor of the series *South-East Asian Linguistic Studies* within Series C, *Books*. The editorial advisers of *Pacific Linguistics* are:

- B. Bender, University of Hawaii
- A. Capell, University of Sydney
- S. Elbert, University of Hawaii
- K. Franklin, Summer Institute of Linguistics
- W. Glover, Summer Institute of Linguistics
- G. Grace, University of Hawaii
- A. Healey, Summer Institute of Linguistics
- N.D. Liem, University of Hawaii
- H. McKaughan, University of Hawaii
- G.N. O'Grady, University of Victoria, B.C.
- K. Pike, University of Michigan; Summer Institute of Linguistics
- E. Uhlenbeck, University of Leiden

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7.9.2. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Karl J. Franklin

7.9.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is an international organisation with centres located in Huntington Beach, California (administration), Dallas, Texas (training), Accra, Ghana (Africa area), Jayapura, Indonesia (Asia area), Burbach-Holzhausen (W. Germany), Huntington Beach, California (Latin America area), and Auckland, New Zealand (Pacific area). Members come from Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, England, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, The Republic of South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. SIL works in co-operation with two subsidiary organisations: the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service with headquarters in Waxhaw, North Carolina and the Wycliffe Bible Translators, also with headquarters in Huntington Beach, California. In certain countries the organisation is known by a more local name such as Instituto Linguistico de Verano (in most Latin American countries), the Institute of Linguistics (in several African countries), and the Société Internationale de Linguistique (in the African Francophone areas).

At present (the beginning of 1977) the Institute is engaged in language projects in the following countries: Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Chad, Central America (Guatemala and Honduras), Colombia-Panama, Ecuador, Ghana, Indonesia, Ivory Coast-Upper Volta, Mexico, Mainland South-East Asia, North America, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Surinam and Togo.

7.9.2.2. SUMMER SCHOOLS

The name of the Summer Institute of Linguistics is derived from the historical precedent of holding linguistic courses during the summer months in the United States and other countries. Although the organisation began its first SIL in Sulphur Springs, Arkansas in 1934 with two students, it later moved to a university campus in 1942. In 1941 Regents of the University of Oklahoma approved an affiliation with SIL whereby the University provided living quarters and educational facilities and accepted courses offered by SIL for credit with the University. In 1944 an SIL course was begun in Canada and this continued until 1958 when it moved to the University of Washington and in 1950 a course was begun in Australia near Melbourne. Later this school moved to Brisbane, then to Sydney, and is now held at New College, University of New South Wales, Sydney. This course now combines a course that was begun in Auckland, New Zealand (1965). Other courses began at the University of North Dakota (1952), England (1953), Germany (1957), Gordon College at Boston, Massachusetts (1970), University of Texas at Arlington (1972), University of North Carolina (1975) and Japan (1975). The course in Dallas, Texas is held during the academic year and students may pursue the M.A. or Ph.D. in Humanities in a joint SIL-UTA programme.

All of the SIL schools offer, in addition to basic beginning linguistic courses, advanced courses as well. Courses are divided into three basic 'packages' with undergraduate or graduate credit provided in the United States by the universities with which the course is affiliated. At the University of Oklahoma introductory courses are offered in phonology and grammatical analysis, with advanced analysis in the same areas, as well as field methods in Ethnology, principles of translation, and introduction to literacy also available. Supplementary courses on clause and discourse in translation and readings and problems in literacy can be taken at Oklahoma. Literacy courses can also be studied in Australia and England as well as assimilation courses for language learning. Each of the SIL schools places strong emphasis on the practical skills of mastering the phonetic alphabet and the utilisation of phonetics in field methods with language assistants. The descriptive framework for language analysis follows not only tagmemic theory, but other linguistic theories as well. For example at North Dakota transformational grammar or relational grammar is taught, in Seattle stratificational grammar, and in England systemic grammar.

Once a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics is assigned to a specific branch, international linguistic consultants provide supervision and additional training for the members. In the Papua New Guinea

Branch consultants are classified into three categories: senior, regular, and trainee. A senior consultant must have the background and skill necessary to conduct and supervise a workshop. In the Papua New Guinea Branch workshops are held in language learning, beginning anthropology, low and high level grammar, low and high level phonology, beginning and advanced translation, beginning and advanced dictionary preparation, literacy, and editing. In addition, courses are held for the training of indigenous writers and of practical skills for the language helpers. The emphasis on consultants and field training programmes means that each branch recommends that as many as possible of their members study for advanced degrees. At present in the Papua New Guinea Branch there are eight Ph.D.s plus another six who are in training for the Ph.D. Most of these degrees are in linguistics, although others have completed their work in chemistry and agriculture, as well as anthropology and ethnomusicology. One of the Branch's outstanding linguistic members (Dr Darlene Bee) was killed in an aeroplane crash in early 1972.

In addition, each branch has many members with M.A. degrees, usually in linguistics or some related field. Members of the Papua New Guinea Branch have studied at the following universities: Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Cornell, U.C.L.A., University of California at Davis, University of Texas at Arlington, University of Papua New Guinea, Monash, Sydney, Macquarie, Australian National University, Hawaii, Auckland, Simon Fraser, and the University of Toronto. The continuing training programme for field members assures a quality control for publications by the Institute as well as a continuing programme to provide the consultant core that is needed.

Over the years the Summer Institute of Linguistics has been responsible for developing textbooks and materials which have been used in the summer courses. In the Papua New Guinea Branch a number of books have been written or edited which are designed to help new members both in school and in the field. Some of these books are: *Neo-Tagmemics* (Bee 1973); *Language Learners Field Guide* (Healey, A., ed. 1975); *A Programmed Course in New Guinea Pidgin* (Litteral 1969); *A Manual of Literacy for Pre-Literate Peoples* (Gudschinsky 1973 but edited by members of the Papua New Guinea Branch); and the *Technical Studies Handbook* (SIL (N.G.) 1975) by various members of the Branch. This latter handbook is intended to provide members with information on what is required at various stages of their analysis of the language, particularly in phonology, grammar, anthropology, and translation. A reading list is offered for each area of analysis with comments and goals for each stage of language learning and analysis.

Many of the Papua New Guinea Branch members assist in the summer courses by teaching at the University of Papua New Guinea (Lahara courses are offered in literacy, alphabet design and translation). Others who are on leave in the United States, England, or elsewhere assist in the same way in these countries. Each year a report of the activities of SIL is published and distributed by individual branches.

7.9.2.3. HISTORICAL COMMENTS

The founder of the Summer Institute of Linguistics is Mr W.C. Townsend. A short biography of Mr Townsend and his work has been written by Eunice Pike and can be found in Elson and Comas, eds 1961, and a more detailed outline of the joint efforts of SIL and the Wycliffe Bible Translators is Hefley and Hefley 1974. Mr Townsend's motivation has always been to serve other groups through scientific, cultural, and spiritual efforts. Language is seen as a key to understanding people's aspirations, expressed through language, and without some understanding of the language of an ethnic group there cannot be a true identification with the people. Mr Townsend had always recommended a balanced programme with heavy practical emphasis on community and rural projects. The writing down of languages and providing descriptive grammars, dictionaries, literacy materials, and translation is one process of enhancing cultural pride and motivation. Without such an emphasis and interest, minority groups in any country may suffer complete cultural assimilation.

The Papua New Guinea Branch of SIL began in 1956 with its headquarters located at Ukarumpa in the Eastern Highlands District (now Province). The first linguistic work began in Tairora of the Eastern Highlands in 1957. In the next 20 years (until 1976) the Branch averaged over six new language projects begun per year. A few of these languages (for example, Duna, Pawaia, Iwam) have now been permanently vacated because other organisations are now working in the area. The biggest gain in the initial language work was between 1962 and 1964 when the Branch began work in some 31 languages. In addition to having begun work in 116 languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL has also placed literacy teams in seven of the languages as well.

The language families or stocks in which SIL is now working in Papua New Guinea are as follows: Eastern Family (of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock = ENGHLS), East-Central Family, Binandere Stock, West-Central Family (ENGHLS), Buang Family, Belan Family, Hote Family, Siasi Family, Kowan Family, Gailala Family, Ok Family, Central Family, Left May Family, Yuri (Isolate), Oriomo River Family (or Eastern Trans-Fly Family), Arifama-Miniafia Family, Duna Family, Pawaian Family, Angan

Family, West Kutubu Family, Kwoma Family, Wapei Family, East Strickland Family, Rossel (family-level Isolate or a member of the Central Solomons Family), Baining Family, Kimbe Family, Madak Family, Whiteman Family, Patpatar Family, Tinputz Family, Bariai Family, Ndu Family, Tama Family, Iwam Family, Karam Family, Koiarian Family, Teberan Family, Erap Family, Yareban Family, Dagan Family, Nasioi Family, Petats Family, Sepik Hill Family, Kiriwina Family, Buin Family, West Huon Family, Atzera Family, D'Entrecasteaux Family, Gusap-Mot Family, Senagi Family, Kabenau Family, Mindjim Family, Numagenan Family, Rotokas Family, Waris Family, Yupna Family, Arapesh Family, Oksapmin (an isolate). Wurm, ed. 1975 indicates that there are 208 Papuan language families (including 68 family-level and stock-level isolates) in the New Guinea area (including Irian Jaya), as well as eight phylum-level isolates; the SIL has at present begun linguistic work in almost 60 of these. It is hoped that in the next ten years the work will rapidly accelerate by the incorporation of national translators into the programme. The initial linguistic work will be done by nationals familiar with the language family or by linguistic consultants who are especially assigned for training purposes.

As a result of the linguistic work today, the Papua New Guinea Branch of the SIL has published 587 articles, monographs, or books in linguistics and anthropology and 937 in literacy. These publications are from 1956 to 1975 (for complete details and references see Murane 1975).

Many of the literacy materials have been published because of the sponsoring agencies of Miles for Millions (Calgary, Canada), the Central Agency of the West German Government, the Canadian International Development Agency, and the National Cultural Council. In September 1969 the Branch was awarded an honorable mention by the International Jury of the Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Prize for literacy. The award was presented through the offices of UNESCO.

The SIL has also been active in the field of translation and has published 500 Biblical books in various languages of New Guinea, including 14 New Testaments.

Other publications by the Branch include a Technical Studies Memo and the series *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages*. The latter are a publication through the Technical Studies Department of the Branch with 18 volumes now published including papers in grammar, phonology and literacy. In addition to the Technical Studies Memo the department has through the years prepared survey wordlists, given instructions for the collection and gathering of texts for computer concordances, and provided other services for the membership.

The linguistic projects initiated by SIL include all except two provinces: the Enga and Manus. Future efforts are expected into each language family or isolate, with primary consideration to training nationals for the work. The complete list of members, languages, and geographical areas where SIL is working in Papua New Guinea can be found in the Appendix.

7.9.2.4. ORGANISATIONAL FRAMEWORK

The SIL is controlled by an international board of directors with Professor K.L. Pike as president and Dr J. Bendor-Samuel as vice-president. The board consists of 18 members, including five branch directors, and formulates policy for the organisation. There are several international administrators including an executive vice-president as well as vice-presidents for academics, personnel, operations, and finances. The vice-president of operations has area directors and service co-ordinators under his direction. The vice-president of academics is responsible for the SIL school directors as well as the corporation academic co-ordinators and consultants.

In Papua New Guinea there is a general branch director and two associate directors who administrate, as well as an executive committee which formulates policy for the Branch. At present in Papua New Guinea there are ten regional assistant directors located in the areas of the North Solomons, New Ireland and New Britain, Milne Bay, Northern Papua, Madang, Morobe, Eastern Highlands, Central Highlands, Western and Sepik. Each branch of SIL operates according to a constitution which is approved by the international board of directors.

The organisation of the linguistic services in Papua New Guinea is supervised by the Associate Director in charge of Language Affairs. There are several language oriented sections which function in the branch, namely, linguistics, translation, literacy, editing, and anthropology. The linguistic section includes both grammar and phonology as well as an orthography committee while the literacy section includes literature development and the anthropology section includes community development.

7.9.2.5. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The Summer Institute of Linguistics is deeply indebted to the government of Papua New Guinea for permission to use our skills in linguistics and other practical ways and thus aid the development of the country. We are especially grateful to the Ministries of Education and Culture

for encouragement to pursue specific activities which have benefitted the rural areas of the country. Some of these activities include the intensive study of the local languages with a view to preparing suitable orthographies for writing these languages, the collection of legends, songs and traditions, the recording of the customs and cultures of the people, the publication of Scriptures, as well as the provision of technical advice for community-centred projects. The Summer Institute of Linguistics, with a long history of pursuing such activities successfully in many countries, hopes to give this continuing emphasis to the languages of Papua New Guinea.

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APPENDIX¹

- ABISAN (Wanuma), 1,300 speakers. Numagenan Family, Pihom Stock. In Madang District, Madang Province. Team: Ger and Lidy Reesink 1975 to present.
- ABULAS (Abelam, Maprik), over 40,000 speakers (including 12,500 Wosera dialect speakers - see below). Ndu Family, Middle Sepik Stock. In Maprik District, East Sepik Province. Teams: Norman and Sheila Draper 1965-73; Barry and Helen Wearne Baker 1974 and 1968 to present, Patricia Wilson 1968 to present. See also Wosera.
- AGARABI, 12,000 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kainantu District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Lorna Luff* 1959-76, Jean Goddard 1960 to present.
- ALAMBLAK, 1,500 speakers. Sepik Hill (stock-level) Family. In Angoram District, East Sepik Province. Team: Les and Kathi Bruce 1970 to present.
- AMA, 380 speakers. Arai Family (= Left May Family). In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Sören and Britten Årsjö 1973 to present.
- AMANAB, 2,800 speakers. Waris Family, Tami Stock. In Amanab District, West Sepik Province. Team: Glenn and Dorothy Graham 1965 to present.
- ANGAATAHA (Langimar), 1,000 speakers. Anga Family. In Menyamya District, Morobe Province. Teams: Richard Brett* 1960-63; Ken and DonnaJean Davis 1964-66; Ronald and Roberta Huisman 1968 to present.

¹Editor's Note: There are some differences between the numbers of speakers of languages as given here, and those presented in volumes I and II. The figures given in this Appendix represent information available to the SIL.

'Names of members who have since left the organisation are marked with an asterisk (*). Names of members who have died are marked with a dagger (†).' (Murane 1975).

- ANGGOR (Bibriari, Senagi, Watapor), 1,250 speakers. Senagi (stock-level) Family. In Amanab District, West Sepik Province. Team: Robert and Shirley Litteral 1965 to present.
- ASARO, UPPER, 9,500 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Goroka District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: David and Gladys Strange 1964 to present.
- ATZERA (Acira, Adzera, Azera), 18,000 speakers. Atzera Family, Austronesian. In Kaiapit District, Morobe Province. Teams: Larry and Ann Roke Cates 1967-72; Dorothy Price 1967-72; Isabel Leckie 1970-72.
- AU, 3,700 speakers. Wapei-Palei Stock. In Lumi District, West Sepik Province. Team: David and Jackie Scorza 1968 to present.
- AUYAANA-KOSENSA, 6,500 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kainantu District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Doreen Marks 1957 to present.
- AWA, 1,500 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kainantu District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Richard and Aretta Loving 1959 to present.
- BAHINEMO (Gahom, Wogu), 325 speakers. Sepik Hill (stock-level) Family. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Wayne and Sally Dye 1964 to present.
- BAINING (Kakat, Makakat), 4,500 speakers. Baining Family, North New Britain Stock (?). In Rabaul District, East New Britain Province. Team: James and Dianna Parker 1971 to present.
- BARAI, 1,500 speakers. Koiarian Family, Koiari-Manubara-Yareba Stock. In Popondetta District, Northern Province. Team: Michael and Donna Olson 1969 to present.
- BARIJI (Aga Bereto), 260 speakers. Yareban Family. In Popondetta District, Northern Province. Team: Harry and Natalia Weimer supervising national translators 1976 to present.
- BARUYA (Barua), 4,400 speakers. Anga Family. In Wonenara District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Richard and Joy Lloyd 1961 to present.
- BENABENA, 15,000 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Goroka District, Eastern Highlands Province. Teams: Robert and Rosemary Young 1957 to present; Maurice and Denese Grace 1972-75.

- BIANGAI, 1,100 speakers. Goilala Family (= Kunimaipa Family). In Wau District, Morobe Province. Team: Ray and Marjorie Dubert 1962 to present.
- BINE, 1,800 speakers. Oriomo River Family. In Daru District, Western Province. Team: Lillian Fleischmann and Sinikka Turpeinen 1973 to present.
- BINUMARIEN (Binumaria), 190 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kainantu District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Desmond and Jennifer Oatridge 1959 to present.
- BOIKEN (Yangoru), 31,000 speakers. Ndu Family, Middle Sepik Stock. In Maprik District, East Sepik Province. Team: Allen and Marlene Freudenburg 1968 to present.
- BUANG, CENTRAL (Mapos Buang), 6,100 speakers. Buang Family. Austro-nesian. In Mumeng District, Morobe Province. Teams: Bruce and Joyce Hooley 1959 to present; Ian and Doris Davidson 1969-72.
- BUANG, MANGGA, 2,500 speakers. Buang Family, Austronesian. In Mumeng District, Morobe Province. Team: Roma Hardwick and Joan Healey 1963 to present.
- BUIN (Rugara, Telei, Terei), 9,000 speakers. Buin Family, Nasioi-Nagovisi-Siwai-Buin Stock. In Buin District, Bougainville Province. Teams: Pamela Cooper 1964 to 1973; Margie Griffin 1964 to present; Margaret Vaughan 1973 to present.
- BUNAMA (Duau), 4,800 speakers. D'Entrecasteaux Family, Austronesian. On Normanby I., Esa'ala District, Milne Bay Province. Team: David Lithgow supervising national translators 1975 to present; Isabella Leckie and Ngairé Hughes 1975 to present.
- CHUAVE (Tjuave), 21,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Chuave District, Chimbu Province. Teams: Ronald and Joyce Swick 1960-69; Robert and Ruth Thurman 1969 to present.
- DADIBI (Daribi, Mikaru), 5,500 speakers. Teberan Family (= Mikaruan Family), Teberan-Pawaian Stock. In Kundiawa District, Chimbu Province. Team: George and Georgetta MacDonald 1962 to present.
- DAGA (Dimuga), 5,000 speakers. Dagan Family. In Rabaraba District, Milne Bay Province and Abau District, Central Province. Team: John and Elizabeth Murane 1963 to present.
- DAMI (Ham), 1,000 speakers. In Madang District, Madang Province. Team: George and Wendy Elliott 1976 to present.

DOBU, 8,000 speakers, also lingua franca in Milne Bay Province.

D'Entrecasteaux Family, Austronesian. On Dobu I., Esa'ala District, Milne Bay Province. Team: David and Daphne Lithgow 1972 to present.

DORIRI, 600 speakers. Yareban Family. In Popondetta District, Northern Province. Team: Harry and Natalia Weimer supervising national translators 1976 to present.

DUNA, 6,000 speakers. Duna-Bogaye Family, Central and South New Guinea Stock. In Lake Kapiago District, Western Highlands Province and Koroba District, Southern Highlands Province. Teams: Ray and Ruth Brown* 1960-63; Dennis and Nancy Cochrane 1963-68.

EWA GE (Ewage, Notu), 10,000 speakers. Binandere Family. In Popondetta District, Northern Province. Team: Douglas and Margaret Parrington 1973 to present.

FAIWOL (Unkia), 2,500 speakers. Ok Family, Central and South New Guinea Stock. In Kiunga District, Western Province. Team: Frank and Charlotte Mecklenburg 1967 to present.

FASU, 750 speakers. West Kutubuan Family, Central and South New Guinea Stock. In Nipa District, Southern Highlands Province. Team: Eunice Loeweke and Jean May 1961 to present.

FORE, 18,000 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Okapa District, Eastern Highlands Province. Teams: Ray and Ruth Nicholson 1957-71; Graham and Margaret Scott 1961 to present.

GADSUP, 9,000 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kainantu District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Chester and Marjorie Frantz 1959 to present.

GAHUKU (Gafuku), 6,500 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Goroka District, Eastern Highlands Province. Teams: Ellis and Katherine Deibler 1959 to present; Al and Dellene Stucky 1965-66.

GAIKUNTI (a form of Sawos, 9,000 speakers), 700 speakers. Ndu Family, Middle Sepik Stock. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Leon and Betty Schanely 1962-64; Philip Staalsen supervising national translators 1973 to present.

GIMI, 18,000 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Okapa District, Eastern Highlands Province. Teams: Nancy Knippel McBride and Jean Smith 1964-65; Sam and Nancy McBride 1968 to present.

- GIRAWA (Bagasin), 3,000 speakers. Kokon Family, Mabuso Stock. In Ramu District, Madang Province. Team: Eileen Gasaway and Heather Sims 1976 to present.
- GOLIN (Marigl), 27,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Gumine District, Chimbu Province. Team: Gordon and Ruth Bunn 1960 to present.
- GUHU-SAMANE (Mid-Waria), 4,000 speakers. Remotely related to Binandere Family, stock-level isolate. In Lae District, Morobe Province. Team: Ernest and Marjorie Richert 1957-75 (Phil and Sherry Richert 1974-77).
- HALIA (Hanahan, Tasi, Tulon), 13,000 speakers. Petats Family, Austro-nesian. In Buka Passage District, Bougainville Province. Team: Gerald and Janice Allen 1964 to present.
- HOTE (Ho'tei, Hotec, Yamap), 3,200 speakers. Hote Family, Austronesian. In Wau District, Morobe Province. Team: Rowena Donald, Mary Martens and Marguerite Muzzy 1975 to present.
- IAMALELE (Yamalele) 2,500 speakers. D'Entrecasteaux Family, Austro-nesian. On Fergusson I., Esa'ala District, Milne Bay Province. Teams: Bryan and Janet Ezard 1968-71; John and Margaret Beaumont 1971 to present.
- IATMUL (Big Sepik), 8,000 speakers. Ndu Family, Middle Sepik Stock. In Ambunti and Angoram Districts, East Sepik Province. Team: Philip and Lorraine Staalsen 1962 to present.
- IDUNA (Vivigani), 4,500 speakers. D'Entrecasteaux Family, Austronesian. On Goodenough I., Esa'ala District, Milne Bay Province. Teams: Joyce Hockett 1964 to present; Nancy Sampson 1964-65; Ramona Lucht 1971 to present.
- IWAL (Kaiwa), 1,500 speakers. Siasi Family, Austronesian. In Lae District, Morobe Province. Team: Ian and Doris Davidson* 1974-76.
- IWAM (May River Iwam), 2,000 speakers. Iwam Family, Upper Sepik Stock. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Robert and JoAnn Conrad 1963-65.
- IWAM, SEPIK, 3,500 speakers (including May River Iwam). Iwam Family, Upper Sepik Stock. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Marilyn Laszlo 1969 to present; Judith Rehburg 1969-74.

KALAM (Karam), 11,000 speakers. Karam Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Ramu District, Madang Province, and Hagen District, Western Highlands Province. Team: Lyle and Helen Scholz 1962 to present.

KAMANO-KAFE (Kamano), 47,000 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kainantu and Henganofi Districts, Eastern Highlands Province. Teams: Dorothy Drew and Audrey Payne 1959 to present; Colin and Pearl Collins* 1969-74.

KANITE-YATE (Kanite), 8,000 speakers (+ 8,000 Ke'yagana dialect). East-Central Family, New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Okapa District, Eastern Highlands Province. Teams: Joy McCarthy 1957 to present; Gwen Gibson 1959 to present; Stephen and Joy Harris 1970-71.

KAPAU (Hamday, Hamtai, Kamia, Watut), 32,200 speakers. Anga Family. In Lae District, Morobe Province and Kukipi District, Gulf Province. Team: William† and Lynette Oates 1958 only.

KAUGEL (Gawigl, Gawil, Kauil), 35,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Hagen District, Western Highlands Province. Team: Robert and June Head 1969 to present.

KE'YAGANA (dialect of Kanite-Yate), 8,000 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Okapa District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Gwen Gibson and Joy McCarthy 1964 to present.

KEWA, EAST, 20,000 speakers. West-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Ialibu and Kagua Districts, Southern Highlands Province. Teams: Karl and Joice Franklin 1958 to present; Kevin and Margaret Newton* 1964-67.

KEWA, WEST, 20,000 speakers. West-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kagua and Mendi Districts, Southern Highlands Province. Team: Karl and Joice Franklin 1967 to present.

KOBON, 3,900 speakers. Karam Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. Ramu District, Madang Province. Teams: Marcus and May Dawson* 1967-71; John and Maila Davies 1973 to present.

KOMBA, 10,500 speakers. Western Huon Family, Huon Stock. In Kabwum District, Morobe Province. Team: Neville and Gwyneth Southwell 1966 to present.

KORAFE (Korafi, Korape, Kwarafe, Okeina), 1,800 speakers. Binandere Family. In Tufi District, Northern Province. Team: James and Cynthia Farr 1972 to present.

- KUMAN (Chimbu), 66,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. Kundiawa District, Chimbu Province. Team: David and Judith Trefry* 1963-64.
- KUNIMAIPA (Gajili, Hazili), 8,000 speakers. Gailala Family (= Kunimaipan Family). In Wau District, Morobe Province and Gailala District, Central Province. Teams: Alan and Patricia Pence 1959-66; Doris Bjorkman and Elaine Geary 1966 to present; Mary Jones* 1971-73; Joan Coleman 1972 to present.
- MALEU (Kilenge), 4,000 speakers. Bariai Family (within Siasi Family), Austronesian. In Talasea District, West New Britain Province. Team: Graham and Irene Haywood 1972 to present.
- MANAGALASI, 4,000 speakers. Kolarian Family, Koiari-Manubara-Yareba Stock. In Popondetta District, Northern Province. Team: James and Judith Parlier 1962 to present; Roy and Janet Gwyther-Jones 1969 only; Carl and Gaynor Brown 1974-75.
- MANAMBU, 1,500 speakers. Ndu Family, Middle Sepik Stock. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Teams: Janice Dodson Allen and Phyllis Walker Hurd 1962-63; Robin and Marva Farnsworth 1963 to present; Carl and Gaynor Brown 1972-73.
- MANDAK (Madak), 2,600 speakers. Madak Family, Austronesian. In Kavieng District, New Ireland Province. Team: Robert and Carolyn Lee 1975 to present.
- MANGSENG, 1,500 speakers. Whiteman Family. In Talasea District, West New Britain Province, and Pomio District, East New Britain Province. Team: Martin and Elisabeth Combs 1974 to present.
- MARING (Mareng), 8,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Hagen District, Western Highlands Province. Team: Lance and Margaret Woodward 1963 to present.
- MENYE, 11,000 speakers. Anga Family. In Menyamya District, Morobe Province. Team: Len and Amy Chipping 1970-75; Carl and Pat Whitehead 1975 to present.
- MIANMIN, 1,500 speakers. Ok Family, Central and South New Guinea Stock. In Telefomin District, West Sepik Province. Teams: Jean Smith and Pam Weston 1967 to present; Graham and Muriel Collier 1975 to present.
- MINIAFIA, 2,000 speakers. Arifama-Miniafia Family, Austronesian. In Tufi District, Northern Province. Team: David and Fran Wakefield 1973 to present.

- MOTU, 10,000 speakers. Motu Family, Austronesian. In Port Moresby District, Central Province. Teams: Richard Brett*, Ray and Ruth Brown*, and Velma Foreman 1961 only. See also Police Motu.
- MOUNTAIN ARAPESEH (Bukiyip), 10,000 speakers. Arapesh Family. In Maprik District, East Sepik Province. Teams: Amy Skinner Chipping and Ruth Pitt 1968 only; Robert and JoAnn Conrad 1971 to present.
- MOUNTAIN KOIALI (Mountain Koiari), 1,700 speakers. Koiarian Family, Koiari-Manubara-Yareba Stock. In Port Moresby District, Central Province. Team: Roger and Susan Garland 1970 to present.
- MUHIANG (Southern Arapesh), 10,000 speakers. Arapesh Family, Kombio Stock. In Maprik District, East Sepik Province. Team: Robert Conrad supervising national translators 1976 to present.
- MUYUW (Muruwa), 3,000 speakers. Kiriwina-Muyuwa Family, Austronesian. On Woodlark I., Samarai District, Milne Bay Province. Team: David and Daphne Lithgow 1964 to present.
- NABAK, 12,000 speakers. Western Huon Family, Huon Stock. In Lae District, Morobe Province. Team: Edmund and Grace Fabian 1970 to present.
- NAGOVISI, 5,000 speakers. Nasioi Family, Nasioi-Nagovisi-Siwai-Buin Stock. In Buin District, Bougainville Province. Team: Bruce and Eula Hunt 1969-73.
- NAKANAI (West Nakanai, Bileki), 8,000 speakers. Kimbe Family (= Nakanai Family), Austronesian. In Hoskins District, West New Britain Province. Team: Ray and Marilyn Johnston 1971 to present.
- NARAK (Ganja), 4,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Hagen District, Western Highlands Province. Team: Joan Hainsworth and Kay Johnson 1962 to present.
- NASIOI, 13,000 speakers. Nasioi Family, Nasioi-Nagovisi-Siwai-Buin Stock. In Kieta District, Bougainville Province. Team: Conrad and Phyllis Hurd 1964 to present.
- NII (Ek Nii), 9,300 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Minj District, Western Highlands Province. Team: Alfred and Dellene Stucky 1967 to present.
- OKSAPMIN, 5,000 speakers. Stock-level isolate. In Telefomin District, West Sepik Province. Team: Marshall and Helen Lawrence 1968 to present.

- ÖMIE (Äömle), 1,100 speakers. Koiarian Family, Koiari-Manubara-Yareba Stock. In Kokoda District, Northern Province. Teams: Alan and Minnie Tobitt* 1963-65; John and June Austing 1965 to present.
- ONO, 3,000 speakers. Western Huon Family, Huon Stock. In Finschhafen District, Morobe Province. Team: Tom and Penny Phinnemore 1972 to present.
- OROKAIVA, 25,000 speakers. Binandere Family. In Popondetta District, Northern Province. Team: Robert and Marlys Larsen 1971 to present.
- PATEP, 1,200 speakers. Buang Family, Austronesian. In Mumeng District, Morobe Province. Team: Karen Adams and Linda Lauck 1972 to present.
- PAWAIA (Pavaia), 2,300 speakers. Pawaian Family, Teberan-Pawaian Stock. In Kundiawa District, Chimbu Province. Team: David and Judith Trefry* 1960-64.
- PETATS, 2,000 speakers. Petats Family, Austronesian. In Buka Passage District, North Solomons Province. Team: Jerry Allen supervising national translators 1973 to present.
- PIDGIN ENGLISH (Neo-Melanesian, New Guinea Pidgin, Melanesian Pidgin), close to 1,500,000 speakers. In New Guinea. Teams: Roy Gwyther-Jones 1969 to present; Robert Litteral 1967-68; James Parker 1972 to present.
- PODOPA (Polopa), 2,500 speakers. Teberan Family (= Mikaruan Family), Teberan-Pawaian Stock. In Baimuru District, Gulf Province. Team: Neil and Carol Anderson 1972 to present.
- POLICE MOTU (Hiri Motu), about 200,000 speakers. A pidgin form of Motu spoken as a lingua franca throughout Papua. Teams: Richard Brett*, Ray and Ruth Brown*, and Velma Foreman 1961 only.
- RAWA (Erawa), 6,000 speakers. Gusap-Mot Family, Finisterre Stock. In Ramu District, Madang Province. Teams: Marie Chapman Zylstra* and Francine Derk Claassen† 1965-66; Oren† and Francine Claassen† 1967-72; Donald and Norma Toland 1973 to present.
- ROTOKAS, 4,200 speakers. Rotokas Family, Kunua-Keriaka-Rotokas-Eivo Stock. In Kieta District, Bougainville Province. Team: Irwin and Jacqueline Firchow 1965 to present.
- SALT-YUI (Salt-Iui), 6,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Gumine District, Chimbu Province. Teams: Barry and Ruth Irwin 1963 to present; Cliff and Irene Shelton 1971 to present.

- SAMO-KUBO (Supei-Kubor), 1,200 speakers. East Strickland Family (= Bedamini Family), Central and South New Guinea Stock. In Kiunga District, Western Province. Team: Daniel and Karen Shaw 1970 to present.
- SANIO-HIOWE (Sanio), 600 speakers. Sepik Hill (stock-level) Family. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Ronald and Sandra Lewis 1968 to present.
- SELEPET, 6,300 speakers. Western Huon Family, Huon Stock. In Kabwum District, Morobe Province. Team: Kenneth and Noreen McElhanon 1964 to present.
- SIANE, 16,000 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Goroka District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Dorothy James 1960 to present; Ramona Lucht 1960-71; Denise Potts 1973 to present.
- SIROI (Suroi, Pasa), 700 speakers. Kabenau Family, Rai Coast Stock. In Saidor District, Madang Province. Team: Margaret Mathieson and Margaret Wells 1965 to present.
- SUENA, 2,000 speakers. Binandere Family. In Lae District, Morobe Province. Team: Darryl and Lael Wilson 1964 to present.
- SURSURUNGA (Hinsal, Kinsal), 1,800 speakers. Patpatar Family, Austro-nesian. In Namatanai District, New Ireland Province. Team: Donald and Sharon Hutchisson 1974 to present.
- TAIRORA, 8,500 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kainantu District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Alex and Lois Vincent 1957 and 1958 to present.
- TAKIA, 11,000 speakers. Belan Family, Austronesian. On Karkar I., Madang District, Madang Province. Team: Judy Rehburt and Salme Tuominen 1975 to present.
- TAWALA (Tawara, Tavara, Keherara, Basilaki), 8,000 speakers. Austro-nesian. In Alotau District, Milne Bay Province. Team: Bryan and Janet Ezard supervising national translators 1974 to present.
- TELEFOL (Teleefool, Telefolmin), 3,800 speakers. Ok Family, Central and South New Guinea Stock. In Telefomin District, West Sepik Province. Team: Alan and Phyllis Healey 1959-69.
- TIFAL (Tifalmin), 2,800 speakers. Ok Family, Central and South New Guinea Stock. In Telefomin District, West Sepik Province. Teams: Walter† and LaVonne Steinkraus† 1961-71; Alfred and Susan Boush 1973 to present.

- TIMBE, 11,000 speakers. Western Huon Family, Huon Stock. In Kabwum District, Morobe Province. Team: Michael and Margaret Foster 1970 to present.
- TINPUTZ (Timputz), 1,400 speakers. Tinputz Family, Austronesian. In Buka Passage District, Bougainville Province. Team: Roman and Carolyn Hostetler 1971 to present.
- TOLAI (Kuanua, Tuna), 61,000 speakers. Patpatar Family, Austronesian. In Rabaul District, East New Britain Province. Teams: Karl Franklin and Harland Kerr 1959-60; Clive Beaumont 1967 only.
- URII (Uri, Erap), 2,500 speakers. Erap Family, Finisterre Stock. In Lae District, Morobe Province. Teams: Doris Bjorkman and Jean Christie*† 1962-63; Tom and Gwen Webb 1965 to present.
- USARUFA (Usurufa), 1,000 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Okapa District, Eastern Highlands Province. Teams: Darlene Bee† 1958-72; Vida Chenoweth 1965 to present; Kathleen Barker Glasgow 1958-61; Robert and June Head 1965-67.
- WAFFA, 1,000 speakers. Eastern Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Kaiapit District, Morobe Province. Team: Joyce Hotz and Mary Stringer 1962 to present.
- WAHGI (Middle Wahgi), 45,000 speakers. Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Minj District, Western Highlands Province. Team: Donald and Janet Phillips 1963-74.
- WANTOAT, 5,000 speakers. Wantoat Family, Finisterre Stock. In Lae District, Morobe Province. Team: Donald and Launa Davis 1958 to present.
- WARIS, 3,000 speakers. Waris Family. In Amanab District, West Sepik Province. Team: Robert Brown 1973 to present; Geoff Copland 1973-74.
- WASHKUK (Kwoma), 2,500 speakers. Kwoma Family, Middle Sepik Stock. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Orneal and Martha Kooyers 1961 to present.
- WASKIA (Woskia, Vaskia), 9,200 speakers. Kowan Family, Isumrud Stock. In Madang District, Madang Province. Team: Fay Barker and Janet Lee 1976 to present.
- WERI (Wele), 4,200 speakers. Gollala Family. In Wau District, Morobe Province. Teams: David and Ruth Cummings 1960-61; Maurice and Helen Boxwell 1962 to present.

- WIRU (Witu), 15,000 speakers. West-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Ialibu District, Southern Highlands Province. Teams: Harland and Marie Kerr 1958 to present; Graham and Muriel Collier 1966-75.
- WOJOKESO (Wajakes, Wajokeso, Ampale), 3,000 speakers. Anga Family. In Kaiapit District, Morobe Province. Team: Dorothy and Edith West 1963 to present.
- WOSERA (dialect of Abulas), 12,500 speakers. Ndu Family, Middle Sepik Stock. In Maprik District, East Sepik Province. Teams: Jack and Louise Bass 1962-63; Philip Staalsen supervising national translators 1972 to present.
- YAREBA (Middle Musa), 750 speakers. Yareban Family, Kolari-Manubara-Yareba Stock. In Popondetta District, Northern Province. Team: Harry and Natalia Weimer 1963-75.
- YAWEYUHA (Yabiyufa), 2,000 speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Goroka District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Ellis Deibler supervising national translators 1974 to present.
- YELETNYE (Rossel, Yela, Yele), 2,500 speakers. Language isolate. On Rossel I., Misima District, Milne Bay Province. Team: James and Anne Henderson 1970 to present.
- YESSAN-MAYO, 1,000 speakers. Tama Family. In Ambunti District, East Sepik Province. Team: Velma Foreman and Helen Marten 1962 to present.
- YOLIAPI (dialect of Hewa), 150 speakers. Sepik Hill (stock-level) Family. In Telefomin District, West Sepik Province. Team: Anne Cochran 1968 only.
- YUPNA (Kewieng). Yupna Family (over 7,000 speakers in the Family), Finisterre Stock. In Saidor District, Madang Province. Team: John and Judith Tonson 1975 to present.
- YURI, 1,200 speakers. Language isolate. In Amanab District, West Sepik Province. Team: Thea Lake* 1973 only; Veda Rigden and Dorothy Price 1973 and 1974 to present.
- ZAKA (Siane dialect?), ? speakers. East-Central Family, East New Guinea Highlands Stock. In Goroka District, Eastern Highlands Province. Team: Ellis Deibler supervising national translators 1975 to present.
- ZIA, 3,300 speakers. Binanderean Family. In Lae District, Morobe Province. Team: Darryl Wilson supervising a national translator 1974 to present.

7.9.3. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: THE UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

7.9.3.1. U.P.N.G.: GENERAL

John Lynch

7.9.3.1.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) commenced operations in 1966. The Department of English was founded that same year, under Professor F.C. Johnson, while the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, under Professor R.N.H. Bulmer, was founded in 1968. The Department of English was subsequently split, in 1974, into Departments of Language and of Literature.

The Departments of Language and of Anthropology and Sociology especially have been active in research into the *lingue franche* and vernacular languages of the New Guinea area.¹ What follows is a brief survey of the work of UPNG staff and students into the languages of the region.

7.9.3.1.2. TOK PISIN AND HIRI MOTU STUDIES

Up until 1973, little research into the two major *lingue franche* had been done at UPNG, although mention should be made of Andras Balint's lexicographical efforts (Balint 1969, 1973) as well as Elton Brash's work on stylistics in Tok Pisin (Brash 1971). In 1973, however, a conference on Tok Pisin was held at UPNG, the proceedings of which were published as a special publication of *Kivung* (McElhanon 1975); while in 1975 the University appointed Tom Dutton, already well known for his work on the *lingue franche* (Dutton 1973, Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974, *inter alia*) as Professor of Language and Head of the newly-created Hiri

Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit.² These two events had a marked effect on stimulating work on the two languages.

The major effort has been directed towards Tok Pisin studies. These range from bibliography (McDonald 1975, 1976) to grammatical studies (Liefcrink and Todd 1975), lexical studies (Roosman 1975), studies of the acquisition of the language (Lang forthcoming a and b), to work on Tok Pisin's close relative, Bislama (Lynch forthcoming). The only works of importance on Hiri Motu produced at UPNG are Dutton (forthcoming b), chapters 7.4.3.1. (with H. Brown) and 7.4.3.2. in this volume, and a revised version of Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974 - see 7.4.3.2.1., although it is envisaged that further work on this language will be carried out in the near future.

UPNG members have also been concerned in and with language planning and policy in Papua New Guinea. Dutton's inaugural lecture (Dutton 1976a) stimulated considerable debate in the country (cf. McDonald, ed. 1976), and it is presumed that UPNG will remain an active participant in language policy discussions.

7.9.3.1.3. STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL VERNACULAR LANGUAGES

Research into various languages of the New Guinea area has been supported to a great extent by funds allocated by the UPNG Research Committee.

7.9.3.1.3.1. AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

The greatest amount of work has been carried out on languages of the Central Papuan Family. Published works include a sketch grammar and vocabulary of Balawala Sinagoro (Kolia 1975) and a discussion of Roro dialects (Davis 1974). Research is continuing into Lala (by John Kolia), Saroa Sinagoro (Robyn Ansell), and Aroma (Margaret Craig).

In Milne Bay languages, a grammatical sketch of Are (Mukawa) has been published (Paisawa, Pagotto and Kale 1976) and a dictionary of Kiriwinan is in preparation (Lawton and Leach forthcoming), while Ann Chowning is continuing her study of Molima.

In other areas, Susanne Holzknecht is undertaking research into Adzera; Margaret Craig has been working on Tigak (Craig 1977); Ann Chowning is continuing her research into Kove, Lakalai, and Sengseng; and Vincent Mataio is beginning work on Vitu.

7.9.3.1.3.2. NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

By far the greatest amount of research in this area has been on the Karam language.³ Much of this (Bulmer 1968a, 1968b, Bulmer and Menzies

1972-73, Bulmer and Tyler 1968) has been ethnolinguistic in nature, although mention should also be made of Pawley 1969.

Adrianne Lang has been carrying out research into various aspects of Enga (Lang 1975, 1977, forthcoming a), while student papers on Chambri (Pagotto 1976), Melpa (Kiap 1977) and Mid-Wahgi (Tumun forthcoming) have appeared or will appear soon.

Research is continuing into Enga (by Adrianne Lang), Huli (Brian Cheetham), Mountain Arapesh (Otto Nekitel), Mid-Wahgi (Thomas Tumun), and Dadibi (George MacDonald).

7.9.3.1.4. COMPARATIVE AND REGIONAL STUDIES

Most of the work in comparative linguistics at UPNG has been in the Austronesian field. This work includes Andrew Pawley's studies of the Eastern Oceanic (Pawley 1972) and Central Papuan subgroups (Pawley 1975); Ann Chowning's studies of the internal and external relationships of the New Britain languages (Chowning 1971, 1973); John Lynch's work on various aspects of comparative grammar in Oceanic (Lynch 1973a, 1975a); and Lynch's projected work on the Austronesian languages of the Sepik area.

The major feature of comparative/regional work in non-Austronesian languages is Joan Kale's listing of these languages with their genetic connections (Kale 1975), although Lynch has done a brief study of apparent Austronesian influence in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum lexicon (Lynch 1976).

7.9.3.1.5. OTHER STUDIES

These include work on the use of the computer in linguistics (McKay 1968), on the concept of time (Balint 1968), and on multilingual language acquisition (Lang forthcoming a). R.K. Johnson of the Department of Education in the UPNG contributed chapter 7.3.2. on Administration and Language Policy in Papua New Guinea and chapter 7.4.4. on English in Papua New Guinea to the present volume. He has also written on Pidgin in education (Johnson 1978).

7.9.3.1.6. PUBLICATIONS

Kivung, the journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea, has been edited at UPNG since its foundation - first by Andras Balint (1968-73), and subsequently by John Lynch (1974 onwards).⁴

The Department of Language has recently begun a series of Occasional Papers. Seven of these have already been published (Lynch, ed. 1975, Paisawa, Pagotto and Kale 1976, Kale 1975, Lang, ed. 1975, Pagotto 1976,

Lang, ed. 1976, and McDonald, ed. 1976); another four are in preparation (Craig 1977, Fenton 1977, Tumun forthcoming, and Kiap 1977).

Since 1968, the Department of Anthropology has been publishing *Man in New Guinea* (which underwent a title change to *Research in Melanesia* in 1975). This is a newsletter of anthropological and sociological research in the region. Other journals published at UPNG which are of occasional relevance to linguistic research in the New Guinea area are *Oral History* and *Yagl-Ambu*.

N O T E S

1. Work on English at UPNG is discussed in chapter 7.4.4. in this volume by R.K. Johnson.
2. For further details on the history and nature of The Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit see chapter 7.9.3.2.
3. For a historical explanation of this, the reader is referred to chapter 7.9.5. on the University of Auckland.
4. For further details on the history and nature of The Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea see chapter 7.9.3.3.

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7.9.3.2. U.P.N.G.: THE HIRI MOTU AND TOK PISIN RESEARCH UNIT

T.E. Dutton

7.9.3.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit is a special unit which has been set up within the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea. At the time of writing in late 1976, this unit consists of a Director, who is also the Professor of the Department, one Research Officer in Tok Pisin and one in Hiri Motu.

Briefly the aims of the unit are to foster and co-ordinate research into Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu, to act as a repository for all information on these languages in Papua New Guinea, and to publish materials on them. All materials are to be housed in the New Guinea Collection of the Library of the University of Papua New Guinea where they will be properly catalogued and cared for. Catalogues-cum-annotated bibliographies will be published from time to time to keep the public informed of the results of the research and what is in the collection.

Historically the unit grew out of the recommendation of the Pidgin Conference held in Port Moresby in September 1973, which recommendations are set out in the published proceedings of that Conference (McElhanon 1975:15-18). These recommendations were put to the Government in the form of an application for funds (estimated to be \$40,000 each) to establish two Research Fellowships in Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu Studies in the University of Papua New Guinea (see Appendix 1). These positions were to have been used to carry out research into various aspects of these languages, to build up bibliographies, to train Papua New Guineans as researchers, and to run language-learning courses in Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu if necessary. The fellowships were to have been tenable for two years.

Unfortunately, but not really surprisingly (considering, from this vantage point, the amount of money involved and the negative attitudes

towards these languages still existing at that time), the application for the two Research Fellowships was turned down by the Government in March 1974. As I happened to be in Port Moresby soon afterwards working on these languages, Dr Liefcrink, then Chairman of the newly established Department of Language, and I spent some time together discussing ways in which to try to implement the proposals of the Pidgin Conference. One of our ideas was that perhaps similar projects could be funded from outside sources such as the Australian National University, especially the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, which has had a long and continuing interest in Papua New Guinea in general and in Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin in particular. Alternatively, we thought that perhaps researchers from the Department of Linguistics, coming to work in Papua New Guinea on these languages, would be prepared to stay over at the University of Papua New Guinea for limited periods to supervise and/or undertake parts of these projects.

Dr Liefcrink wrote to Professor Wurm, head of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, putting these proposals to him. Professor Wurm is himself a world authority on both Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin and has always been actively involved in promoting knowledge of them, as his contributions in this volume alone testify. It was not surprising therefore that he reacted favourably to these suggestions. However, before anything could be finalised I was appointed Foundation Professor of the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea, and the University, in response to a request from Dr Liefcrink, made available funds to appoint a Research Officer in Tok Pisin to begin work on compiling a bibliography of materials relating to Tok Pisin and on a book of readings, and on acquiring material to improve the University's library collection - see details in Appendix 2. I agreed to accept responsibility for directing such a project and expanding it and I began by drawing up a list of aims, suggestions as to how different institutions and/or individuals might contribute to or participate in the project, and a suggested timetable. Copies of this document were sent to all relevant individuals and institutions seeking their voluntary co-operation.¹ Most accepted this proposal with some minor amendments and this then has become the guiding manifesto of the Project (see Appendix 3). Subsequently the Project was incorporated into the Department of Language as a Research Unit and its activities were advertised in the international Pidgin newsletter *The Carrier Pidgin*, May 1975.

7.9.3.2.2. TOK PISIN RESEARCH

The Research Unit was formally instituted with the appointment of Mr Bob McDonald as Research Officer in Tok Pisin in January 1975, with funds made available by the Research Committee of the University of Papua New Guinea. Mr McDonald was reappointed to the same position in 1976 with funds provided from the same source.

So far Mr McDonald has produced two checklists of materials relating to Tok Pisin that he has consulted in libraries in Papua New Guinea and Australia (McDonald 1975, 1976a), and a book of readings translated from early German sources is in preparation. Ultimately Mr McDonald is expected to publish an annotated bibliography of materials relating to (but not in) Tok Pisin which goes well beyond that compiled by other researchers. His listing already contains more than twice the number of entries in any other published bibliography. Originally this work was expected to have taken about two years to complete but for various reasons it has not been possible to do so and is now expected to require a further year's work.

Besides his bibliographical work Mr McDonald has also edited *Language and National Development: The Public Debate, 1976* (McDonald, ed. 1976). This publication draws together in one volume all the comments, reports, replies to, and debate on my inaugural lecture *Language and National Development - long wanem rot?*. It is expected to be useful as an historical record of language attitudes at that time as well as an interesting collection of material for teaching at the University of Papua New Guinea. In addition to this Mr McDonald has also presented two papers to the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea at its Tenth Annual Congress in September 1976, and one to the Society's journal, *Kivung*, for acceptance (McDonald 1976b,c,d).

Other than that Mr McDonald has collected together and prepared, for inclusion in the New Guinea Collection of the Library of the University of Papua New Guinea, photocopies of materials that have appeared in newspapers in Papua New Guinea and elsewhere, as well as some manuscripts and other documents. Funds for some of this work have been provided by The Biological Foundation, Port Moresby, and Mr McDonald has also received useful advice and assistance from members of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, previously referred to, but especially from Dr P. Mühlhäusler, then a Ph.D. student, whose degree thesis is on the growth and structure of the Tok Pisin lexicon (Mühlhäusler 1976).

7.9.3.2.3. HIRI MOTU RESEARCH

In January 1976 a Research Officer in Hiri Motu was also appointed to the Research Unit with funds provided by the Research Committee of the University of Papua New Guinea. This Research Officer was Mr Iru Kakare, a Papua New Guinean from the Gulf Province who speaks Toaripi as his mother tongue but who knows several other Gulf Province languages as well, and of course Hiri Motu. During 1976 Mr Kakare has been attempting to recover what he can of what old men in the Port Moresby area Motu and Gulf Province coastal villages know, or can remember (or reconstruct), of the language, or languages used by them in their trading contacts of former times. Today Hiri Motu, or as it was formerly known, Police Motu or Pidgin Motu, is supposed to represent the only surviving relative of these languages² but the veracity of this claim still has to be proven. What we do know has been set down and analysed by myself and Dr H.A. Brown of the United Church, Port Moresby, in chapter 7.4.3.1. in this volume.³ In that account we point out the significant gaps in our knowledge of the structure and content of these early trading languages, which, apart from their local intrinsic interest and the history of the area, are of international interest as examples of non-European based trade languages. Mr Kakare's research has been directed towards providing the materials for filling in some, if not all, of these gaps. So far Mr Kakare has prepared one paper on some of his findings (Kakare 1976) but the full details and import of the results of the project will not be available until 1977 after the project is completed in December 1976. No further work in Hiri Motu is envisaged until after these results have been published, and then only if finance is available.

7.9.3.2.4. CONCLUSION

The Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit has already made a useful contribution to the study of the two largest lingue franche in Papua New Guinea although it is clear that there is a lot more to be accomplished. Unfortunately however, the continued existence of the Unit and its ability to push ahead with the programmes outlined depend almost entirely on funds provided by the University of Papua New Guinea. Should these be withdrawn at any time the work of the Unit will have to be reviewed and new ways of carrying on the work considered.

N O T E S

1. See list of names given in Appendix 3.
2. I shall use the plural 'languages' hereafter partly to avoid complicating statements and partly because it is likely that there were many different forms of speech in use which technically may or may not have been different languages.
3. A summary of this also appears in Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:ix-xi.

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THE CARRIER PIDGIN

A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

APPENDIX 1

Copy of Application for Two Research Fellowships in the University of Papua New Guinea Presented to the Government of Papua New Guinea, 1973

PIDGIN STUDIES PROJECT

The University of Papua New Guinea proposes a project of Pidgin Studies. The project would be primarily one of research, though it could also include some language teaching and some participation in Pidgin Creative Writing. A small unit (one research fellow, two research assistants, a secretary) would work for two years on the project, which would be of value to the Government when it comes to construct a national policy for the uses of Pidgin. The project would draw on and co-ordinate pieces of work on Pidgin being done already in University departments and outside the University (e.g. within the Summer Institute of Linguistics). It would involve the following matters:

- the uses of Pidgin in formal and informal education and the possibilities for Pidgin literacy programmes;

- the place of Pidgin in politics and administrations;

- the history and changing character of Pidgin, including detailed work on current usage throughout the country;

- extension of the dictionary enterprises of Fr Mihalic and others;

- the development of specialised wordlists in trades and professions, which would then be tried out by various bodies before going into general use.

HIRI MOTU STUDIES PROJECT

The University of Papua New Guinea proposes a project of studies in Hiri Motu, paralleling its proposed project of Pidgin Studies. The project would be primarily one of research, though it could also include some language teaching.

The initial project is seen as a small unit, and for an initial period of two years. The work of this unit, together with the work of the Pidgin Studies Unit, would provide a basis for Government for the development of a national language policy. It is seen as working together with and sharing some of the services of the Pidgin Studies Unit, and would involve an additional staff of one research fellow, and one or possibly two research assistants. The project would involve the following matters:

- provide a clearing-house for information and a co-ordinating centre for all work being done on Hiri Motu in Papua New Guinea;
- research into the regional differences in the various dialects of Hiri Motu;
- standardisation of spelling;
- work on the development of a standard Hiri Motu Dictionary, in conjunction with other bodies;
- development of specialised wordlists as these become necessary in trades and professions.

T.E. DUTTON

APPENDIX 2

Copy of Dr Liefcrink's Proposal for a Research Officer in
Tok Pisin Presented to the University of Papua New Guinea
Research Committee, 24 September, 1974

From: Dr F. Liefcrink, Chairman, Department of Language
Subject: 1975 DEPARTMENTAL RESEARCH STAFF: RESEARCH OFFICER PIDGIN
BIBLIOGRAPHY PROJECT

'Priority 1 - Regional Bibliographies. Because so much of the material about and in Pidgin languages is difficult to locate (provincial journals and newspapers, devotional pamphlets, unpublished theses, radio broadcasts, scripts, manuscripts in archives, etc.) we need a series of detailed and annotated bibliographies like the Voorhoeve-Donicie Bibliography on Surinam (1963).'

From: 'Some Suggested Fields for Research' in D. Hymes, ed. *Pidginisation and Creolization of Languages, Proceedings of the First International Conference on Pidgin and Creole Languages*, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p.499.

'A bibliography should be compiled and published of all Pidgin publications, with a view to establishing Pidgin libraries, or Pidgin sections in existing libraries.'

From: *Proposals to the Government of Papua New Guinea Arising out of the Pidgin Conference held at the University of Papua New Guinea September 18-21, 1973.*

The Department of Language wishes to apply for one of the three new Research Officer's positions advertised in your Secretary's memorandum of 3/9/74.

The Research Officer would undertake the following project:

1. He would project a comprehensive, annotated, classified and cross-referenced bibliography of everything known to have been written about Tok Pisin;

2. He would establish a Tok Pisin Library, containing as many as possible of the items that occur in the Bibliography;
3. He would edit and produce an annotated volume of *Readings in Tok Pisin*, rather along the lines of the *Readings in New Guinea History*. This would give an overview of the history of Tok Pisin and the changing attitudes towards it, and provide an opportunity for making available material otherwise inaccessible.

The project will take two years to complete.

In addition the Research Officer will be asked to assist the Senior Lecturer in Extension Studies in the production of a Pidgin and Hiri Motu version of the *PNG Affairs Bulletin*.

Estimated Additional Costs

It is expected that, when appointed, the Research Officer, or the Department on his behalf, will apply for research funds in the normal way. What follows is a rough estimate of the likely costs involved. It is given for the guidance of the Committee, and should not be taken as part of this application.

Salaries - None

Travel - A round-trip from Port Moresby to Ukarumpa, Madang, Lae, Rabaul, Port Moresby, for a period of approximately three months, to consult with others working on Tok Pisin (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kristen Pres, Fr Mihalic), and to research the resources of institutions and missions in these areas.

Air Fares \$300

Living Expenses \$500

Transport \$500

Equipment - None

Maintenance - \$2,500 - for copies and photocopies of all items listed in the bibliography. Part of this sum may be used to finance the translation of a fairly large body of early source material from German into English. It is expected, however, that for the second year of the project special finance may need to be requested for this purpose.

Computer - None

APPENDIX 3

Detailed Aims, Suggested Programme and Timetable
of the Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit

THE HIRI MOTU AND TOK PISIN RESEARCH PROJECT

Department of Language, UPNG

Aims

1. Compilation and maintenance of up-to-date bibliographies building on work by Reinecke and others;
2. Establishment of Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu libraries containing as many as possible of the items that occur in the bibliographies mentioned in aim 1;
3. Regional surveys of these languages in areas so far only lightly touched - Highlands, Bougainville, New Ireland; plantation;
4. Collection of large representative sets of texts of various types from all geographical areas and the cataloguing of these in tape and manuscript libraries;
5. Recording the history and changing character of the languages;
6. Account of borrowing of Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu words into vernaculars;
7. Study of folk taxonomies and folk etymologies, e.g. namba wan palai, namba tu palai, etc.;
8. Development of specialised wordlists in trades and professions and language planning generally;
9. Publication of dictionaries and grammars or related studies;
10. Improvement and/or updating language learning materials in these languages;
11. Compilation of item frequency counts;
12. Encouragement of creative writing (in association with the Department of Literature, University of Papua New Guinea, and the Creative Arts Centre);

13. Contrastive studies with English; and other Pacific Pidgins;
14. Act as a storehouse of material upon which other Government bodies or departments (especially Education) could call for assistance;
15. Act as advisory vetting agent of applications for linguistic research work in Papua New Guinea and act as repository for results of such research work.

Suggestions as to How Different Institutions and/or Individuals Might Contribute to or Participate in the Project:

Institution	Pidgin	Hiri Motu
University of Papua New Guinea	1. Dutton	1. Dutton
Dutton	Coordinator	History
Lynch	Language Learning	Text Collection
Liefcrink		Language Learning
Research Officer		(with Voorhoeve)
?		Dictionary Project
	2. Lynch	2. Lynch
	Specialised wordlists	-
	at UPNG, Solomon Is.,	
	New Hebrides, UPNG	
	Pidgin and Urban	
	Pidgin	
	High school	
	3. Liefcrink	3. Liefcrink
	?	-
	4. Research Officer	4. Research Officer
	Bibliography updating	-
	(Reinecke)	
	Publications (with	
	Mühlhäusler)	
	Volume of Readings	
	Survey of Highlands	
	Pidgin	
	Collection of Texts	
	Research and write up	
	one aspect of Pidgin	
	grammar in one area	
	Predicate Marker in	
	Highlands Pidgin	

Institution	Pidgin	Hiri Motu
Australian National University	1. Wurm Begin work on Hand-book with other staff and results achieved by University of Papua New Guinea, Summer Institute of Linguistics etc. Language planning	1. Wurm Advisor on language planning
Wurm		
Laycock	2. Laycock Survey of Bougainville Pidgin Collection of texts Computer - frequency tests Advisor to specialised wordlists and language planning Creative Writing History of Pidgin	2. Laycock -
Voorhoeve		
Mühlhäusler	3. Mühlhäusler Language planning Advisor and work with University of Papua New Guinea, etc. on specialised lists Library collection with McDonald History of Pidgin Survey of New Guinea Pidgin	3. Mühlhäusler Language planning
	4. Voorhoeve -	4. Voorhoeve Collection of texts Language learning History Dictionary project Creative Writing

Institution	Pidgin	Hiri Motu
Summer Institute of Linguistics Individuals and teams if interested	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collection of materials in areas where members working. Submit copy texts to Laycock. 2. Research into individual aspects of grammar 3. Literacy 4. Discourse analysis 	1.,2.,3., as for Pidgin Submit texts to Voorhoeve
Tok Pisin Society	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Specialised wordlists in trades 2. Dissemination of results and publications 3. Dictionary project with Mihalic 	N/A
Hiri Motu Dictionary Project	N/A	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Continue working on dictionary 2. Standardisation of spelling
Others		
Mihalic	1. Mihalic	? Taylor; Brown;
Sankoff	Dictionary upgrading	Lean-Bibliography
Littlewood	Publication of results	
Z'graggen	in <i>Wantok</i> and articles on project.	
?		
	2. Sankoff	
	History of Pidgin Creolisation	
	3. Littlewood et al.	
	Dictionary of Urban Pidgin	
	4. Z'graggen	
	Survey of Madang Texts (to Laycock)	
	5. Malcolm Ross (Keravat High School)	
	High school Pidgin Tolai Pidgin	

A SUGGESTED PROGRAMME TIMETABLE

Immediate Start

1. Collection of texts, books, bibliography. Establishment of library and repository. (McDonald and Mühlhäusler especially German materials and translation.)

Contact Taylor and Brown about Hiri Motu.

End Result: Library, up to date bibliographies and collection of material upon which further research can be based. Housed at University of Papua New Guinea.

2. Collection of texts and deposition of copies in Library and copies sent to Laycock (Pidgin) and Voorhoeve (Hiri Motu) for computerising later (categorise in Bush, Urban, Standard, Creolised, tok masta).

Contact other researchers about co-operating.

End Result: Body of material upon which other research can be conducted.

Publication of frequency lists for different types of Pidgin and Hiri Motu.

3. Specialised Wordlists.

Mühlhäusler to come to the University of Papua New Guinea in new year and run seminar on language planning. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Tok Pisin Society, Motu Dictionary Project and other to attend.

At University of Papua New Guinea begin recording using students in Lynch's class (and others) and Tok Pisin Society.

End Result: Publication of lists for trades and professions in bulletins, *Pacific Linguistics* or *Kivung*?

Papers on language planning - theory and practice.

4. Grammars

Wurm begins Handbook at Australian National University.

McDonald (and others?) begin studies of grammar.

Topics: 1. Predicate Marker
 ii. Adjectives
 iii. Relative Clauses
 iv. Verb Complementation.

7.9.3.3. U.P.N.G.: THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

T.E. Dutton

7.9.3.3.1. INTRODUCTION¹

The Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea is one of the best-known if not the oldest of academic societies in Papua New Guinea,² and has played an important role in keeping language to the fore in a country where there was little provision until recently for teaching and learning about Papua New Guinea languages and where attitudes to *lingue franche*, but especially to Tok Pisin, were very negative and based largely on ignorance.

7.9.3.3.2. ORIGIN, HISTORY AND CONTRIBUTION

According to University of Papua New Guinea Circular UP67-1950 the Society was founded in 1967 'at a meeting of staff and students of the University on October 11th. Professor Francis C. Johnson, Foundation Professor of the English Department, was elected Interim President, Dr Andras Balint Secretary, and Mr George Obara Treasurer'. The new society was to be known as Kivung, the Linguistic Society of the University of Papua and New Guinea, a title which it kept until 1971 when there was a review of the constitution and the name changed, firstly to The Linguistic Society of Papua and New Guinea, and then, subsequently, to The Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea in keeping with political developments within the country at that time.³

In accordance with the aims and constitution of the Society the Society holds annual congresses and other meetings and publishes a journal, *Kivung*, which is Tok Pisin for 'meeting' or 'get together'. At its meetings and congresses 'members or invited guests present papers on current research in the languages of Papua New Guinea as well as on problems of general linguistics and special emphasis on anthropo-linguistics, socio-linguistics, and psycho-linguistics'.⁴ These meetings

have always been very popular and have served to keep the public and professional linguists alike abreast of current developments in linguistics overseas as well as of research into indigenous languages in the country. This latter service has been a particularly valuable one, but especially in the 1960s and early 1970s when the linguistic picture was changing so rapidly as new areas of the country were being opened up and new language data collected.⁵

The first meeting of the Society at which papers were presented was on 4 November 1967, at the Recreation Hall of the Administrative College, June Valley (now Waigani), Port Moresby. This meeting was, in fact, the first Congress of the Society and papers were given by members between 8.30 a.m. and 12.00 noon and were followed by a 'business luncheon' at 1.30 p.m. Amongst those who gave papers at that Congress were none less than Professor Max McKay, now Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea, Mr Ulli Beier, now Professor Ulli Beier, Director, Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Mr Andrew Taylor, now Dr Andrew Taylor, Department of Language and Social Science, University of Technology, Lae, and the Foundation President, Professor Francis C. Johnson, then Professor of English Language, University of Papua New Guinea.

Since then congresses have been held every year at a time and location convenient to most members but now in September during University holidays and at one of the University campuses at Port Moresby, Lae and Goroka, or at the Summer Institute of Linguistics Headquarters at Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province.⁶ Papers presented at Annual Congresses and at other meetings of the Society range over theoretical issues, TESL (or Teaching English as a Second Language), analysis and description of parts of Papua New Guinea languages, including the two major lingue franche Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin. Indeed if there is one area in which the Society has been particularly successful it has been in the promotion of the study of the larger of these two lingue franche, Tok Pisin.

Most congresses of the Society include at least two or three speakers on some aspect of Tok Pisin (and often in Tok Pisin) and as indicated in chapter 7.4.2.9. of this volume the Society sponsored Tok Pisin classes between 1968 and 1974 when the Department of Language was formed and took over this responsibility. Several lectures have also been given on Tok Pisin at other meetings of the Society between times, and the Society also sponsored a special conference on Tok Pisin in Port Moresby in 1973, the proceedings of which were later published in a special issue of *Kivung* as *Tok Pisin i go we?* (McElhanon 1975). This conference made a number of recommendations about the future of this

language and a proposal was presented to the Government seeking funds for the establishment of a Pidgin Studies Project to carry out some of these recommendations. For various reasons this proposal was not accepted by the Government but a Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit subsequently established in the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea is attempting to achieve the same goals by different means. This Unit is described in chapter 7.9.3.2. in this volume.

Many papers presented at annual congresses and other meetings of the Society are subsequently presented for publication in the Society's journal *Kivung*.

In these ways then the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea has made a significant contribution to the study and knowledge of language and languages in Papua New Guinea in general and to the strength and acceptance of Tok Pisin in particular. There is no doubt that had the Society not been formed when it was, and had its members not pursued its aims as vigorously as they have, then Papua New Guinea would have been the poorer for it in terms of its own linguistic self-knowledge.

N O T E S

1. This chapter is a revised and condensed version of a paper entitled 'A Short History of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea on the Occasion of Its Tenth Birthday' presented by me to the Tenth Annual Congress of the Society, Port Moresby, September 1976.
2. The oldest academic society is the Scientific Society of Papua New Guinea which was established in 1949.
3. See Inglis 1975 for an account of the naming of Papua New Guinea.
4. University of Papua New Guinea circular number UP67-1950.
5. See Wurm 1975 for a review of the history of classification of non-Austronesian (or Papuan) languages in Papua New Guinea. As these languages constitute the majority of languages in Papua New Guinea and are most generally spoken in the interior of the country, surveys of them had most effect on the linguistic picture that unfolded in the post World War II contact and expansion of administrative services period.
6. Annual Congresses of the Society have been held at the following places at the following times:

Congress No.	Date	Location
1	4.11.67	Administrative College, Port Moresby
2	12.10.68	Administrative College, Port Moresby
3	3-4.10.69	University of Papua New Guinea
4	20-21.08.70	Ukarumpa
5	27-29.08.71	University of Papua New Guinea
6	8-11.09.72	Goroka
7	14-16.09.73	University of Papua New Guinea
8	26-30.09.74	Ukarumpa
9	19-21.09.75	Goroka
10	17-20.09.76	University of Papua New Guinea

Annual General Meetings of the Society are also usually held in conjunction with these Congresses and executives for the coming year chosen. The following have been elected President of the Society: Professor F.C. Johnson (1967-68), Professor R.N. Bulmer (1968-69), Professor M. McKay (1969-70), Dr P. Chatterton (1970-71), Mr N. Draper (1971-72), Mr J. Noel (1972-73), Dr B. Hooley (1973-74), Professor T.E. Dutton (1974-76), Dr A.J. Taylor (1976-77).

T.E. DUTTON

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7.9.4. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Howard P. McKaughan and Peter C. Lincoln

7.9.4.1. INTRODUCTION

There are several departments engaged in language study at the University of Hawaii. These include the Departments of European Languages, East Asian Languages, East Asian Literature, Indo-Pacific Languages, English, English as a Second Language, and Linguistics. In addition, the Social Science and Linguistics Institute, incorporating the former Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute, carries out language and linguistic research in a non-instructional setting. Masters level programmes are available in most of the departments with doctoral level programmes in Asian Languages (Japanese) and Linguistics. A sub-concentration in Psycholinguistics is also available at the doctoral level in the Linguistics Department.

Most of the doctoral research has been done in and through the Department of Linguistics (initiated in 1963). Faculty members in that Department have done their research on Micronesian, Melanesian, Polynesian, Malayan, Papuan, Sino-Tibetan, Japanese, Vietnamese, various South-East Asian, Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, and Amerindian language groups.

The linguistic programme at the University of Hawaii includes theoretical, anthropological, historical-comparative, and applied linguistics. It also includes research in language acquisition, sociolinguistics with emphasis on creoles and pidgins, ethnolinguistics, lexicography, field methods, and computer techniques.

7.9.4.2. THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

The 1973-74 *Graduate Division Catalog* of the University of Hawaii lists a total of 31 faculty members in the Department of Linguistics, 20 on a regular basis, another two on the emeritus status, and nine more in the co-operating faculty connected with Psycholinguistics from the Departments of English as a Second Language, Psychology, and East Asian Languages. In addition to the members of the Department of Linguistics there are some 30 members of other departments who have significant interests, training and ongoing research in the field of linguistics.

Though the area covered at the University of Hawaii in language and linguistics is broad, there is a major concentration in the Department of Linguistics on the Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of Oceania. Current faculty members with major interest in the Papua New Guinea area of these languages include George W. Grace, Andrew K. Pawley, and Howard P. McKaughan.

7.9.4.2.1. G.W. GRACE

Professor Grace has been interested primarily in historical linguistics and specifically in the reconstruction of Proto-Oceanic. His study ranges from the collection of and reporting on data in 1955-56 under the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to analysis and publication of results in his 'A Proto-Oceanic Finder List' (Grace 1969), and his article on 'Notes on the Phonological History of the Austronesian Languages of the Sarmi Coast' (Grace 1971). The languages discussed in the latter paper include Sobei, Bongo, Tarpia, Wakdé, Anus, and Masimasi (all in Irian Jaya).

Professor Grace had earlier (1955) concluded that the Oceanic subgroup (called then Eastern Malayo-Polynesian) 'extends no farther west than the western border of Australian New Guinea.' He amends that statement with the study of the languages of the Sarmi Coast, concluding that these languages also belong to the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian.

7.9.4.2.2. A.K. PAWLEY

Professor Pawley has been interested in Papua New Guinea since his doctoral studies under Professor Biggs at the University of Auckland. Pawley's early research was with the Kalam, a Papua New Guinea Highlands language generally referred to in the literature as Karam. His major work to date on the Kalam is contained in his dissertation (Pawley 1966).

Currently, collaborating with Professors Ralph Bulmer and Bruce Biggs, Pawley is finishing an extensive Kalam dictionary of 'ethnoscience' interest which will be published in *Pacific Linguistics*.

Pawley has extended his research to the comparative-historical field with research on the Austronesian languages of Oceania. Of interest to the Papua New Guinea area is a tentative subgrouping suggested by Wilhelm Milke in 1965, which he calls New Guinea Oceanic. Pawley defines this as

including all the Austronesian languages of the New Guinea mainland east of Geelvink Bay, together with the languages spoken on small offshore islands (including the islands of the Milne Bay), those spoken west of the Talasea Peninsula on the north coast of West New Britain and the New Guinea mainland. (Pawley 1973)

He also contributed to our knowledge of the relationship of Austronesian languages of Central Papua (Pawley 1975a).

Two of Pawley's recent papers, presented at the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics (Pawley 1973, Pawley and Green 1973), give excellent studies which deal in part with the New Guinea Oceanic languages: 'Some Problems in Proto-Oceanic Grammar' and 'Dating the Dispersal of the Oceanic Languages'. In the latter, written with Roger Green, Pawley contrasts a geographic area he calls Near Oceania (New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomons as far east as San Cristobal) with Remote Oceania (all other parts of Oceania). He discussed the Archaeology and the Linguistic history (in so far as it is known) for these areas and argues for a date of 3,000 B.C. or earlier for the initial dispersal of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages, with the dispersal centre in the New Guinea region rather than farther east.

7.9.4.2.3. H.P. MCKAUGHAN

Professor McKaughan's research in Papua New Guinea has been on non-Austronesian languages of the Eastern Highlands. He did fieldwork in 1961 under the auspices of the New Guinea Micro-Evolution Project supported by the National Science Foundation with Professor James B. Watson of the University of Washington as the Principal Investigator, and in co-operation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Analysis and publication has been during his affiliation with the Universities of Washington and Hawaii. Working together with several Summer Institute of Linguistics members (Lovings, Frantzes, Vincents, Bee, and Kerr among others) he studied the Eastern Family (of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock) located in the Kainantu area. The results are published in *The Languages of the Eastern Family of the East New Guinea*

Highland Stock (McKaughan, ed. 1973) (McKaughan 1973a, 1973b, McKaughan, comp. 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, McKaughan and A. Loving 1973, McKaughan and Marks 1973, R. Loving and McKaughan 1973, A. Loving and McKaughan 1973). The major portion of the material is descriptive in nature using a taxonomic approach. A sizeable collection of text material has been included which can be used for further research on these languages. Also, Bee, Kerr and McKaughan have presented early steps in reconstruction of a Proto-Kainantu family. The studies include Tairora, Gadsup, Auyana, and Awa as the major languages and also Binumarien and Waffa related to Tairora, Agarabi related to Gadsup, and Usarufa related to Auyana (see Bibliography).

7.9.4.2.4. DARLENE BEE

The Micro-Evolution Project has been closely associated with the University of Hawaii both through Professor McKaughan and by Dr Darlene Bee and Dr Harland Kerr's association with the Department. Darlene Bee (tragically killed in an aircraft accident in 1972) and Harland Kerr studied and did research at this University in parts of 1964-66. Bee did her basic work for her paper 'Comparative and Historical Problems in East New Guinea Highland Languages' (Bee 1973c) in a seminar conducted by Professor Grace. At that time Bee was at the University of Hawaii under an East-West Center grant. Other relevant publications by her include Bee 1973a, 1973b, Bee, comp. 1973, Bee, Luff and Goddard 1973, Bee and Glasgow 1973.

7.9.4.2.5. H.B. KERR

Dr Kerr furthered his work on 'The Proto-Kainantu Kinship System of the East New Guinea Highlands' (Kerr 1973b) as a postdoctoral fellow of the East-West Center and in collaboration with the Micro-Evolution Project at the University of Hawaii. He also wrote a chapter on 'Subject Morphemes in the Tairora Verb Complex' (Kerr 1973a) for the project.

7.9.4.2.6. S.H. ELBERT AND I. HOWARD

Samuel Elbert (Professor Emeritus) in his extensive fieldwork on Polynesian languages has worked with the Takuu of the Mortlock Islands. This is a Polynesian outlier though politically connected to Papua New Guinea. Professor Irwin Howard, also of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii has, with intramural research support, organised materials that he collected and those that Professor Elbert

collected on Takuu in the early 1960s. Howard has more recently been awarded a National Science Foundation grant to support further fieldwork and to sponsor a research consultant from Takuu to visit the University of Hawaii.

7.9.4.2.7. GRADUATE STUDENTS

Several doctoral students at the University of Hawaii have been interested in the languages of Papua New Guinea, so far all of them working on Austronesian languages. Russell Cooper is working on the Suau dialects of Milne Bay (Cooper 1975), Peter Lincoln has written his dissertation on Banoni of Bougainville (Lincoln 1976a) and the question of Papuanisation (Lincoln 1976b). John Lynch, who recently completed his doctoral programme at the University of Hawaii, used data from Suau and Aroma to support his discussion of Melanesian Possession (Lynch 1973). Joseph Kess, one of the early Hawaii doctoral students now at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, has written on the historical phonology of Motu (Kess 1969). Joel Bradshaw is working on Siboma or Numbam1 (about 50 miles south of Lae) and Frank Lichtenberk is on Manam Island.

7.9.4.2.8. AUSTRONESIAN CONFERENCE AND COLLABORATION WITH OTHER UNIVERSITIES

The papers by Lincoln, Lynch, and Pawley were presented at the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian held in Honolulu, Hawaii, early in 1974. All of the papers presented were summarised by Malcolm Mintz and Peter Lincoln for the readers of *Asian Perspectives* (Mintz 1975, Lincoln 1975). Many of the papers have been published in special issues of *Oceanic Linguistics*, a journal edited by George Grace and founded in response to the Pacific Science Congress held in Honolulu in 1961. In response to some of the papers presented at the 1974 conference, Grace and Pawley have received a National Science Foundation grant to study the relationships among the Austronesian languages of the North-East coast of New Guinea from Manam to Siboma, supporting the current fieldwork of Lichtenberk, Lincoln, and Bradshaw. This project and that of Howard have been conducted in close association with the newly formed Language Department at the University of Papua New Guinea. Public lectures on various aspects of the project were given by both Lincoln and Grace at the University of Papua New Guinea and at the University of Technology in Lae, where one of the graduates of the English as a Second Language programme at the University of Hawaii, Jeffrey Siegel, is teaching. More technical papers were

presented at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea in September 1976: Lincoln reporting on his survey of Austronesian languages between Finschhafen and Madang, and he with Lichtenberk and Bradshaw reporting on their impressions after a few months' exposure to Gitua, Manam, and Numbami, respectively. These ties with the University of Papua New Guinea strengthened earlier contacts through Pawley's visiting appointment and Lynch's more permanent appointment. Linguists at the University of Hawaii have maintained close contact with other institutions working in the Papua New Guinea area. Both Grace and McKaughan spent sabbaticals as visiting professors in Professor Wurm's Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University. Lincoln was a special student there while doing fieldwork in Bougainville. Howard and Pawley have been associated with Professor Wurm's department and Robert Blust, after completing his degree at the University of Hawaii, was awarded a postdoctoral fellowship during which he did fieldwork on Manus Island. Professor Wurm has held brief visiting professorship appointments with the University of Hawaii.

Professor Biggs of the University of Auckland, who continues to work with Pawley on Kalam, was a member of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii in 1968 and 1969. Close ties, of course, also exist with United States mainland universities and colleagues.

7.9.4.2.9. STUDIES IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

In addition to the research on the more traditional languages of Papua New Guinea, there has been considerable interest in New Guinea Pidgin. Analytical papers by Pawley (1975b) and Bickerton (1975) were presented at the 1973 Pidgin Conference at the University of Papua New Guinea. At the Pidgins and Creoles Conference held in Honolulu in January 1975, one session was devoted to New Guinea Pidgin. A course in beginning conversational New Guinea Pidgin was offered at the University of Hawaii in the summer of 1975. This course is being offered again in 1977 as a part of the prelude to the Linguistic Society of America Linguistic Institute. The focus of the Linguistic Society of America programme is on languages of the Pacific, with interested colleagues coming from all over the world.

7.9.4.2.10. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The surge of interest in the languages of Papua New Guinea was evidenced by the attendance and the number of papers read at the Austronesian conference in 1974 and subsequent meetings, and by the many contributions to the volumes of this series. This increased activity is very encouraging. Members of the faculty of the University of Hawaii hope to continue to contribute significantly to it.

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7.9.5. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

Andrew Pawley

7.9.5.1. INTRODUCTION

Departments engaged in language study at the University of Auckland include Anthropology, Asian Languages and Literatures, Classics, English, Germanic Languages, Philosophy and Romance Languages. An undergraduate major, and graduate degrees, are offered in linguistics. Most of the general courses in linguistics are taught in the Department of Anthropology, but several of the other departments offer specific language-related or theoretical courses in linguistics.

A concentration on Pacific languages exists in the Department of Anthropology (where some ten faculty members have major interests in certain indigenous languages of Polynesia, Fiji and Papua New Guinea), and in the Department of Romance Languages (where several faculty members have research interests in French- and Spanish-based creoles and varieties of French spoken in the Pacific, and in the indigenous languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands).

7.9.5.2. THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The Department of Anthropology has been increasingly concerned with the New Guinea area since Ralph Bulmer joined the faculty in 1958. The presence in the same department of social anthropologists, linguists and archaeologists has led to several interdisciplinary research projects dealing with Papua New Guinea cultures. In terms of linguistic work, the most fruitful has been the study: 'Language and Perception of the Natural Environment', among the Kalam (formerly spelt Karam) and Kopon peoples of the Bismarck-Schrader Ranges, Madang Province. Initiated

in 1959-60 by R.N.H. Bulmer and B.G. Biggs, this project has involved extended research by two linguists and two social anthropologists from Auckland, in collaboration with one social anthropologist and four natural scientists from institutions in Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand, and with substantial additional assistance in identification of biological specimens from over 20 specialists in 11 institutions in Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the U.K., the U.S.A., and the Netherlands.

7.9.5.2.1. R.N.H. BULMER

R.N.H. Bulmer has spent some three years among the Kyaka Enga of the Baiyer Valley, and the Kalam of the Kaironk Valley, between 1955 and the present, studying social organisation and folk-biology. His publications on Kalam folk taxonomy (Bulmer 1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1970, 1974, Bulmer and Tyler 1968, Bulmer and Menzies 1972-73, Bulmer, Menzies and Parker 1975) are among the most detailed studies of lexical domains in any New Guinea language. An important innovation in Bulmer's ethno-zoological work is the notion of 'specieme' or taxonomic category denoting a minimal natural unit recognised to contrast with all other units by multiple characters of appearance and behaviour. Bulmer is co-author, with A.K. Pawley and B.G. Biggs, of *A First Dictionary of Kalam*, now in the final stages of preparation for publication in *Pacific Linguistics*.

7.9.5.2.2. B.G. BIGGS

Bruce Biggs carried out linguistic research among the Kyaka Enga and Kalam in 1959-60 and among the Kalam in 1963-64. His phonological analysis of Kalam (1963) established that a large proportion of Kalam words are best interpreted as containing no vowel phonemes. He went on to suggest that the very short central vowels reported as occurring between consonants in several other New Guinea languages might turn out to be non-phonemic, as in Kalam. Subsequent studies have tended to support this suggestion; it may be an areal feature of New Guinea languages that there is 'loose' execution of certain types of consonant clusters, with a non-contrastive weak vowel or vowel-like transition generally appearing between successive points of contoid articulation, in contrast to the 'tight' or 'close-knit' execution of consonant clusters usually found in West European languages. Biggs is co-author, with Bulmer and Pawley, of *A First Dictionary of Kalam*.

7.9.5.2.3. A.K. PAWLEY

Andrew Pawley spent 11 months among the Kalam in the period 1963-75. His doctoral dissertation (1966) was a structural analysis of Kalam phonology and grammar. More recent studies have dealt with Kalam lexicon (Pawley 1970, Bulmer, Pawley and Biggs forthcoming) and with aspects of Kalam syntax and semantics (Pawley 1969, forthcoming a), particularly the fact that Kalam morpheme strings denoting events correspond closely in structure to the abstract structures posited as underlying single morpheme verbs in English. Kalam makes very frequent use of a dozen or so verb stems with very broad meanings; typically, a term for an action, process or state is composed of one or a series of these verb stems together with other morphemes denoting semantic components of the 'event concept', e.g. mnm ag ñ- (speech utter transfer) 'to tell'.

With W.E. Tomasetti, formerly of the University of Papua New Guinea, Pawley has collected wordlists from more than 200 Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea (those from languages of Papua appear in Pawley and Dutton, eds, forthcoming (a-c), as well as for some Papuan languages (Dutton and Pawley, eds, forthcoming (a-c)). Two recent papers (Pawley 1975a, forthcoming c) investigate the relationships of the Austronesian languages of New Guinea, and another (Pawley and Green 1973) tries to correlate linguistic and archaeological evidence for dating the spread of Austronesian-speaking communities in and east of the New Guinea area. An interest in the nature and evolution of the sound systems of varieties of New Guinea Pidgin (Pawley 1975b, forthcoming b) has stemmed from the hypotheses that loose execution of consonant clusters is a New Guinea areal feature, and that a pidgin may show a pattern of sound correspondences with the superstrate language that is less regular than that obtaining between 'normally' related languages.

7.9.5.2.4. G. JACKSON

Graham Jackson has spent some three years between 1966 and 1974 among the Kopon-speaking people of Yhal Ridge in the Lower Kaironk. He has prepared unpublished analyses of Yhal Kopon phonology and morphology and a substantial manuscript dictionary. His doctoral dissertation (Jackson 1975) focuses on Kopon concepts of medicine and disease, social structure, and, especially, taboo, and contains detailed analyses of lexical domains related to these areas of the culture.

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7.9.6. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

A. Capell

7.9.6.1. LINGUISTICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

The teaching of linguistics at the University of Sydney has been carried out since 1946 as part of the work done within the Department of Anthropology. The professor in the first half of this period was A.P. Elkin, who had charge of Anthropology between 1933 and 1956. He was interested in linguistics as it affected the understanding of peoples and he was fully aware of the anthropologist's needs in this direction. His own fieldwork, especially in north-west Australia, had brought the need and the difficulties of inter-comprehension home to him. When, therefore, in 1944, A. Capell became available for possible lecture work, Elkin saw and took the opportunity of extending the field of anthropological teaching by the addition of what would now be called anthropological linguistics.

Actually under wartime conditions the possibility of such an extension did not become factual till 1946, and at first the amount of such teaching was very limited. The important thing for the moment was that someone should be within the Department who had experience in linguistic fieldwork (principally in Australia) and also was able to do some teaching. These requirements were met by Capell, who had worked on the languages of the Northern Kimberley district of Western Australia in 1938 and 1939 and subsequently in Arnhem Land in 1941. In the intervening period he had gone to Fiji at the invitation of the Administration in 1940-41 to prepare a Fijian dictionary. In 1949 he was made Reader in Oceanic Linguistics, within the Department of Anthropology.

During the intervening period the pattern of mixed research, writing and lecturing was set. At first the lectures were limited to brief

courses within Anthropology, supplemented by special lectures for intending missionaries and Government servants who felt, or whose superiors felt, that they needed the added implement of linguistic competence to advance their work.

Some words written later by Elkin regarding Capell's earlier work may be quoted in the present connection:

He believed that linguistics should not be just an ancillary subject in anthropology courses, but should become a recognised course, and indeed a sequence of courses, in the Faculty of Arts. As a result of his vision and persistence, a one year course was recognised by the Faculty, and came into operation in 1954. (Elkin 1970:3)

This was actually the result of consultation with Professor Trendall, who after being Professor of Greek was for a period acting Vice-Chancellor. It was arranged that the courses should be carried out jointly by Capell and the new Professor of Greek, G.P. Shipp, so that classical and the new linguistics should work side by side, half the course being given by each lecturer.

The two aspects of linguistics hitherto in Sydney have been those of teaching and those of research. The teaching capacities of the Linguistics staff at Sydney may have been limited, but the research side of the work has attained considerable standards. As noted above, Capell gave a large share of his time towards personal research and research by others. In 1954, Elkin had been able to secure a A.E. and F.A.Q. Stephens post-graduate Research Fellowship for Stephen A. Wurm, who two years later was appointed Senior Fellow in Linguistics at the Australian National University, and in 1968 became the first occupant of the Foundation Chair of Linguistics at the Australian National University in Canberra. Others have done their work as research assistants to Capell - outstandingly G.N. O'Grady, now Associate Professor at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. O'Grady had been working on Aboriginal languages in Western Australia as an interested amateur, but was later able to come to Sydney, where his professional career began. C.A.F. Court, at the date of writing working in Thailand, was also a student and later research assistant of Capell's; J.N. Sneddon, beginning as a student of Indonesian, and later doing research in Tonsea and other Minahasa languages of northern Sulawesi (Indonesia) was a post-graduate scholar in the Department of Indonesian and Malay Studies, Sydney, and took his degree there; Richard Johnson from Chinese studies came into general linguistics to later join the staff of Oriental Studies, Sydney; John D. Lynch is lecturing at the University of Papua New Guinea after completing his Ph.D. at Hawaii.

Apart from this direct linguistic research, there has been continual linkage with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who made contact with Capell in 1949 and were later able to begin Australian work in Melbourne in 1951 and in Papua New Guinea in 1956. Work has been done through Linguistics in Sydney by a number of students from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, including David Trefry (Summer Institute of Linguistics, now Macquarie University, Sydney) and Colin Yallop, who gained his Ph.D. at Macquarie University in 1972.

7.9.6.2. A. CAPELL'S RESEARCH IN NEW GUINEA AREA LANGUAGES

When turning to research activities in New Guinea area languages which were carried out under the auspices of the University of Sydney, Capell carried most of its burden. Having published a general practical guide for the study of New Guinea languages (Capell 1941) he devoted his interest in great detail to the Austronesian languages of South-Eastern Papua and published an extensive study on their nature and standing with regard to proto-Austronesian and Oceanic Austronesian, proposing some hypotheses concerning possible Austronesian migrations into the area (Capell 1943). He extended his interest into languages of the British Solomon Islands (Capell 1944a), and to those of the Timor area (Capell 1944b), and gave a first-hand account of the several Papuan languages spoken in the latter which, apart from his 1941 publication, constituted his first significant contribution to Papuan linguistics.

In this Papuan linguistic field, a pioneering contribution made by Capell was his laying the foundation for subsequent extensive work in the highlands areas of Australian New Guinea (Capell 1948-49) and in a part of the Madang District (Capell 1952a). His work in the highlands in the late 1940s gave the first indication of the possible existence of a very large group of interrelated languages in the interior of New Guinea.

With his work in languages of the western Madang District, Capell laid the foundations for the later detailed study of the area carried out by Z'graggen (1970, 1971, 1973, 1975), and was the first to recognise the trichotomy of the languages of the region.

Capell's linguistic survey of the south-western Pacific (Capell 1954a, 1962a) which was based on extended and extensive fieldwork in New Guinea and the south-western Pacific constituted the first comprehensive reference book for the languages of the New Guinea area and Melanesia, and while research undertaken since its publication, and revision in 1962, has, especially in the New Guinea area, added immeasurably to our knowledge of the languages and the linguistic picture in the regions concerned, it remained useful for years.

Capell's hints at the possibility of the presence of wider connections between groups of Papuan languages were taken up by other linguists (e.g. C. and F. Voegelin and S. Wurm), and eventually lead to the establishment of a very large group of interrelated Papuan languages occupying over four-fifths of the New Guinea mainland, and comprising over two-thirds of the 723 Papuan languages known to date (see (II) 2.5.). The result of this was a fundamental change in the linguistic picture of the New Guinea area.

Capell's *Methods and Materials for Recording Papuan and New Guinea Languages* (1952b) has been a guide and background for many linguists in the initial stages of their work in Papuan languages of the south-western Pacific.

In his most recent general study on languages of the New Guinea area (Capell 1969a), Capell has attempted the application of a particular typological theory - the typology of concept domination (Capell 1965) - and classification, to the languages of this area.

Of his regional work in Papuan linguistics, his study of the Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands (Capell 1969b) may be mentioned.

7.9.6.3. A. CAPELL'S RESEARCH IN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES IN GENERAL

Capell's earliest interest in the languages of the south-western Pacific concerned the Austronesian languages of Melanesia and the New Guinea area. He was one of the followers of the migration theory proposed by Ray (1926) which regarded the Austronesian languages of these areas as hybrid languages which had come into existence through the superimposition of an Austronesian element, carried by small individual migrations, upon a varied Papuan background (e.g. Capell 1954b). Capell discussed the application of this theory to the languages of the south-eastern part of the New Guinea mainland and the adjacent islands in great detail (Capell 1943). Though this migration theory has not been widely accepted by other linguists, it appears that it may have its place in the wider setting of conflicting, but perhaps complementary, theories about migrations of languages into Melanesia and beyond (Wurm 1967).

On the general level, Capell's survey article 'Oceanic Linguistics Today' (1962b) has constituted a background to Oceanic Austronesian linguistic studies and to Oceanic linguistics as a whole, and its value has been enhanced by the fact that a large number of eminent scholars in the field have contributed comments in the Appendix to it.

Similar, more detailed contributions to a narrower field in Austronesian linguistics are Capell's lengthy articles on the Austronesian

languages in Australian New Guinea (Capell 1971), and his chapters (II) 4.1., (II) 4.3. and (II) 4.5.1.

A specialised study on a feature rarely found in Austronesian languages is Capell's paper on Austronesian tonal languages in north-eastern New Guinea (Capell 1949).

7.9.6.4. A. CAPELL AND EDUCATION AND MIGRATION

Apart from these purely linguistic studies, Capell devoted some of his work to questions of education in Papua New Guinea, and the possible use of local languages in connection with it. His linguistic survey of the south-western Pacific (Capell 1954a, 1962a) contains much information on these problems, and the work leading to its compilation was to a considerable extent undertaken with this matter in view. He published other studies on these problems as well (Capell 1945a, 1945b, 1947).

Capell acted as an advisor to many young linguists interested in the languages of the New Guinea area, and gave help to members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics when they started working in the New Guinea area in the mid-1950s. Several theses on New Guinea languages were submitted under his supervision, for instance J. Rule 1952 and W. Rule 1965.

7.9.6.5. S.A. WURM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

From 1954 to 1956, Wurm worked under Capell as a research worker concerned predominantly with languages of the New Guinea area. He devoted most of his interest to the languages of the Western District of Papua New Guinea and laid the foundations to his later work which eventually led to his setting up the Trans-Fly Stock (Wurm 1971, see also (I) 2.6.1.). He also started his studies in the languages of the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz area in the eastern outer Solomon Islands while at the University of Sydney, to continue them later as a member of the Australian National University (Wurm 1969, 1970, 1972).

7.9.6.6. FUTURE OUTLOOK

With the establishment of a Department of Linguistics and the appointment of Professor M. Halliday, an eminent sociolinguist of world repute, to the chair in 1976, linguistic research at the University of Sydney has received a strong boost. Halliday's interests are turning towards sociolinguistic problems in the New Guinea area, and work in this field is likely to be undertaken by his Department in the future.

The linguistic activities of the Department of Anthropology have been generally concerned with regions outside the New Guinea area since Capell's retirement in 1967, but some change in this orientation may take place in the future.

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7.9.7. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: IRIAN JAYA

Anne M. Cochran and Peter J. Silzer

7.9.7.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Apart from the research done by linguists from overseas universities, the linguistic research and language study undertaken in Irian Jaya since 1962 have largely been carried out by Christian missions. In recent years Universitas Cenderawasih and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.) have also become involved in language study and linguistic research. Because of the Indonesian Government's policy of unifying a diverse nation through the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, the long-standing policy of vernacular education for the first three years of a child's schooling has not been implemented on a wide scale. The general paucity of linguistic research and orthography development has meant that teachers have not been prepared to teach in the vernacular.

7.9.7.2. LINGUISTIC WORK BY CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Both Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions have been involved in linguistic research and language study over recent decades. Most notable among Roman Catholic linguists who have contributed to linguistic research are Fr P. Drabbe (1959a, 1959b, 1963) and Fr P.A.M. van der Stap (1966) whose work in several languages has been used to help missionaries of other missions as well as their own. Drabbe's biggest contribution was on the Asmat language and van der Stap's on Dani. Other Roman Catholic missionaries have been or are involved in language study but the authors know little of their work. As the policy of the church is to teach Indonesian, vernacular literacy is not engaged in.

However there has been some translation into vernacular languages: for example, the four Gospels have been translated into the Ngalum language.

7.9.7.3. LINGUISTIC WORK BY PROTESTANT MISSIONS

7.9.7.3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Protestant missions that are known by the authors to be involved to a greater or lesser extent in language study are the Australian Baptist Missionary Society (ABMS), Asia Pacific Christian Mission (APCM), Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA), Gereja Kristen Injili (GKI), Netherlands Reformed Church (NRC), Regions Beyond Missionary Union (RBMU), The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM), Unevangelised Fields Mission (UFM), and the Zending Gereformeerde Kerken (ZGK).

7.9.7.3.2. MISSION POLICY

7.9.7.3.2.1. Use of Vernacular and Language Learning

In reply to a questionnaire, field leaders of most of these missions stated that, while primary education is carried out in the national language, it is the policy of their respective missions to use the vernaculars of the areas in which their missionaries work, for the communication of the Gospel. However in some places, GKI and ZGK missionaries use Indonesian and work through local interpreters. Missionaries of the other missions are required to learn the local vernacular, generally from language lessons and any available tape drills set up by fellow missionaries. To aid them in language learning APCM missionaries are also required to work with local people on cultural research programmes. In areas where linguistic research has not been carried out missionaries are encouraged to learn monolingually.

7.9.7.3.2.2. Literacy Programmes

In those areas where missionaries have reduced the languages to writing, vernacular literacy programmes have been initiated with varying degrees of success. In the Western Dani area, where extensive literacy programmes have been carried out by ABMS, APCM, CAMA, RBMU, and UFM, it has been estimated that 20,000 Dani (a quarter of the population) are literate. Literacy programmes have been conducted and supervised by national teachers. About 60 literacy schools are in operation and a training school for literacy teachers was held in 1973 at the ABMS station at Pit River. CAMA reports that there are approximately 2,000 literates as a result of the literacy schools conducted by local preachers in the Nduga language area, and over 20,000 in the Ekari

(Kapauku) area. In the Lower Grand Valley Dani area Myron Bromley reports over 500 literates in 1973 with adult literacy programmes for about 1,500 being conducted by CAMA in Tangma and Hetigima and neighbouring areas and by GKI in Kurima areas. School children studying Indonesian are also becoming literate in their own language. TEAM reports lesser success in its vernacular literacy programmes conducted in the Hatam, Maniklon, Meyah (Meax), Mimika (Kamoro), Nafarapi (northern Asmat dialects), Auju (Awyu), and Asmat languages. Almost all of the approximately 3,000 literates in the Asmat language first learned to read in Bahasa Indonesia. The Asmat orthography was closely aligned with that of Bahasa Indonesia to enable Asmat-speakers to read Asmat with a limited amount of adaptation. Only a small number are currently using Asmat literature. Primers and readers have been prepared in the Korappun language for eight literacy schools taught by Dani teacher-evangelists under RBMU. Literacy programmes are also carried out in the Hupla, Sawi (Sawuy), and Kayagar languages. Vernacular literacy schools for adult Jali (Yaly)-speakers are conducted not only by the RBMU but also by NRC and GKI missionaries. As with RBMU, UFM conducts its vernacular literacy programmes for children as well as for adults. A trial literacy programme has been carried out for the Oktengban (Goliath Family) people. A bilingual education programme is carried out in the vernacular and Bahasa Indonesia.

7.9.7.3.2.3. Linguistic Analysis

Most of the missions require staff members with university or S.I.L. linguistic training to do linguistic research where it has not already been done. CAMA and UFM encourage their staff to publish their linguistic findings, whereas the other missions require them only to prepare language learning lessons as a result of their analysis. In most cases missions reported that help was gained from discussion with linguists from other missions as well as their own. Myron Bromley (CAMA), Gordon Larson (CAMA), John Ellenberger (CAMA), and Murray and Joan Rule (APCM, Papua New Guinea) have been of particular help to missionaries in their linguistic analysis. Almost all the missions form a committee of local Irianese and expatriates to make the final decisions about an orthography. Such a committee takes into consideration the difficulties that a person who is literate in the vernacular will experience in reading Bahasa Indonesia; they sometimes also consider the orthographies used in neighbouring languages.

APCM has been involved in the study of the Dani and Ngalum languages.

Myron Bromley (1961, 1967, 1972), Gordon and Mildred Larson (1958), and Marion Doble (1960, 1962) of CAMA have published their findings on the Lower Grand Valley Dani, Moni, and Kapauku languages respectively. Analysis of the Nduga language remains unpublished as far as the present writers are aware. In all, seven members of CAMA are actively involved in linguistic analysis.

Netherlands Reformed Church linguist, Christian Fahner, has been studying the Pass Valley dialect of the Jali (Yaly) language and was preparing a doctoral dissertation on morphological relations between Jali (Yaly) and Dani in 1974.

Six of the RBMU staff have been involved in language analysis. The analysis of the Ninia dialect of the Jali (Yaly) language is being written up at present. RBMU contributed to the analysis of the Western Dani language in co-operation with linguists of other missions. Some study has been done of the Kayagar, Sawi, Korappun, and Hupla languages.

The Evangelical Alliance Mission has eight staff members actively involved in linguistic analysis of the Hatam, Manikion, Meyah (Meax), Nafarapi, Asmat, Mimika (Kamoro), and Auju (Awyu) languages.

Initial analysis has been carried out on the Duvle, Ururi, Ngalum, Hmonomo, and Oktengban (Goliath Family) languages by the ten linguistically trained members of UFM. An unpublished analysis of the Naltja (Naltya) and Korappun languages has been done. One missionary of ZGK is now studying the Wanggom language.

7.9.7.4. UNIVERSITAS CENDERAWASIH

The Universitas Cenderawasih has offered courses in elementary linguistics since 1974. A language laboratory has been built and equipped at the university to be used initially in the teaching of Indonesian and English; later its use may be extended to the study of Irian Jaya vernacular languages. A Department of Anthropology and Linguistics is scheduled to begin operating in 1977. This new department will offer a five-year B.A. course. One graduate from Irian Jaya is at present completing post-graduate linguistic research at the University of Michigan, U.S.A.

The Institute for Anthropology of the Universitas Cenderawasih produces *Irian, Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development*, which is jointly edited by Dr I. Suharno and a linguist of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This bulletin, the first volume of which appeared in 1972, is produced 'to provide a vehicle for the dissemination of information concerning completed, on-going, and planned research in Irian Jaya and also a means by which those engaged in various projects might communicate their

successes and the difficulties being encountered'. Linguistic research is included.

The university sponsored a linguistic seminar in early 1977 which included linguists from Indonesia, Australia, and the Netherlands, as well as S.I.L. and mission linguists. The papers presented at this seminar are to be published in 1977. Additional seminars of this nature are planned for the future.

7.9.7.5. SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

The Indonesian branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics working in Irian Jaya has as its goals the analysis of vernacular languages, the promotion of literacy for the people whose languages are studied, the preparation of general reading material for these people, and translation work.

Up until the end of 1976 research had been started in nine languages. Seven of these languages are located in the north coast area of the Jayapura district: Sobei, Isirawa (Saberu), Berik, Kemtuk (Kamtuk), Bauzi (Bauri, Baudi), Sentani, and Air Mati. These languages have been previously surveyed by Grace (1972), Cowan (1957), Voorhoeve (1971, 1975), and by Voorhoeve in chapter (I) 2.6.2. Initial linguistic findings have been published in each of these languages (Briley, D. 1976, Briley, J. 1976, Erickson and Pike 1976, Hartzler 1976, Oguri 1976, Oguri and Erickson 1975, Oguri and Cochran 1976, Silzer, P. 1976, Silzer, S. 1976, Sterner, J. 1974, Sterner, R. 1974, Westrum, P. 1976, Westrum, P. and S. 1976, Westrum, S. 1976, van der Wilden, J. 1976, van der Wilden J. and Jelly 1975, and van der Wilden, Jelly 1976).

Work was begun in late 1976 in two other languages, Ambai and Ketengban, but no articles have yet been published. Ambai, an Austro-nesian language located off the coast of Yapen Island, was previously surveyed by Anceaux (1961). Ketengban (of the Goliath Family) is located in the Jayawijaya district of the central highlands.

Dr Kenneth L. Pike conducted a linguistic workshop in early 1975 which included linguists from several universities in Indonesia as well as S.I.L. linguists. The papers written at this workshop were published in *From Baudi to Indonesian* (Suharno and Pike, eds 1976).

Dr Kenneth Gregerson provided consultant help during a six-week linguistic workshop in early 1976. The papers written in conjunction with this workshop appeared in *Irian*, volume 5, nos.1, 2.

S.I.L. is currently involved in teaching English at the university and in assisting in the editing of the *Irian* journal. S.I.L. will be providing staff for the Anthropology/Linguistics Department that is to be established at the university.

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7.9.8. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY:

ANTHROPOS INSTITUTE

John A. Z'graggen

7.9.8.1. ANTHROPOS AND THE ANTHROPOS INSTITUTE

In 1906 Fr W. Schmidt, S.V.D., founded the *Anthropos* periodical and in 1931 the Anthropos Institute in Mödling near Vienna, Austria.¹

In their evangelical work throughout the world missionaries of all denominations came in close contact with tribes which had been unknown or only superficially known. To carry out their evangelical work, they needed a good knowledge of the culture of the people to whom they intended to bring Christianity. Missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church were not only encouraged but also requested in papal instructions and circular letters to study the culture of their people, especially their religion and language. Missionary studies were usually published in ecclesiastical or missionary magazines and were frequently overlooked by academics. It was also observed that such missionary publications had been misinterpreted as fostering theories not in favour of Christian thought. A need was felt to establish a journal of high scientific standard to give missionaries of any church the opportunity to publish their field studies and to express their opinion. This was the main reason for the establishment of the *Anthropos* periodical in 1906 (Schmidt 1950a:199). To ensure the academic standard of his periodical Schmidt made a name for himself through extensive and numerous publications in the various fields of anthropology and linguistics. In addition a number of fellow priests received full academic training to become experts in various parts of the world (Schmidt 1932:276). With these scholar-priests, wholeheartedly dedicated to research into the culture of *homo sapiens*, Schmidt founded the Anthropos Institute in 1931. Its headquarters, together with its director, editor and some advisory staff,

are located at present in St Augustin near Bonn, Western Germany, but the rest of the members work all over the world in universities and seminaries, or are on special assignments.

Since its foundation, the Anthropos Institute has published a considerable amount of linguistic material in its periodical and in a linguistic monograph series, and in 1953 it initiated the *Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos* series to make unpublshable manuscripts available to the public. The latter publication series contains valuable contributions to the studies of the languages in the New Guinea area.

The foundation of *Anthropos* encouraged and inspired many missionaries to do research work in the cultures of their people. Members of the Anthropos Institute, especially G. Höltker and A. Burgmann, were active in editing missionary manuscripts. Space and time unfortunately does not allow a summary of the contributions made by associates and friends of the Institute. In the following section a brief account of the contributions made by members of the Anthropos Institute has been given. For a comparison of their views with recent studies the reader is referred to the corresponding parts in volumes I, II, and the present volume.

7.9.8.2. W. SCHMIDT (1868-1954)²

Schmidt, founder of the Anthropos Institute, contributed considerably to the linguistic studies of the New Guinea area, especially in the first decade of this century. Along with S. Ray, Schmidt was regarded as the authority in Oceanic linguistics during the first half of this century. Schmidt (see Schmidt 1899a, 1899c, 1901, 1902) began his research in the Pacific and especially in the New Guinea area with extensive studies of a historical-comparative nature on the Austronesian (at that time called the Malayo-Polynesian) and Papuan linguistic situations. Most of Schmidt's linguistic work was of a comparative nature; even in describing the characteristics of an individual language he was looking beyond the boundaries of that particular language. Structure was for him more important than vocabulary.

Schmidt never visited the Pacific. However, his studies on individual languages based on published and unpublished materials (see e.g. Schmidt 1900, 1901) and his book reviews showed him to be a careful observer and a thorough analyst, though he seems to have been occasionally influenced by his historical theory. For instance, in his review of Hanke's grammar of the Bongu language (Schmidt 1910:605) he observes that only one symbol is used for a voiced bilabial contoid and a corresponding affricate. The researcher into the earlier stages of Austronesian

and Papuan linguistic history will find in his book reviews valuable documents for the understanding of the history of research. For instance, in Schmidt 1908a, he learns about MacDonald's short-lived hypothesis about the assumed affinity of the Oceanic languages to the Semitic.

120 out of Schmidt's 710 publications are concerned with linguistic problems throughout the world (see Burgmann 1954a:627, Bornemann 1954) and many of his anthropological studies contain valuable linguistic information. 24 publications, including book reviews, deal entirely or partly with the linguistics of the New Guinea area. The New Guinea area, with its many Melanesian and Papuan languages, was for him the start in his publishing career. This is understandable - and research has to be motivated. The north-eastern portion of the New Guinea mainland and the large islands to the north had just become a colony of Germany. A few years before his first publications, missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.), a missionary society of which he was himself a member, arrived at the north-eastern coast of New Guinea and found themselves in a linguistically complex and largely unknown area. The situation called for an expert. This was the reason Schmidt initiated his research and publishing career with New Guinea studies (Koppers 1956:63). In 1900 Schmidt describes for the first time the linguistic situation of German New Guinea and summarises all the material available at that time. Other surveys and summaries followed in 1920 and 1926 (see below). Through his influence, missionaries such as Vormann, Klaffl, etc. were publishing extensively at the beginning of this century. But these missionary publications declined in number as Schmidt got more and more absorbed in other studies in other parts of the world. Instead of publishing, missionaries stored their materials mainly in the basement of their cathedral at Alexishafen, all of which got lost later, in a bombing raid during World War II.

In 1920 Schmidt summarised in a brief and concise form his views with regard to Austronesian and Papuan languages, when he, the expert in Oceanic linguistics in general, was invited to write for the *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*. Another summary is included in his momentous work *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* in 1926. The two summaries are complementary.

Many of his findings are now superseded. For instance, not only Austronesian, but also a large number of Papuan languages divide nouns into two classes with regard to possession, prefixing and/or suffixing the possessive pronoun immediately to the noun. The structure of the genitive, a favourite topic of his, which he pursued throughout the world and into the deep history of mankind, seems to be overvalued as a classifying criterion. Structural comparison played a much more

important role to him than lexical. His study on the sound changes and sound correspondences of the Melanesian languages Ulau, Ali, Yakamul, Tumleo, is one of his few detailed word comparisons (Schmidt, Klaffl and Vormann 1905:72-83). Seldom does he express doubts on the accuracy and reliability of the data he did not collect himself.

No doubt, much of his data has to be restudied in the field and supplemented. A comparison of Schmidt's view with the most recent opinions is at this point of time not profitable, since this present volume will summarise and clarify the latest views. In spite of this, a brief account of Schmidt's views on the Austronesian, Melanesian and Papuan languages based on his summary in 1920 and 1926 should be of interest for the history of research in Austronesian and Papuan languages. Space does not, however, allow a review of his frequently discussed views on the Solomon and Torres Strait linguistic situation. The following summary, it is hoped, will review briefly the linguistic knowledge on the Austronesian and Papuan linguistic situation in the first half of this century. There is unfortunately no comprehensive study of the history of linguistic research in the Pacific available for the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. There is a clear break between these two halves of two centuries and the new start, which was initiated by A. Capell and was carried rapidly forward by S.A. Wurm and through his continuing encouragement. Hooley's (1964) and Laycock and Voorhoeve's (1971) studies on the history of linguistic research in New Guinea are not sufficiently detailed, though Laycock's and Voorhoeve's chapters on the history of Papuan linguistic research in (I) 2.1.1. and (I) 2.1.2. give extensive information on this facet of the history of linguistic research in the New Guinea area. Wurm 1972 is a useful summary of linguistic research in the Pacific in general.

7.9.8.2.1. W. SCHMIDT AND THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

In the second half of the 19th century, three language groups were established in the Pacific: Malay (or Indonesian), Polynesian and Melanesian. First they were called 'Malayo-Polynesian', but after the discovery of the Melanesian languages, Schmidt (1899a:245-51) proposed to change this double name to 'Austronesian', which has become a generally accepted name. The three subgroups of Austronesian languages were obviously interrelated. But their historical relationship to each other and the nature of the Melanesian subgroup came under debate at the end of the 19th century. These are the two main points which Schmidt discusses in his first publication on linguistics (Schmidt 1899a)

with vigour and self-assuredness. The two above-mentioned topics became more complex as more and more languages (some of them right in the middle of the Melanesian territory) were discovered which did not fit into the pattern of the Austronesian language group. These languages were generally referred to as non-Austronesian (or non-Melanesian) or Papuan.

Gabelentz and Meyer (1882) and especially Müller (1876-88) proposed, basically on anthropological grounds, the following two theories:

1) The Melanesian languages are a mixture of Malayo-Polynesian with Papuan languages. Residues, especially in the vocabulary which could not be explained as Malayo-Polynesian were taken as non-Malayo-Polynesian or Papuan elements. Such Papuan languages were, for Müller, Mafoor (Numfor) in the north-west of New Guinea, and in the south of Melanesia the languages of New Caledonia, Nengone, Aneitum and Ero'mangan. The Papuans were the original inhabitants of the Melanesian territory.

2) The Polynesian languages are the oldest substratum within the Austronesian language family; the Melanesian languages, with a richer phoneme and formative inventory, are a further development. This richness reached its height in the Indonesian language group.

Codrington's (1885) views differ:

1) The Melanesian languages are not mixed languages. In the present day languages there are no traces of an earlier language as an examination of vocabulary and grammar reveals. Nengone, Ambrym, Santa Cruz and Savo are aberrant, but they are not the remains of an older Melanesian speech.

2) The Melanesians have no doubt the ancient idiomatic usage.

Schmidt (1900, 1901) discusses these two points extensively and proposes his own view which he, however, had to revise later on.

1) Melanesian is the proto-language of the Austronesian language family, and not Polynesian as Müller postulated. His main proofs are:

a) Unity of the pronoun suffixes. The Melanesian languages suffix the possessive pronouns in two ways: i) immediately to nouns denoting body parts, terms of relatives and parts of a whole, and ii) mediately via a particle (or possessive noun) to all other nouns denoting the possessed. Thus two ways are present in Melanesian. The Malay languages retained in their later development only the immediate way whereas the Polynesian languages retained and further developed the mediate way.

b) The Melanesian languages have a plural, dual and trial form for pronouns. Dual and trial are formed by adding the numeral two or three respectively to the plural. The plural form is more original, and dual and trial forms were developed at a later stage as a need for more

precision was felt. In the course of time the Polynesians dropped the plural form and retained only the dual and trial whereas Malay retained only the plural form. The trial in Polynesian languages is nothing other than the plural.

c) The rich phoneme inventory of Melanesian also supports this theory.

d) Residues in Mafoor, Aneitum and Eromanga identified by Müller as Papuan, are of Melanesian origin. Kern (1883, 1906) holds the same view.

In his review of Thalheimer's study of the pronouns in Micronesian languages, Schmidt (1908b:633) abandoned his earlier view. He said that the Indonesian languages were the original languages within the Austronesian languages. The Melanesian languages developed through movements to the east and south-east and through mixing with the aborigines (Papuan) of the new Melanesian territory. The Melanesians retained the immediate way of suffixing the possessive pronouns but developed also, under the influence of Papuan language structure, the mediate way of expressing possession. This seemed to him a more plausible explanation than his earlier view.

2) In his first publication, Schmidt (1899a) definitely rejected Müller's theory that the Melanesian languages were a mixture of Malayo-Polynesian and Papuan. Müller's evidence could, after close inspection, be explained as to be of Austronesian origin. Kern (1883, 1906) independently reached the same conclusion. Real Papuan languages were definitely discovered by Ray on the south coast of New Guinea, but all of them were in the border area of the Melanesian territory. But subsequently more and more Papuan languages were discovered in areas which were assumed to be purely Melanesian territory. Upon this new evidence Schmidt (1902) revised his opinion and formally rehabilitated Müller's opinion with regard to the mixed nature of Melanesian languages. In his latest view, however, he regarded only Melanesian languages in the neighbourhood of Papuan languages as a mixture of Malay and Papuan, i.e. the Melanesian languages on the New Guinea mainland and some languages on New Britain and in the south of Bougainville. The mixed nature of Melanesian is a problem which has worried Schmidt again and again in different publications. The student of his work has a hard time to follow his reasoning on this point. A thorough study of this topic should be worthwhile since a careful study of Melanesian influence on Papuan languages and vice versa is becoming more and more important.

In 1920 Schmidt summarised his view on the Austronesian languages as follows:

The Austronesian languages form one family with the Austric languages. The Jesuit missionary P. Hervas was the first to recognise the

Austronesian language family, with basically three subgroups. Indonesian developed into Melanesian which mixed with Papuan, and from Melanesian to Polynesian. The main characteristic features of Austronesian are: 1) Basically the same phoneme inventory, though Melanesian and Polynesian lost some of the original phonemes. 2) Sameness in the formation of words. 3) Similarity of personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and numerals.

7.9.8.2.2. W. SCHMIDT AND THE MELANESIAN LANGUAGES

Gabelentz (1861-79) was first to describe the Melanesian languages as a group. Gabelentz and Meyer (1882) and later Müller (1876-88) regarded the Melanesian languages as a mixture of Malayo-Polynesian with the languages of the aborigines in Melanesia, and believed that Polynesian developed into Malay (see above). Kern (1883, 1886, 1906) noticed a closer relationship between Melanesian and Polynesian languages. Codrington (1885) points out the general unity of the Melanesian language group. Polynesian is for him a descendant of Melanesian. Thalheimer (1908) grouped the Micronesian languages with the Melanesian group, except for Chamorro and Palau.

For Schmidt (1920c) the Melanesian languages were an independent and peculiar descendant within the Austronesian language family. They developed from Malay into Melanesian and developed further into Polynesian. The Polynesian languages originated in the languages of the southern Solomon Islands. The bulk of the Melanesian area languages were Austronesian. They were not a mixture of Malayo-Polynesian and Papuan in the sense Müller had postulated it, except in the neighbourhood of the Papuan language area.

The Melanesian territory consisted of: New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides, Banks Islands, Santa Cruz, Fiji, Rotuma, the Solomon Islands, Bismarck Archipelago, Admiralty Islands, Gilbertese and Marshall Islands, Ponape and the Carolines. On the New Guinea mainland, Melanesian-Papuan languages were found on the south coast from Cape Possession to the east and on the north coast in pocket areas and the adjacent islands. Within the Melanesian territory Schmidt found also a group of Polynesian languages, which could be explained as a re-immigrated group. They were on small islands adjacent to the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and the Bismarck Archipelago, i.e. part of Uvea in the Loyalty Islands, Futuna, Fate, part of Sesake, Tikopia, islands near the New Hebrides, some of the Swallow Islands near Santa Cruz, Rennell, Bellona, Ontong Java (Liueniua), Marqueen Island (Tauu), Tasman Island (Nukumanu), Fead Island (Nuguria), and Sikayana.

Schmidt found the following features to be characteristic of Melanesian languages:

Phonology: As a rule the Melanesian languages have dropped final fricatives, nasals and r, l.

Word formation: Loss of the Indonesian infixes. For a list of common prefixes and suffixes in Melanesian see Schmidt 1920c:540.

Grammar: There is no overt number and gender marking. But number marking in pronouns is very explicit. Melanesian languages of an older substratum (New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands and some of those on the New Guinea mainland) have formed an additional dual form. Most Melanesian languages have formed a dual and a trial form. Melanesian languages of the youngest substratum (southern Solomons, some languages of the New Hebrides, Nengone, Rotuma, New Ireland (Neu Mecklenburg), Marshall Is (Kusaie), developed an additional quatrial (quartal) form. Dual, trial and quatrial are formed by adding the corresponding numeral to the plural pronoun form. A typical Melanesian feature is the division of nouns into two classes. (Class 1: Body parts, terms of relatives, and parts of a whole which suffix the possessive markers immediately to the noun base, and class 2: all other nouns plus the exceptions of class 1, which suffix the possessive pronoun to a particle or possessive noun, thus mediately to the noun.) The number of possessive nouns indicating different relationships of the possessor to the possessed varies from one to four. The Melanesian languages postpose the genitive whereas the Papuan languages prepose them. Schmidt's description of the verb structure is rather confusing; the interested reader is referred to Schmidt 1920c:542.

Schmidt finds it difficult to subgroup the Melanesian languages. The concept of grouping languages into families, stocks etc. was as yet unknown. In contrast to the Polynesian languages, the Melanesian languages differ among themselves considerably in vocabulary and grammar. From this Schmidt concludes a prolonged settlement of the Melanesian area and feels that Papuan languages with their notorious diversity might account for this diversity. Each island has its own language and some have even two and three. Schmidt proposes then the following subgrouping for which he in 1920 gives some criteria to justify his subgrouping.

1) Southern Group: New Caledonian, Loyalty Islands, Aneitum, and Eromanga in the southern New Hebrides.

2) Central Group: the remainder of the New Hebrides, Banks Islands, Fiji Islands, and the southern Solomons as far as Bougainville. The

latter are the youngest substratum from which the Polynesian languages originated, and are more closely related to the Melanesian languages in southern British New Guinea.

3) Northern Group: northern Solomon Islands, New Britain (Neu-Pommern), New Ireland (Neu-Mecklenburg) and probably the Admiralty Islands.

4) Isolate: Santa Cruz. They are more archaic and closely related to the Torres Strait languages.

5) Melanesian-Papuan languages: Barrioi, Kilenge, Upper-Mengeni (New Britain) and in the south of Bougainville: Mono, Uruava, Torau, and New Guinea mainland.

6) Micronesian languages: Caroline Islands, Yap, Ponape, Gilbert Islands, Marshall Islands and Nauru.

7) Transition languages from Melanesian to Polynesian: south coast of British New Guinea, central New Hebrides, central Solomon Islands.

7.9.8.2.3. W. SCHMIDT AND THE PAPUAN LANGUAGES

Gabelentz and Meyer (1882) and later Müller (1876-88) were first to observe aberrant languages within the Austronesian language family. They called them Papuan or non-Malayo-Polynesian (later non-Austronesian). Their proofs were however rejected. Ray (1892) was the first scholar to discover unmistakably Papuan languages on the south coast of New Guinea. Schmidt (1900-01) discovered the separate existence of Melanesian and Papuan languages on the north coast of New Guinea. As more and more Papuan languages were discovered in Melanesian territory they appeared to be the remnants of a pre-Austronesian population.

Papuan languages were found on the New Guinea mainland in some pocket areas on the coast, and in the smaller adjacent islands. The interior was still unknown. Papuan languages known outside New Guinea were 1) Savo in the Solomon Islands, and the languages of South Bougainville, 2) Baining and Sulka on New Britain, 3) Tidore and Ternate on Halmahera Island. More were expected to be discovered in the largely unknown areas.

Schmidt found no evidence for a Papuan language family. The name Papuan meant simply not belonging to the Austronesian language family. Papuan languages were regarded as an agglomeration of genetically unrelated, radically different languages, differing from each other more radically in vocabulary than in grammar and which were spoken only in a few villages each.³ This is the view still held nowadays by linguistically ignorant people. A genius such as Schmidt found no common

vocabulary, and found even the pronouns differing. In the structure, however, he found some characteristic features which he used to identify a language as Papuan or Austronesian, but they gave him not enough evidence to postulate a genetic relationship. Such common features are summarised in Schmidt 1920a:18, and 1926:154. The main points are: 1) occurrence of the fricatives *x*, *ɣ*, *ɸ*, *ʃ* and the affricates *ts*, *bw*, *tʃ*. 2) Preposing of the genitive. 3) No Papuan language divides nouns into a two-class system a) terms of relatives - body parts - part of a whole, and b) all other nouns plus the exceptions of a). 4) The personal pronouns have only singular, plural and dual forms but no trial. The dual form is frequently derived from the singular form. 5) No difference is made between an inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural pronoun form. 6) The languages frequently distinguish masculine and feminine forms with the third person singular pronoun. 7) The languages have a pair counting system. 8) The languages show a complex structure of the verb.

Schmidt, so much interested in comparison and classification of languages, came quickly to a solution in Austronesian language grouping. But he felt lost with regard to the classification of Papuan languages; probably he concentrated too hard on discovering one single Papuan language group. Schmidt (1920a:19, 1926:150ff.) lists the then known Papuan languages based on geographical grounds. But hints of two major groupings are given. Group 1: Miriam and probably Tauata in British New Guinea, Valman and Monumbo on the north coast of New Guinea (which are fairly closely related to each other despite their distant geographical location), then Baining, Telei, Nasioi, Koromira and Savo in the New Guinea island area, and finally the Halmahera languages in Dutch New Guinea. Group 2: the rest of the then known Papuan languages. Characteristic features of the first group based on H. Potter's unpublished study are: a) grammatical gender and different forms for masculine and feminine third person singular pronouns, b) no difference between first person plural pronoun inclusive and exclusive except in Miriam, c) occurrence of *r*, *l* initially except in Masio and more variations in final phonemes.

In 1900 Schmidt already had doubts on the applicability of traditional principles in comparative linguistics for the New Guinea area. In his last summary (Schmidt 1926), he felt a classification of Papuan languages had to start with grammar, rather than vocabulary, which is more diverse than structure. With reference to 1926, such a classification was only of limited use, and was suitable to indicate only a certain probability of a genetic relationship within a language group.

7.9.8.3. G. HÖLTKE

Höltke visited the islands Karkar, Manam and Blupblup and large parts of the Bogia subdistrict at the north-east coast of New Guinea. Most of his publications are primarily concerned with various topics in anthropology, but some of them contain valuable linguistic information (e.g. Höltke 1947, 1964). Höltke (1932b:964, fn.20) lists in his fieldwork report the following Papuan languages or language groups in the area between the mouth of the Sepik River and the town of Madang: 1) Marangis, Watam-Marangis-Kayan, Boroi (Watam, Kaian, Gamei),⁴ 2) Nubia-Bosngun (Awar, Bosman), 3) Mikarew-Ariaw (Mikarew), 4) Kire-Puire (Giri), 5) Tangum-Igom (Tangum, Igom), 6) Monumbo-Ngaimbom (Monumbo, Lilau), 7) Wadaginamb (Wadaginam), 8) Murusapa-Sarewa (Moresada), 9) Awarken (Andarum), 10) Wangam (Kopar), 11) Moando (Kaukombaran family). Watam, Kaian, Gamei and Mikarew form a related group which Z'graggen (1971) calls the Ruboni language stock. The Moando or Kaukombaran languages are related to the Bongu language in Astrolabe Bay. Though Höltke offers no evidence, he was the first to postulate a relationship between languages of the Adelbert Range and the Rai Coast. Ulingan and Waskia (Tokain) are said by him to be aberrant Papuan languages, but he gives no data. The Melanesian languages listed by him are: Medibur-Toto (Medebur), Sarang-Megiar (Megiar), Matukar (Matukar), Sek and Siar-Ragetta (Gedaged).

Höltke (1932b), according to his field report, learned the Awar language, collected ample text material and produced an extensive dictionary, which however, he never published. In 1938 he published a first wordlist of the Gapun language which he collected with Fr J. Much, S.V.D., and he regards this language as an isolate. Laycock (1973) classifies Gapun with Bungain as forming a sub-phylum within the Sepik-Ramu Phylum. In his study on the Giri people (1961) Höltke incorporates a first short wordlist of the Giri language. In 1952 he edited Fr Tranel's study of the Tani people which includes a first Tani wordlist. In 1964, Höltke published extensive corrections to Vormann and Scharfenberger's 1914 study of the Monumbo language. His essay on Pidgin English as vehicle of communication by the Catholic Mission (Höltke 1945) is also valuable.

7.9.8.4. L. LUZBETAK⁵

Luzbetak carried out fieldwork in the New Guinea Highlands from October 1952 to April 1956. His studies were primarily ethnographic, with a special interest in native religion. An important linguistic interest of his was the phonology of the Middle Wahgi, but for

comparative reasons he covered a much larger area. Luzbetak carried out a large amount of morphological and syntactic analysis of some highland languages and dialects, e.g. the Tabare dialect with Fr McVinney (Luzbetak and McVinney 1954), the Kup, Minj, Nondugl, and Ambang dialects of the Wahgi language, and he carried out a full grammatical study of the Banz dialect (Luzbetak 1954). Luzbetak also served on the Papua New Guinea Government's Commission on Languages for Standardising Pidgin Orthography in the mid-1950s. He also carried out some experiments in literacy, especially in studying the effectiveness and practicality of a phonemic alphabet for the highland languages. Hamp (1957) praises Luzbetak's study on the Middle Wahgi phonology (Luzbetak 1956) as a capital contribution to our knowledge of the languages of New Guinea. Unfortunately, most of his field material is as yet unpublished.

7.9.8.5. H. AUFENANGER

In 1933, Aufenanger came to New Guinea for the first time, as a missionary. He spent many years in New Guinea doing research in anthropology and linguistics in addition to his missionary duties. His contributions to our knowledge of Gende (1938, 1952, 1953c) and Nondugl, a dialect of Wahgi (1953a, 1953b), are extensive. His dictionary and grammar of Biyom has got lost. Of interest also is his introduction to Salisbury's vocabulary of the Siane language (Aufenanger 1956). The majority of Aufenanger's publications are of an ethnographic nature, but many of his publications also contain valuable linguistic materials such as technical terms, myths, stories, sayings with a hidden meaning, etc. (Aufenanger 1953b, 1953c, 1960, 1962, Aufenanger and Höltker 1940).

7.9.8.6. A. BURGMANN

Burgmann edited the journal *Anthropos* from 1959-1968. In 1953 Bornemann and Burgmann initiated the 'Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos', a publication series which publishes manuscripts not publishable in printed form, but which are nevertheless of high value as a source of information. Burgmann gave short introductions to these manuscripts in *Anthropos*. Within the New Guinea area they are the following: Gende (1953a), Chimbu (1953b), the Nondugl dialect of Wahgi (1953c), Konua (Kunua) (1954a), Lir (1954c), Ubili (1961a), Tuna (Gunantuna) (1961b), Sulka (1962), Alüban (Arapesh) (1963), Tangga (1966c, 1972), Pala (1966b). In his study of 1968 Burgmann investigates the origin of the word 'Tamberan'.

7.9.8.7. J.A. Z'GRAGGEN

Z'graggen began his linguistic fieldwork in New Guinea in August 1964 in the coastal area of the Madang District, at first part-time and as much as his missionary duties allowed him. The complex linguistic situation at the mission station Mugil on the north-eastern coast of the Madang District awakened in him the interest for comparative linguistic and survey studies. From March 1966 to June 1969, he worked under the auspices of the Australian National University. His findings on the linguistic situation of the western Madang District are summarised in Z'graggen 1971. To assist missionaries in the field to handle various language problems independently, he studied a combination of linguistic discovery procedures and pattern practice language learning methods in 1970. A basic understanding of the techniques of the substitution frame would help the missionary in the field to discover the meaningful parts of speech; the same frame could then be used and expanded at will into a pattern practice device. This method was found to be of limited use and was not developed further. In January 1971, he resumed his fieldwork in the Madang District area with the aim of a complete linguistic survey of the Madang District. Summaries of the results were published in Z'graggen 1975 and in (I) 2.8.2. and (II) 4.4.1. There is a great need for linguistic survey studies on the district (now province) and national level. Districts (now provinces) will most likely remain important political units for a long time and an adequate knowledge of the linguistic composition should prove helpful to the administration and educational agencies. Linguistic complexity is a characteristic of the New Guinea area and thus is something a Papua New Guinean should be taught in school. Linguistics has a great task and responsibility in this respect.

N O T E S

1. For more general studies on the Anthropos Institute see Schmidt 1932, 1950a, Rahmann 1956 and Burgmann 1966b. The author prepared this summary in response to an invitation by Professor S.A. Wurm to write it for this volume. It was prepared at Alexishafen in October 1973. The author has been a member of the Anthropos Institute since 1970, but has been in contact with members of the Institute since 1956. He was not personally acquainted with the founder and only a little acquainted with the contributors to New Guinea linguistics. For this reason, this chapter is based on publications and some letters to the author. It is hoped that this study gives a fairly complete account of the contributions made by members of the Anthropos Institute to the linguistics of the New Guinea area.

2. For further information on Schmidt's work and personality the reader is referred to: Koppers 1956, Henninger 1956, Burgmann 1954b, Bornemann 1954.

3. The following quotation might be of interest to the historian of Papuan linguistics:

Die geographische Sprachenmannigfaltigkeit ist dabei so gross, dass in Neuguinea, wo diese Sprachen in geschlossener Reihe aneinander stossen, jedes Gebiet von ein paar Meilen im Durchmesser seine eigene von denen der anstossenden Gebiete radikal verschiedene Sprache aufweist, so dass hier wohl für die ganze Erde der Gipfelpunkt extensiver und intensiver Sprachenzersplitterung erreicht ist. (Schmidt 1920a:18)

4. Names in parentheses are names newly adopted by Laycock (1973) and Z'graggen (1971).

5. Data based on Luzbetak's letters to the author: 26 July 1973 and 13 March 1973.

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7.9.9. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: THE ASIA PACIFIC CHRISTIAN MISSION

W.M. Rule

The majority of the work of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission is in tribal situations in the Western and Southern Highlands Provinces of Papua New Guinea, and in the Dani and Eastern Highlands areas of Irian Jaya. We have in each instance gone into new tribes which had only been entered by the Administration a year or so earlier, or which had not been previously entered at all, and have settled down to learn the language and reduce it to writing. We then compile a correct phonemic alphabet using the latest linguistic techniques, and from there go on to produce a dictionary and a full statement of the grammar, using a readily understandable description couched in conventional grammatical terminology. The principle on which each grammar statement is based is to start from the simplest grammatical construction in each language, and then to add new and expanded constructions one by one until the whole of the grammatical system of the language concerned is covered. It is a definite point of our policy to seek to reach the people to whom we go through means of their mother tongue, believing it to be 'the shrine of the people's soul'. Where the trade language of the Papuan side, Hiri Motu, was known quite extensively, this was used as a bridge in the initial stages to gain a knowledge of the local language more quickly. We have then gone on to proclaim the Good News of the Christian Gospel to the people in their own languages.

We compile attractive, well-illustrated primers and readers in each language, and have an extensive literacy programme in operation in each tribe to render as many as possible literate in their mother tongue. Local vernacular teachers are trained so that they can assist in the literacy programme. In our primary schools, too, we aim to have the

children to be fluent readers and writers in their own language by fourth Grade, thus helping to counteract their prevalent tendency to regard their tribal languages as 'bush' languages, and of little value in education. It is most pleasing to see the standard of the compositions which they write in their own languages, and as they write up the legends and folk lore of their tribes, so these are being preserved (see chapters 7.2.4. and 7.2.5. on vernacular literacy by Joan Rule). The aim of our literacy programme is to enable the people to read educational books, story books and the full New Testament in each of the languages in which we are working, and so a high priority of our work is vernacular translation.

In seeking to evaluate the merits of this policy after 40 years of work in the earliest tribes entered, and less in others, it can be said that it has paid tremendous dividends in the early establishment of good relations with the tribes, and in the development of strong local churches, with pastors and teachers trained in vernacular Bible Schools, and having an excellent grounding in, and understanding of, the truths of the Christian faith.

The one big disadvantage of a heavily vernacular-oriented work is that whilst the church leaders are well equipped to meet all contingencies which arise in their local language areas, they are at a loss when it comes to inter-tribal communication. They are also at a disadvantage when it comes to dealing with Government officials, business people and others who do not speak their particular language. It also poses difficulties in organising the national church, when leaders from different tribes meet together in conference. In the conferences of the Evangelical Church of Papua, Hiri Motu and English are used as the means of communication, and of the Gereja Injil Irian Jaya, Indonesian is used. We are therefore seeking to encourage the use of Pidgin, Hiri Motu and Indonesian in our respective areas, so that our members can play their full part in the development of their countries. To this end, we are conducting a Central Bible School in Hiri Motu at Lake Murray, another in combined Pidgin and vernacular at Samberigi, and in Indonesian at Sentani in Irian Jaya.

Furthermore, in each of the tribes in which we operate, we have realised the need of a long-range plan for producing leaders of the future who are fluent in the international language of the area, namely English for Papua New Guinea, and Indonesian for Irian Jaya. Accordingly, for a long time now, we have run primary schools in English and Indonesian respectively, moving on to a high school at Awaba in the Western Province, and a teachers' college at Dauli in the Southern

Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. Numbers of our leading pastors are also being trained in full English at the Christian Leaders' Training College at Banz in the Western Highlands Province. Similar training is also envisaged at the Central Bible Institute at Sentani in Irian Jaya. We are just reaping the benefit of this side of the work as leading pastors and school teachers are assuming excellent responsibility and leadership in many of our areas.

Except in the Gogodala area of the Lower Fly River area, we have not sought to develop any single vernacular language as a lingua franca for other surrounding tribes, but have done independent work for each language. In the Gogodala area mentioned, the tribes were very small, numbering only between 100 and 200 in each, and they already had a good proportion of bilingual speakers of Gogodala, so they came to school in the Gogodala country, received instruction in that language, and then returned to their own tribes (see chapter 7.4.5.6.).

It will thus be seen that we of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission have a threefold language policy:

a) To work in the vernacular in the early stages of the work, continuing this through for all training and church work at the adult level, and also seeking to achieve full literacy for all children as well in their own vernacular.

b) To encourage the local elders and leaders of the churches to make every endeavour to become fluent in Hiri Motu, Pidgin (or in both), or in Indonesian, so that they can play their part in the nations' development.

c) To train our leaders of the future in full English and Indonesian.

The following is a list of the tribes and languages in which the Asia Pacific Christian Mission (and our U.S. counterpart, the Unevangelised Fields Mission) are working:

a) Lower Fly River Area of Papua New Guinea

GOGODALA	(Balimo, Mapoda, Awaba, Wasua)	
TA:ME	(Bituri Creek) (also known as MUTUM)	} Both these are dialects of TIRIO
DUDI	(Lewada Island in Fly River) (also known as LEWADA)	
NAMBU	(Arufe)	
SUKI	(Suki Lagoon)	

b) Upper Fly River Area

ZIMAKANI	(Pangoa, Lake Murray)	
KUNI	(Pangoa, Lake Murray)	
PA	(Debepari)	
BEDAMUNI	(Nomad River and Mogulu) (also known as BIAMI)	
AEKYOM (or AIWIN)	(Rumginæ, Kiunga)	
YONGGOM	(Atkamba)	} Members of the Ok Family
NINGERUM	(Ningerum and Trakbits)	

c) Southern Highlands Province

HULI	(Tari, Dauli, Mananda, Tani, Koroba)
FOE	(Kutubu, Orokana)
OLOGO (KALULI)	(Bosavi)
POLE	(Erave)
SAO	(Samberigi)

d) Irian Jaya

WESTERN DANI	(Bokondini, Kelila, Mulia, Ilu)	
HMANGGONA	(Nalca)	} Members of the Goliath Family
KETENGBAM	(Ok Bap)	
NGALUM	(Kiwi)	Member of the Ok Family
WALAK	(Ilugwa, Wolo)	} Dialects of Pyramid Dani
NGGEM	(Kobakma)	

7.9.10. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF LANGUAGE STUDY: OTHERS

S.A. Wurm

In addition to the work of the institutions discussed above in 7.9.1.-9., work on New Guinea area languages has been and is being carried out on a small scale, marginally, or in a sporadic fashion, by a number of other institutions and organisations whose main concerns either lie in other fields of research, or which are involved in language study mainly for utilitarian purposes only.

A few such institutions of diverse types may be mentioned here as examples in a historical perspective:

An example of a university belonging to this category of institutions is the University of Kansas under whose auspices Professor Frances Ingemann carried out extensive work in the Ipili-Paiyala (or just Ipili) language of the West-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Trans-New Guinea Phylum) (see chapter (I) 2.7.). She collected a large number of recorded texts of the Ipili-Paiyala language and made basic linguistic analyses based on them. The texts were primarily narrative (personal, ethnographic, folkloristic, etc.) but included several long chanted folk-tales and some songs. A computerised concordance of a number of texts had been prepared with the aid of a National Science Foundation Grant to assist in further analysis.

Professor Ingemann presented several papers at professional meetings on the results of her work, i.e.: Vowel Harmony in Ipili-Paiyala (Linguistic Circle of New York, March 12, 1966); Verbal Constructions in the Ipili-Paiyala Language (Midwest Modern Language Association, April 29, 1966); The Ipili-Paiyala Counting System (Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, April 1967); The Linguistic Structure of an Ipili-Paiyala Song Type (Eighth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, September 1968).

Some missionary institutions form another category coming under the heading of the present chapter. The situation can be illustrated by the examples provided by two missions, the New Guinea Lutheran Mission - Missouri Synod, and the Australian Baptist Missionary Society which were both working in the area of the Enga language of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Trans-New Guinea Phylum) (see chapter (I) 2.7.) at the time of writing in early 1974.

Dr P. Brennan, Staff Linguist attached to the New Guinea Lutheran Mission, summarised the situation concerning the involvement of the Mission in language work in 1972 as follows in a letter to the present writer, dated December 14, 1972:

We continue to encourage all pastors, and teachers in our vernacular seminary, to communicate in Enga. To a large extent this seems to be carried out. Pidgin is relied on to a smaller extent. All new staff members continue to be given instruction in the Enga language (three months minimum), and returning staff are provided with a refresher course (two months average). From time to time I send out additional information on the language: technical grammatical descriptions or revisions, transcriptions of natural text (e.g. mythology), and some sociolinguistic information. Occasional papers or discussions generally relating to the Enga language are also provided publicly to the staff (e.g. our anthropological conference in 1970, resulting in *Exploring Enga Culture: Studies in Missionary Anthropology*).

More recently, we have established a communication centre in Enga, called "Kendo". We are attempting to develop and utilize mass media, viz. print media (literacy, literature, newspaper, Scripture translation, Scripture popularizations), aural media (Radio Hagen/Mendi), media forums (informal discussion groups), and symbolic media (drama, music/dance, celebration, reconciliation). We have a European staff of four working full-time, with myself serving as director. Presently we are recruiting two additional men, one in radio and the other in literature development. Eleven full-salaried Engas are working with us. One of our most recent efforts was the production of a booklet instructing the Enga in frost areas as to the nature of governmental/mission relief.

Mr A.M. Lord, Field Leader of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society, Enga Field Headquarters, made the following statement on the situation prevailing in early 1973 in a letter to the present writer, dated January 17, 1973:

Our present policy regarding the Enga language is that all our church work is maintained in this language, and that the New Testament is now ready for publication.¹ We do, however, train some of our men in Pidgin and also in English, so that it could be stated that our policy is for training at a higher level in English, while pastors and village teachers are trained both in Pidgin and the vernacular.

The three examples quoted illustrate some of the involvement, in the study of New Guinea area languages, of institutions not primarily, or very extensively, concerned with this particular field of endeavour.

N O T E

1. Editor's Note: According to a more recent communication from Mr G.H. Manning, Missionary Linguist of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society, Enga Field Headquarters, the New Testament in the Kyaka dialect of Enga with which the Mission is concerned, was published at the end of 1973 through the British and Foreign Bible Society.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

CECIL CHARLES GEOFFREY ABEL, born in 1903 at Kwato, near Samarai, Milne Bay Province. Formal schooling three years at Church of England Grammar School, Sydney. 1921 to 1926 at Cambridge University, graduated Bachelor of Arts, and postgraduate Diploma of Anthropology. Returned to work with his parents, Charles and Beatrice Abel, founders of the Kwato Mission. Assumed leadership of the Kwato work on his father's death in 1930; left Kwato in 1951. Served with the Australian and United States Armed Forces as a civilian adviser in the battle of Milne Bay and in the Buna campaign. From 1951 to 1963 worked to establish community and village industries in the Milne Bay area. In 1963 was a foundation staff member of the newly formed Administrative College in Port Moresby, lecturing for four years in politics and Papua New Guinea government. In 1967 initiated preparation of the submissions for the Committee of Thirteen calling for Home Rule. Was a co-founder and member of the Pangu Pati, later the senior partner in the first National Coalition Government of Papua New Guinea. After a year as Research Fellow with the History Department of the University of Papua New Guinea was elected Regional Member for Milne Bay in the House of Assembly 1968-72. In 1973 held the position of liaison officer with the Minister of the Interior in the Papua New Guinea Housing Commission, and in 1974 joined the personal staff of the Prime Minister (then Chief Minister) as Research Officer and later Public Relations Officer.

HENRY LAWRIE BELL, born in 1929 in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. Lecturer in Management Studies at Administrative College of Papua New Guinea. Professional soldier (Infantry) in the Australian Regular Army 1951-75 (Lieutenant-Colonel) - retired on medical grounds. Served in Australia, Papua New Guinea, Japan, Korea, Vietnam. Commanded several companies of the Pacific Islands Regiment including, in 1965, the first

wholly raised from literate school-leavers. Commanded the Papua New Guinea officer-training unit (now the Joint Services College of Papua New Guinea) 1970-71. Numerous (ca.70) papers on ornithology, chiefly that of Papua New Guinea, in various scientific journals. Popular articles on Australian native plants, horticulture, articles on Papua New Guinea, current affairs, military history and tactics in various journals and newspapers published in Australia, the U.S.A., Canada and India. Bachelor of Applied Science (Biology) of the Canberra College of Advanced Education. Currently part-time M.Sc. candidate in Biology at the University of Papua New Guinea.

CATHERINE H. BERNDT, born in Auckland, has a B.A. degree from the University of New Zealand (Victoria University College, now Victoria University of Wellington), followed by a year's course with Dr H.D. Skinner, Otago University, Dunedin; then M.A., Dip. Anthropol., Sydney University; and Ph.D., University of London (L.S.E.). She is a part-time lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia. With her husband (Professor R.M. Berndt), her main area of research (and welfare) is Aboriginal Australia; together and individually, they have published extensively on that field. Her Papua New Guinea concentration has been on mythology, and oral literature generally. See, e.g., her article in the *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*; also, Chapter 5 in *The Barbarians ...* (C. and R. Berndt). Her large study of myth-in-action in the Eastern Highlands must be split into two separate volumes to make publication feasible, and this formidable task is not yet completed.

H. MYRON BROMLEY, born in 1925 in Meadville, Pennsylvania, was educated at Allegheny and Houghton Colleges, Asbury Theological Seminary, the University of Minnesota and Yale University. He has served as a missionary with the Christian and Missionary Alliance in the Baliem Valley area of Central Irian Jaya since 1954. His publications include 'A Preliminary Report on Law among the Grand Valley Dani of Netherlands New Guinea' (1960); *The Phonology of Lower Grand Valley Dani* (1961); 'The Linguistic Relationships of Grand Valley Dani: a Lexico-Statistical Classification' (1966); and *The Grammar of Lower Grand Valley Dani in Discourse Perspective* (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1972).

HERBERT ALFRED BROWN was born in London in 1905. He was trained in Horticulture in Boskoop, Holland. In preparation for missionary work he graduated with B.A. honours in Anthropology in 1936, University of

London, where he was a student of Malinowski and of J.R. Firth. He took his theological course at New College, London. From 1938-70 he worked as a missionary with the London Missionary Society (later the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands) in the Eastern Gulf of Papua amongst the Elema, Kovio, Kunimaipa and Anga peoples. While on furlough in 1956, he gained a postgraduate Diploma in Anthropology at London University. In 1965 he was awarded an M.A. first class honours (Anthropology) by the University of Sydney. When he retired from work as a Circuit Minister with the United Church, he gained, in 1972, a Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of London. He has now returned to Papua New Guinea and is currently completing the translation of the Bible in Toaripi, as well as preparing for publication material on the mythology and the traditional art of the Elema. His *Dictionary of Toaripi* was published as an *Oceanic Linguistic Monograph* in 1968. He contributed a chapter on the Eleman Language Family in *The Linguistic Situation in the Gulf District and Adjacent Areas, Papua New Guinea* (edited by Karl Franklin, 1973 (PL, C-26)).

ARTHUR CAPELL was educated at North Sydney Boys' High School and took his first degree at Sydney University in 1922 and his M.A. in 1931. He had meanwhile taken up the study of Oceanic linguistics and received his Ph.D. in this subject in London in 1938. He then began fieldwork in Australia and in 1944 took up a position in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney. He has carried out extensive fieldwork in Australia, New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, and was the only non-American member of the Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology expedition, working in Palau in 1947. He became the first Reader in Oceanic Linguistics at the University of Sydney in 1949. He retired from the University of Sydney in 1967 and worked as Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University in 1967 and is now working privately in writing up the results of his research and fieldwork. He has produced a number of books and articles on various aspects of Pacific and general linguistics.

LOIS CARRINGTON was trained as a teacher of English as a foreign language and worked for some years for the Australian Commonwealth Office of Education in various aspects of teaching English to immigrants. Varied experience in the publishing field was acquired during this time and at others, while attached to various publishing houses. After a period of secondary teaching, she went to Papua New Guinea where she spent several years on the staff of the English Department of the

Administrative College in Port Moresby. She is currently a Research Assistant in the Department of Linguistics, Australian National University.

EMILY CLARKE, born in Sheffield, Yorkshire in 1904, obtained her primary and secondary education in that industrial city, then teacher's training at Whitelands College, Chelsea, the first Women's Training College in England. In 1930 she emigrated to Australia. After teaching French and Botany in Australian schools, and two years in Norfolk Island, she offered herself for missionary service to the Australian Board of Missions in 1938. The ensuing years were spent in teaching at various levels, including teaching Aborigines during the war. She was engaged in teacher training later in Papua New Guinea, and again, after an extended leave in England, she returned to Papua New Guinea to be in charge of a school until 1972. Recently she was engaged in the revision of a translation of the Bible in the Wedau language, which is ready for printing - the culmination of the labours of various translators over the years since 1891, beginning with Copland King.

ANNE M. COCHRAN (1938-) gained her B.A. degree at the University of Auckland. From 1966 she has been working with the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Papua New Guinea largely as a linguistic consultant. She has also served the Australian Aborigines Branch and more recently the Indonesian Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Irian Jaya. She is an editor of *Irian*, produced by Lembaga Anthropologi, Universitas Cenderawasih (Anthropology Institute, Cenderawasih University). She has taught advanced courses in phonology for several years at the Australian Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Alphabet Design course at the University of Papua New Guinea where she has recently completed her M.A. thesis.

ELLIS W. DEIBLER, Jr, an American, obtained his degree of B.S. from Columbia University in 1951, a B.D. from Fuller Theological Seminary in 1954, a second B.S. from the University of Michigan in 1965 and his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1973. He has been a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics since 1957 and has worked in the Gahuku language (Eastern Highlands Province) in Papua New Guinea since 1959. Currently he is working in the adjacent Yaweyuha (Yaviyufa) language. He published a number of articles and monographs on Gahuku, the most recent being *Sememic Structure of Gahuku Verbs* (S.I.L. Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No.50 (1975)). His

translation of the New Testament into Gahuku was published by the Bible Society in Papua New Guinea in 1974. He is an International Translation Consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics and has headed translation work in the Papua New Guinea Branch of S.I.L. for a number of years, conducting translation workshops and preparing helps for translators.

THOMAS E. DUTTON was born and educated in southern Queensland and spent the early years of his professional life teaching in that state and in Papua New Guinea before returning to complete a Certificate of Education and degrees in Linguistics at the University of Queensland, in the late 1960s, and obtaining his Ph.D. in Linguistics at the Australian National University in 1969. He has held appointments in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University, and is at present Professor of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby. He is particularly interested in Papuan and Austronesian languages of Central and South-East Papua as well as in pidgins and creoles. He has published widely in his subject including extensive language-learning courses in Tok Pisin and Hiri ootu, the two major lingue franche in Papua New Guinea.

IRENÄUS EIBL-EIBESFELDT was born in 1928 in Vienna, Austria. He studied Biology at the University of Vienna as a student of Professor Konrad Lorenz and Wilhelm von Marinelli. During 1946-49 he was research associate at the Biological Station Wilhelminenberg near Vienna. Since 1949 he has been associated with the Max-Planck-Institute for Behavioral Physiology. Twice he joined Hans Haas (1953-54, 1957-58) on his 'Xarifa' expeditions to the Caribbean Sea, the Galapagos Islands and the Indian Ocean. Further scientific journeys led him to South America and again to the Galapagos Islands as leader of the UNESCO expedition and later as scientific adviser to Heinz Sielmann. The joint result of this activity was the film 'Galapagos - Landing on Eden' which won several academy awards. Further research expeditions led him to Africa, Japan, Papua New Guinea, Australia, Polynesia, Indonesia and South Africa. He has lectured - a term each - at the Universities of Chicago and Minnesota. Since 1963 he has been attached to the University of Munich, since 1970 as a professor of zoology. In 1970 he was put in charge of a separate Research Group for Human Ethology (Percha near Starnberg) within the Max-Planck-Institute. His field of research is the biology of behaviour (ethology), in particular human ethology. He has published about 180 scientific articles in journals and also the following books:

Galapagos, Arche Noah im Pazifik, 1960 (3rd ed. 1972); *Im Reich der Tausend Atolle*, 1964 (2nd ed. 1972); *Grundriss der vergleichenden Verhaltensforschung*, 1967 (5th ed. 1974); *Liebe und Hass, zur Naturgeschichte elementarer Verhaltensweisen*, 1970 (3rd ed. 1972); *Die Iko-Buschmangesellschaft, Gruppenbindung und Aggressionskontrolle*, 1972; *Der vorprogrammierte Mensch, das Ererbte als bestimmender Faktor im menschlichen Verhalten*, 1973; *Krieg und Frieden aus der Sicht der Verhaltensforschung*, 1974. All books, except the last two, have been translated into English, French and other languages. He received the Golden Bölsche Medal in recognition of his merits in popularising his field of science.

FRANZ-JOSEF EILERS, born in 1932 in Emsdetten, West Germany, studied in Philosophy, Theology and Anthropology at St Augustin (Bonn). He obtained a Ph.D. in Communication Studies at the University in Münster on the basis of a study of Communication in North-east New Guinea (*Zur Publizistik Schriftloser Kulturen in Nord-ost Neuguinea*, St. Augustin, 1967). He has been editor of the quarterly *Communicatio Socialis, Zeitschrift für Publizistik in Kirche und Welt*, which has appeared since 1968 in Paderborn, West Germany. He worked as the Director of the Department of Communications, Divine Word Missionaries, Rome, from 1967-71, as Assistant Secretary for Communications, SODEPAX (Geneva 1970-71), and as Executive Secretary of the Catholic Media Council in Aachen (since 1971). His book publications include: *Christliche Publizistik in Afrika* (1964); *Zur Rolle der Publizistik in der Missionsarbeit des Fernen Ostens und Ozeaniens* (1965); *Kirche und Publizistik* (1973); and *Catholic Press Directory Africa/Asia* (1975).

JOICE A. FRANKLIN, with her husband Karl, has worked in Papua New Guinea since 1958 mainly in the Kewa language of the Southern Highlands District. She has an honours B.A. in (Christian) Education from the King's College, New York and has also done graduate studies in linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. She has authored several literacy-related articles and most recently a directory of the languages of Papua New Guinea. She was head of the literacy section of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Papua New Guinea and a literacy consultant in the Branch until moving to Texas in 1975 where her husband took up the position of International Linguistic Co-ordinator of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

KARL JAMES FRANKLIN was born near Schickshinny, Pennsylvania and grew up on a farm in the area. He received the B.A. in Psychology from the King's College, Briarcliff Manor, New York in 1954. He and his wife Joice attended the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma during the summers of 1956, 1957 and 1963. They have also taught at the same Summer Institute of Linguistics, as well as in Australia and New Zealand where he has served as principal. In 1958 they began work among the East Kewa in the Southern Highlands of Papua and continued there until the end of 1962. In 1965 he was awarded the M.A. in Linguistics from Cornell University and in 1969 the Ph.D. in Linguistics from the Australian National University. His dissertation was based on West Kewa. He held a Visiting Fellowship in the Australian National University in 1971. He has written a large number of linguistic and anthropological articles on the Kewa. He served as Director of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for several years and was appointed as the International Linguistic Coordinator of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dallas, Texas in 1975.

PAUL G. FREYBERG was born in 1912 in Bradner, Ohio, U.S.A. He obtained a B.A. from Capital University in Columbus, Ohio in 1935 and a Certificate of Graduation from the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary in Columbus, Ohio in 1937. He was ordained in 1937 and was Associate Pastor and teacher and principal of a Lutheran Day School in Marysville, Ohio, 1937-39. In 1939 he took up missionary service in New Guinea for the American Lutheran Church. His service there was interrupted by the war and he was evacuated early in 1943, back to the U.S.A. In 1943-44 he attended the Kennedy School of Missions of the Hartford Seminary Foundation returning to Papua New Guinea in 1946. He served in the Lutheran Mission as an evangelistic missionary, then as a teacher of an area school in the Kâte language and later as a teacher at the Theological Seminary in the Gedaged language. For two years he was editor of the Kâte Church Paper. In 1962 he studied linguistics in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University, Columbus, under Professor W.S.-Y. Wang and Professor C. Fillmore, passing with distinction. Upon his return to Papua New Guinea he was assigned to Pidgin translation work and seconded in 1965 to the Bible Society's Editorial Committee for the translation of the Pidgin New Testament (*Nupela Testamen*), published in February 1969. Since 1970 he has been working as editor and translator of Pidgin literature with Kristen Pres Inc., Madang, and has published several works.

EUAN FRY was born in 1933 and was educated in Melbourne, graduating from Melbourne University in Science and Education. After serving as a secondary teacher for three years he worked as a missionary with the Methodist Church in the New Britain District of Papua New Guinea from 1958 to 1966. Stationed on the Gazelle Peninsula, and also in the Duke of York Islands, he became proficient in the Kuanua language, and took part in the translation of the Bible into that language. Since 1967 he has held the position of Translations Secretary for the Bible Societies in Australia and New Zealand, and in that capacity has assisted and supervised Bible translation projects in many parts of Australia and the South Pacific.

ALAN HEALEY graduated from the University of Melbourne in Science and worked for a time as a physicist, and then as a mathematician. In 1950 he attended the first summer course conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Australia and since then he has been on the teaching staff of about half of the subsequent summer courses. With his wife Phyllis, he joined the field staff of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1955 and spent the next two and a half years learning and analysing the Agta language of the Philippines. Moving to Papua New Guinea in 1959, they then studied the Telefol language for ten years, publishing a series of papers and monographs describing the language and materials translated into Telefol. During that time they both completed Ph.D.s in Linguistics at the Australian National University. As the Technical Studies Adviser from 1969 to 1974, Alan was the senior linguistic consultant for about 200 Summer Institute of Linguistics staff in Papua New Guinea as they researched some 100 different languages. At present he and his wife are working with the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Australia. His interests and publications include field methods, structural linguistics, semantics, discourse analysis, comparative linguistics, and lexicostatistics.

LIONEL RHYS HEALEY who has a B.A. of the University of Papua New Guinea was a member of ANGAU during the Second World War. Since taking his discharge from the Army in Lae in 1946, he has been employed in the Administration of Papua New Guinea. For the first 20 years of this work, he worked in a number of capacities in many parts of Papua New Guinea as an officer in the Department of Public Health, and since 1967 as Assistant Director - Management, in the Department of Education. He has been interested in the Pidgin language for many years and has conducted courses in it for over ten years, has taught medical staff of

the Department of Public Health in the language at various times and recently was the Secretary of the Tok Pisin Sosaiti. He has also been lecturing at the Administrative College, Waigani, Papua New Guinea.

ROBERT KEITH JOHNSON was born in 1936, and completed an honours degree in English Literature at Cambridge in 1960. After teaching and working in England and Australia, he became interested in education in developing countries, and taught for four years in a secondary school in Zambia where he was head of the English Department, and a member of syllabus and examination committees. He completed an M.A. in Applied Linguistics at Essex University in 1970, and since then has been the lecturer in methods of teaching English as a second language in the Department of Education of the University of Papua New Guinea. Areas of research interest and publication include educational aspects of language planning, teacher-training for bilingual education and English as a second language, study problems of students working in a second language, and the development of teaching materials. He is a member of various Ministry of Education committees dealing with language education, and has been editor of *English in Papua New Guinea* and a member of the editorial board of *Kivung*, the journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea.

ADRIANNE LANG undertook her undergraduate work at the University of Texas (Austin) and received her Ph.D. from the Australian National University. Subsequently, as the recipient of an Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship, she worked at the Institut für Deutsche Sprache. She has done extensive fieldwork among the Enga in Papua New Guinea; she has published a dictionary of Enga and a monograph dealing with the gender and verb classes of Enga and other Papua New Guinea languages. Until her recent return to the U.S.A., she worked as a lecturer at the University of Papua New Guinea, and was engaged in a longitudinal developmental psycholinguistic study of Enga children.

RANIER LANG did his graduate work in Linguistics and Anthropology in the United States and at the Australian National University where he was awarded his Ph.D. He has worked on Enga for a number of years; during the past three years, until returning recently to the U.S.A., he has been engaged in an extended linguistic and anthropological study of Enga interpreters under the auspices of the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University.

RALPH S. LAWTON, B.A., L.Th., Dip.Ed., is an ordained minister of the Methodist Church of Australasia, who has spent 16 years as a missionary in Papua. His first appointment was in the Dobu area, for five years, where in addition to his ministerial duties he was the headmaster of Wesley High School at Salamo. In 1962 he was transferred to the Trobriand Islands. During his 11 years there he became involved in the translation of the New Testament into Kiriwinan, gaining basic linguistic training during this time in the Summer Institute of Linguistics summer schools and at translation workshops conducted by the Bible Society. Since 1973 he has been doing postgraduate linguistic studies at the Australian National University, proceeding to the degree of M.A.

DONALD C. LAYCOCK is an Australian scholar who came to the study of Australian and Oceanic languages after an initial interest, and degree, in English and Germanic Philology. After a year spent as a research assistant in Australian Aboriginal languages at the University of Adelaide, he joined the Australian National University for postgraduate work, and obtained his doctorate there for a description of a family of Papuan languages in New Guinea. Following an academic year of lecturing in Linguistics and Anthropology in the United States, at Indiana and Northwestern Universities, he returned to a permanent staff position in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University in 1964. In 1969 he was appointed Senior Fellow. He has undertaken extensive fieldwork in Australia and Papua New Guinea, and is currently interested both in New Guinea Pidgin and in the taxonomy of, and sociolinguistic questions concerning, the Papuan languages of New Guinea, especially those of the Sepik area. He has published widely on these subjects.

PETER C. LINCOLN (born 1942) grew up on Cape Cod and then went to Stanford to obtain a B.S. in Mathematics. Then he travelled in Europe and East Asia, in part with the U.S. Navy, learning German and some Japanese. After obtaining an M.A. in Linguistics at the University of Hawaii, he did doctoral fieldwork on Bougainville with support from the National Science Foundation. He returned to the University of Hawaii where he obtained his Ph.D. in Linguistics. He was subsequently engaged in a study of Austronesian languages of the Rai Coast, north-eastern Papua New Guinea, with support from the National Science Foundation, and has recently returned to Hawaii.

JOHN LYNCH (born 1946) took his undergraduate degree in Anthropology at the University of Sydney before proceeding to the University of Hawaii, where he received his doctorate in Linguistics in 1974. He has been at the University of Papua New Guinea since 1970, where he is presently a lecturer in the Department of Language. His principal field research has been in the Southern New Hebrides, and his publications are mainly in the field of Oceanic linguistics. He is editor of the journal *Kivung*.

HOWARD P. MCKAUGHAN is a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii, and is also the Dean of the Graduate Division and Director of Research there. He also held a visiting appointment in the Department of Linguistics of the School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University. He has directed linguistic programmes for the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of North Dakota and in the Philippines. His linguistic research has been in Mexico, the Philippines and in Papua New Guinea. His publications include descriptive studies of Philippine and Papua New Guinea languages of the Eastern Highlands, lexicography materials, and pedagogical materials for several Philippine languages. He holds the doctorate in Linguistics from Cornell University.

FRANCIS M. MIHALIC, S.V.D. (1916-) an American by birth, has actually spent most of his life overseas in both Papua New Guinea and Europe. He did his theological studies in the Chicago area. After initial linguistic training with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, he did graduate work at the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan, where he also taught. He is the author of the *Jacaranda Grammar and Dictionary of Melanesian Pidgin* (1971). He founded and is still editor of *Wantok*, the Melanesian Pidgin national newspaper for Papua New Guinea. He has been in Papua New Guinea since 1948. He speaks six languages and reads 14; is constantly occupied in translation work for the British and Foreign Bible Society as well as for the Papua New Guinea Administration, particularly in rendering official documents into Pidgin.

THE HONOURABLE JOHN MINOGUE, Q.C., was born in Seymour, Victoria, in 1909. He was educated at St Kevin's College and the University of Melbourne where he obtained a LLB. He was called to the Bar of Victoria in 1939. Saw war service from 1940-46, and was mentioned in Despatches for service in the Kokoda campaign. He was Chief of Staff of the

Military Mission in Washington, D.C. from 1945-46, was appointed Queen's Counsel in 1957 and was a member of the Victorian Bar Council from 1958-62; he was Chief Justice (Acting) from 1969-70, and Chief Justice from 1970-74. He has been Vice-President of the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists from 1963 onwards. He served as a member of the Council and Faculty of Law of the University of Papua New Guinea since its inception in 1965 until 1974, and was Pro-Chancellor from 1972-74. He received an LLD Honoris Causa from the University of Papua New Guinea in 1974. Whilst a member of the Court he sat in over 50 centres spread over all the districts (now provinces) of Papua New Guinea and received a very real appreciation of the linguistic problems facing the Court.

PETER MÜHLHÄUSLER (1947-) received his undergraduate training at the University of Stellenbosch (South Africa) where he obtained an honours B.A. degree in Afrikaans-Dutch (Literature and Linguistics). He subsequently studied General Linguistics at the University of Reading (U.K.) doing course work for an M.A. and a thesis 'Pidginization and Simplification of Language' for his M.Phil. He then became a research scholar in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. Between 1972 and 1975 he undertook a number of field trips to Papua New Guinea and Western Samoa in order to study the history, social role and linguistic structure of New Guinea Pidgin (Tok Pisin). His thesis 'Growth and Structure of the Vocabulary of New Guinea Pidgin' was completed in 1976 and he was awarded the Ph.D. degree for it. He worked for a year as a Research Assistant in the Department of Linguistics in connection with the large handbook of New Guinea Pidgin planned to be published by the Department in *Pacific Linguistics*. In late 1976 he took up an appointment at the Technische Universität in Berlin.

A.K. NEUENDORF was born in Queensland in 1928. He trained as a primary teacher with university study at night, then did theological training in Melbourne and towards the end of 1951 came to Papua New Guinea as a missionary. He is interested in two main areas - education and also translation of the Bible. Quickly learnt the Gogodala language, and wrote a phonemic statement and a morphology statement of it. He also prepared a grammar in the Gogodala language and revised what had already been translated of the Gogodala New Testament and then finished the translation. In education he worked in various positions for the Government, and went on to become a church member of the National

Education Board of Papua New Guinea. He currently holds the position of Chairman of the Planning Committee, and is a member of both the Teacher Education Committee and the Technical Education Committee for the Board. He works mainly as an administrator of education and does practically no language work these days.

EBIA NIWIA OLEWALE was born in Kunini village in the Western Province of Papua New Guinea and is of the Bine people. He received his secondary education at Sogeru High School near Port Moresby, and after successfully completing a teacher-training course taught at Daru High School in the Western Province and later at the Kilakila High School. Subsequently he was elected a member of the second Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1968 and later on was appointed Minister for Education in the Somare Government. He is now Minister for Justice. Mr Olewale is a multilingual with a full command of Bine, Kiwai, Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin and English and has always taken a great interest in the problems of language, especially the local language and Tok Pisin in education in his country and in preserving the cultural traditions of his countrymen.

ANDREW PAWLEY, born in Australia in 1941, received his Linguistic and Anthropological training at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. He has taught Linguistics at the Universities of Auckland (1965-72), Papua New Guinea (1969) and Hawaii (1973-75). Beginning in Polynesian, his Pacific research interests have steadily expanded westwards to include the Austronesian and Papuan languages of New Guinea and Island Melanesia, with spells of fieldwork in Samoa, Fiji and the New Guinea Highlands. Apart from descriptive studies of Samoan, Fijian and Kalam, his writings have dealt chiefly with the subgrouping and grammatical development of Oceanic Austronesian languages.

GUNTHER RENCK was born in 1930 in Gundorf, Kreis Leipzig, Germany. He was educated in that region and in Leipzig, where he studied Theology from 1950-55. From 1955 to 1957 he was in the service of the Evangelic Lutheran Church in Saxonia. In 1957 he went to Papua New Guinea and, from 1958, worked at the mission station Rongo. In the course of his activities he concerned himself with the study of Papua New Guinea languages. In 1965 he attended a Summer Institute of Linguistics course in Germany and after returning to Papua New Guinea, he worked as principal of the Teachers' Seminary (Tok Ples Edukesen) in Rintebe from 1966-67. From 1967 to 1969 he was in charge of the Lutheran Mission Station at Ponampa in the Eastern Highlands District and then returned

to the Station Rongo, also in the Eastern Highlands. In 1974 he was Visiting Fellow in the Department of Linguistics of the School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University whereafter he returned to Rongo to continue his missionary and linguistic activities. He published studies of the Yagaria language, including a grammar, a dictionary and translations of Scriptures. In 1976 he left Papua New Guinea and returned to Germany to continue his work for the Lutheran Church there.

JOAN ELIZABETH RULE graduated Bachelor of Arts with first class honours in English at the University of Sydney in 1941, Master of Arts with first class honours in Linguistics at the University of Sydney in 1951. She was a lecturer in Phonetics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics from 1950-61, and lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Sydney during 1952. Since 1951, she has, with her husband, engaged in linguistic fieldwork in Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya, and in the translation of the New Testament and other literary works into the Foe language of Papua New Guinea, under the auspices of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission. She has published several linguistic and educational articles, and is currently Chairman of the Mission's Literacy/Literature Committee, and co-linguistic consultant for the Mission.

WILLIAM MURRAY RULE graduated Bachelor of Arts at the University of Queensland in 1956, and Master of Arts in Linguistics at the University of Sydney in 1964, his thesis 'A Comparative Study of the Foe, Huli and Pole Languages of the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea' being accepted for publication as an *Oceanic Linguistic Monograph*. He was a lecturer in grammar at the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1951-61. He has worked in Papua New Guinea since 1951, undertaking the initial analysis and write-up of ten different languages in that country and in Irian Jaya, and has given on-the-job advice on 15 other languages in the two countries. He, assisted by his wife, has completed the translation of the New Testament into the Foe language of Papua New Guinea, under the auspices of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission, and is currently the linguistic consultant for the Mission.

GILLIAN SANKOFF's first research in Papua New Guinea during 1966-67 resulted in her 1968 (McGill) dissertation on multilingualism among the Buang people of the Morobe District (now Province). She later became interested in Tok Pisin (Neo-Melanesian), and on her third trip to Papua New Guinea in 1971 collected data for a study of creolisation.

Her work has been principally in the area of sociolinguistics, on problems of multilingualism, language and dialect boundaries and intelligibility, speech variability and language change. She has also worked on many similar problems with respect to French in Québec, concentrating on social factors in language variability. She is currently Associate Professor in the Département d'Anthropologie of the Université de Montréal, Canada.

ROBERT P. SCOTT was born in Brisbane in 1942 but went to Papua New Guinea as a child. After his education in Australia and several years in Papua, he went to Wewak in 1962 with the Department of Agriculture. From there he went to Passam village where he spent many years, later being promoted and transferred, first to the Agricultural Institute at Popondetta, then to the Highlands and finally to the Department's Headquarters at Konedobu. He has represented Papua New Guinea at South Pacific Commission Agricultural Education Conferences in Noumea and New Zealand. In addition, he took a leading part in the development of a national rural broadcasting policy, preparing programmes, training many Papua New Guineans in communication skills, and broadcasting in Pidgin himself for about ten years. After 25 years in Papua New Guinea, he is now living in Australia.

PETER SILZER graduated from Concordia Lutheran College in Wayne, Indiana in 1972. Before and after graduation he spent two summers in linguistic studies at Summer Institute of Linguistics schools in Massachusetts and Oklahoma. In 1973 he studied Indonesian at the University of North Dakota and in 1974 took up linguistic work with the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Papua New Guinea. In 1975, he entered Irian Jaya where he has studied two indigenous languages. He is presently involved in field research on the Ambai language of Yapen Island, just south of Biak Island.

ANDREW J. TAYLOR received a B.A. and Diploma in Education from the University of Sydney and a B.D. from the Melbourne College of Divinity. After two years as a high school teacher in Papua New Guinea he joined the Translations Department of the Bible Society in Australia and later obtained his Ph.D. in Linguistics at the Australian National University in 1971. For five years he worked as a Translations Consultant with the Bible Society in Papua New Guinea. At present he is a lecturer in the Department of Language and Social Science at the Papua New Guinea University of Technology in Lae. He is continuing a study of the Motu language of the Central District (now Province) of Papua New Guinea.

BILL TOMASETTI, after war service in the Australian forces in Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, joined district administration in Papua New Guinea in 1946. Up until 1964 he worked in most of the Papua New Guinea districts as a district officer. Since 1965 he has worked in the University of Papua New Guinea and in the Administrative College. He holds the Diploma in Administration from the Australian School of Pacific Administration, a Certificate in Extension from London University, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts with honours in Government from the University of Queensland. Although he taught both Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu at the Institute of Modern Languages in the University of Queensland from 1965-67, his interest in language is that of an amateur. His field is development administration, and it is in this field that he has published.

DONALD F. TUZIN received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Case-Western Reserve University (Cleveland, U.S.A.) and spent two years in preliminary doctoral studies in University College London. His Ph.D. in Anthropology (Australian National University, 1973) was based on 21 months of research among the Ilahita Arapesh, East Sepik District (now Province). He is the author of several publications, including *The Ilahita Arapesh: Dimensions of Unity* (University of California Press, 1976). He is presently Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, San Diego.

CLEMENS L. VOORHOEVE was educated in the Netherlands and received his Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Leiden. Before obtaining his doctorate, he spent a lengthy period in the field in the Asmat area of Irian Jaya, and in 1965, joined the Australian National University where he is now Senior Fellow in the Department of Linguistics in the School of Pacific Studies. He carried out extensive fieldwork in western and southern parts of Papua New Guinea and in Irian Jaya and has been instrumental in the establishment of very large groupings of Papuan languages. He has published widely on this subject. He is also interested in questions of language in culture, and in sociolinguistic problems and *lingue franche*, especially Hiri Motu, and has also published on these subjects.

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INDEX

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- 1) Index of Language Names, and Names of Tribal/
National Groups of People
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1) INDEX OF LANGUAGE NAMES, AND NAMES OF TRIBAL/NATIONAL GROUPS OF PEOPLE

This index contains the names of languages, language groups and groups of people found in this volume.

Cross-referencing between alternative names mentioned in the book is extensively used, e.g. Daga /Dimuga is listed, as well as Dimuga /Daga, followed by the appropriate page references. Explanatory words, such as *now*, *see*, *see also* are occasionally used. Alternative names which are alphabetically very close, e.g. Siasi, Siassi are indexed only once.

Readers looking for a particular language or dialect name should also consult the Geographical Index, because tribal, river, village, etc., and dialect or language names frequently coincide. In some instances, such names are included in both lists.

To reduce the size of the index, complementary entries have been compressed into single entries, for instance: Kiwai /lang(s), family, stock. If appropriate lang is always the first of the designations given, followed by the others alphabetically; where appropriate the entry people follows.

Generally speaking, a name preceded by such words as Eastern, Western, etc. has been treated as follows: if the adjunct constitutes a part of a recognised name (e.g. West Papuan Phylum), it is found under West. If not, it is found as a sub-entry (e.g. Southern Kiwai is found under Kiwai). Names of proto-languages have all been entered under P for 'proto'.

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As with the Index of Language Names, cross-referencing has been used extensively in this index. Should the place name being sought not appear in this index, readers are advised to check also in the Index of Language Names. The same principle as applied in the Index of Language Names also applies here to alternative names closely alike in spelling, to the compression of entries such as: Lae /town, area, and to the use of such adjuncts as Eastern, Upper, etc. Although the chapters in this volume were written prior to Independence in September 1975, at which time the former Districts became known as Provinces, appropriate amendments have been made in the text, where the usage is contemporary, and these have been noted in this index as, e.g. Madang Province /formerly District; Madang District /formerly Sub-District; Madang Sub-District /formerly Patrol Post Area.

NOTE: the symbol / indicates an alternative name or an explanatory gloss.

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